

(244)

Journal of the Oriental Institute) Baroda

VOLUME XXI
1971 - 1972

Nos. 1-9

Vol. 21, 1971-72

Edited by

B. J. Sandesara

DIRECTOR, ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

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BARODA

Printed at the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda Press (Sadhana Press), Near Palace Gate, Palace Road, Baroda and published on behalf of the M. S. University of Baroda by Prof. B. J. Sandesara, Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda, April, 1973.

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CONTENTS

VOLUME XXI, PARTS I-IV

1971-72

ARTICLES	PAGES
Abhiṣeka in Indian Art—B. N. Sharma	108
Animalism in Ancient India—Ganesh Umakant Thite	191
Cause and Casual Agent—The Pāṇinīan View—George Cardona	22
Critical Examination of Some Readings of the Paippalāda Saṁhitā (Kāṇḍa II)—Hukam Chand Patyal	275
(The) Cultural Background of the Amaru-Śataka—Ajay Mitra Shastri	90
Dravidian Words in Deśināmamālā—Sarada Srinivasan	114
(The) Evolution of the Suparṇa Saga in the Mahābhārata—Mahesh Mehta	41
Fauna in Bhāravi—J. P. Thaker	228
God Kubera in the Rāmāyaṇa—S. G. Modhey	299
History of the Myth of the Fire Origin—Jai Narayan Asopa	336
Identification of Rāmāyaṇa Scenes—K. Raghavachary	210
Kalpalatāviveka on Abhinavabhārati—V. M. Kulkarni	307
Knowledge and its Validity—Chhotelal Tripathi	71
Lower Narmadā and Its Antiquities—K. P. Gupta	265
Māṇḍavī Step—Well Inscription at Cāmpānera—Samvat—1554, Śaka-1419—V. H. Sonavane	224
Maulana Muhammad B. Tahir Pattani—M. A. Quraishi	217
Middle Indo-Aryan Studies IX—K. R. Norman	331
(A) New Inscription from Mathura—R. C. Sharma	103
New Light on Chandovicitī—S. C. Banerji	324
Newly Discovered Pañca-Gaṇeśa from Jaipur, Rajasthan—R. C. Agrawala	107
Note on a Hermaphrodite Figure on a Silver Plate—Samaresh Bandyopadhyay	99

(A) Note on 'Avanipatitritya' and 'Trairājya' occurring in the Records of the Early Chālukyas—Birendra Kumar Singh	344
(A) Note on Gaṇapati—Samaresh Bandyopadhyay	328
(A) Note on Parikṣit and Janamejaya—Asimkumar Chatterjee	66
✓ On the Location of Dilmun—Arun Kumar	348
(The) place of Vṛtra Fight—B. H. Kapadia	283
(The) position of 'Stutikusumāñjari' in Sanskrit Stotra-Literature—B. N. Bhatt	318
Praśnavidyā of Bādarāyaṇa—J. S. Pade	1-26
(The) Priest and the Queen—A Study in the Rituals of the Aśvamedha—N. N. Bhattacharya	1
(The) Problem of Navāits in India—D. V. Chauhan	359
Reference of the Sañjakas in the Cambodian Inscriptions—Mahesh Kumar Sharan	325
Rock-cut Statues at Arṇā, Jodhpur—R. C. Agrawala	351
Śākalya's Theory of Avasāna-Sandhi—V. N. Jha	174
Sanskrit as a Spoken Language—H. S. Ursekar	166
Slokas and Gāthās quoted in the Brāhmaṇa Literature—P. H. Joshi	291
Some Minor Characters of the Epics—Asimkumar Chatterjee	184
Some Observations on the Paraśu of Paraśurāma—Robert Goldman	153
Some Rare Terracottas in Allahabad Museum—R. R. Tripathi	352

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

(A) Critical Study of the Ancient Hindu Astronomy in the Light and Language of the Modern: By D. A. Somayaji Dharwar, Karnatak University, 1971. pp. iv + 186 + X—Reviewed by David Pingree	249
Dhātukāvya of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. With the Commentaries Kṛṣṇārpaṇa and Rāmapāñivāda's Vivaraṇa, Edited by S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer (Kerala University Sanskrit Department Publications, No. 6) Department of Sanskrit, University of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1970, pp. IX, 364. Price Rs. 10/-—by George Cardona	375
Eye and Gaze in the Veda: By J. Gonda, North-Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam, pp. 88, 1969, H fl 15—Reviewed by Robert Goldman	142
Gītā Samīkṣā edited by E. R. Śreekrishna Sarma, Published by	

- Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati 1971, pp. iv + 175.
Price Rs. 7=50—Reviewed by B. N. Bhatt 377
- Golasāra of Gārgya-Kerala Nīlakaṇṭha Somāyāji : Critically
edited with an introduction by K. V. Sarma, Vishve-
shvaraananand Indological Series 47, Vishveshvaranand Institute,
Hoshiarpur ; 1970 ; pp. xxvi + 28. Price Rs. 5/-. Reviewed
by David Pingree. 146
- Jaina Ontology by Dr. K. K. Dixit, Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Series, No.
31, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad—9, 1971, Royal
8Vo. pp. 12-204, Price Rs. 30/- —Reviewed by A. N.
Upadhye 373
- (The) Meaning of the Sanskrit Term Dhāman—by J. Gonda. N. V.
Noord Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, Amsterdam,
1967, pp. 100 ; Price F. 15—Reviewed by S. G. Kantawala 255
- Nandisuttam and Aṇyogaddarāṇi : Jaina-Āgama Series 1, Editors :
Muni Punyavijaya, Pt. Dalsukh Malvania, Pt. Amritlal Mohan-
lal Bhojak. Published by Shri Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya,
Bombay-26 (1968). Price Rs. 40.00—Reviewed by F. R.
Hamm 149
- Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali :—by K. Mādhavakrishna Śarmā,
Sanskrit Vidyapith, Delhi, 1968, p. 185, Price Rs. 15-00. Re-
viewed by J. M. Shukla 251
- Puruṣottamajī : A Study—by Dr. A. D. Shastri, Published by
Chunilal Gandhi Vidyabhavan, Surat. Price Rs. 20/-. Re-
viewed by N. K. Bambhanja 250
- Sārasiddhāntakaumudī of Varadarāja, Edited with Introduction,
translation, and critical and Exegetical Notes by G. V.
Devasthali, Publications of the Centre of Advanced Study in
Sanskrit, Class C, No. 4. University of Poona, 1968, pp xvi,
239, 271—Reviewed by Rosane Rocher 376
- Tārābāikālīn Kāgadapatre (Marāṭhī) Vol. I, Edited by A. G.
Pawar ; Shivaji Vidyapeeth Historical Series No. 1, First
Edition, 1969, pp. 15 + 1 + Preface + 78 + 571 + 35 + 2,
Price Rs. 10/- ; Vol. II. Edited by A. G. Pawar : Shivaji
Vidyapeeth Historical series No. 2 : First Edition, 1970.
pp. 12+3+52+336+26+2, Price Rs. 6/- Both published
by Shivaji University, Kolhapur. - Reviewed by R. G. Parikh 257
- Verb Forms of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa : By H. S. Ananthanara-
yana. (Deccan College Building Centenary and Silver Jubilee

Series 60), Poona, Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, 1970 ; pp. xvii, 368. Price Rs. 30/- —Reviewed by George Cardona

248

Yogadṛṣṭisamuccaya and Yogavimsīkā of Ācārya Haribhadrāsūri with English translation, Notes and Introduction : by K. K. Dixit, Pub. by Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Bhartiya Sanskrit Vidya-mandir, Ahmedabad-9, April 1970, pp. 130, Price Rs. 8-00 —Reviewed by J. M. Shukla

148

MISCELLANEOUS

Obituary : (1) Mm. Dr. P. V. Kane—J. S. Pade	381
(2) Prof. M. S. Commissariat—H. G. Shastri	382
Select contents of Oriental Journals—P. H. Joshi	135
—do—	240
—do—	364

INDEX TO AUTHORS

Agrawala, R. C.—Newly Discovered Pañca-Gaṇeśa from Jaipur, Rajasthan	107
Agrawala, R. C.—Rock-cut Statues at Arnā, Jodhpur	351
Asopa, Jai Narayan—History of the Myth of the Fire Origin	336
Bambhanian, N. K.—Puruṣottamajī (Review)	250
Bandyopadhyay Samaresh—A Note on Gaṇapati	328
Bandyopadhyay, Samaresh—Note on a Hermaphrodite Figure on a Silver Plate	99
Banerji, S. C.—New Light on Chandovīciti	324
Bhatt, B. N.—Gītā Samīksā : A Study (Review)	377
Bhatt, B. N.—The Position of ‘Stutikusumāñjari’ in Sanskrit Stotra-Literature	318
Bhattacharya, N. N.—The Priest and the Queen—A Study in the Rituals of the Aśvamedha	1
Cardona, George—Cause and Casual Agent—The Pāṇinian View	22
Cardona, George—Dhātukāvya of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa (Review)	375
Cardona, George—Verb Forms of the Taittirīya Brahmana (Review)	248
Chatterjee, Asimkumar—A note on Parikṣit and Janamejaya	66
Chatterjee, Asim Kumar—Some Minor Characters of the Epics	184
Chauhan, D. V.—The Problem of Navāits in India	359

Goldman, Robert—Eye and Gaze in the Veda (Review)	142
Goldman, Robert—Some Observations on the Parasu of Parasurama	153
Gupta, K. P.—Lower Narmada and Its Antiquities	265
Hamm, F. R.—Nandisuttam and Anuogaddasāim : (Review)	149
Jha, V. N.—Śākalya's Theory of Avasāna—Sandhi	174
Joshi, P. H.—Ślokas and Gāthās quoted in the Brāhmaṇa Literature	291
Kantawala, S. G.—' The Meaning of the Sanskrit Term Dhāman ' (Review)	255
Kapadia, B. H.—The Place of Vṛita Fight	283
Kulkarni, V. M.—Kalpalatāviveka on Abhinavabhārati	307
Kumar, Arun—On the Location of Dilmun	348
Mehta, Mahesh—The Evolution of the Suparṇa Saga in the Mahabharata	41
Modhey, S. G.—God Kubera in the Rāmāyaṇa	299
Norman, K. R.—Middle Indo-Aryan Studies IX	331
Pade, J. S.—Praśnavidyā of Bādarāyaṇa	1-26
Parikh, R. G.—Tārābāikālīn Kagadapatre (Marāṭhi) (Review)	257
Patyal, Hukum Chand—Critical Examination of Some Readings of the Paippalāda Saṁhitā (Kāṇḍa II)	275
Pingree, David—A Critical Study of the Ancient Hindu Astronomy in the Light and Language of the Modern (Review)	249
Pingree, David—Golasāra of Gārgya-Kerala Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji (Review)	146
Quraishi, M. A.—Maulana Muhammad B. Tahir Pattani	217
Raghavachary, K.—Identification of Rāmāyaṇa Scenes	210
Rocher, Rosane—Śārasiddhāntakaumudī of Varadarāja (Review)	376
Sharan, Mahesh Kumar—Reference of the Sañjakas in the Com-bodian Inscriptions	325
Sharma, B. N.—Abhiṣeka in Indian Art	108
Sharma, R. C.—A New Inscription from Mathura	103
Shastri, Ajay Mitra—The Cultural Background of the Amaru-Śataka	90
Shukla, J. M.—Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali (Review)	251
Shukla, J. M.—Yogaśrīṣṭisamuccaya and Yogavimsīkā of Ācārya Haribhadrasuri (Review)	148

Singh, Birendra Kumar—A Note on 'Avanipatitritiya' and 'Trai- rājya' occurring in the Records of the Early Chālukyas	344
Sonavane, V. H.—Māṇḍavī Step-well Inscription at Cāmpānera- Samvat-1554, Saka-1419	224
Srinivasan, Sarada—Dravidian Words in Deśināmamālā	114
Thaker, J. P.—Fauna in Bhāravi	228
Thite, Ganesh Umakant—Animalism in Ancient India	191
Tripathi, Chhotelal—Knowledge and its Validity	71
Tripathi, R. R.—Some Rare Terracottas in Allahabad Museum	352
Upadhye, A. N.—Jaina Ontology (Review)	373
Ursekar, H. S.—Sanskrit as a Spoken Language	166

THE PRIEST AND THE QUEEN
A Study in the Rituals of the Aśvamedha

By

N. N. BHATTACHARYYA, Chinsurah (W. Bengal)

Prologue : The Political Veneer

The ceremonial called the Aśvamedha or horse-sacrifice has come down to us in a political veneer. We are told that all the kings who were actually consecrated with the *Aindra Mahābhīṣeka* (Indra's great function consisting of five important ceremonies¹) were entitled to perform the Aśvamedha. In other words, a paramount king (*Sārvabhauma Rājā*) could perform it.² A list of such kings and princes who performed this famous rite is given in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.³ In the epico-puranic literature we have numerous references to kings performing the Aśvamedha sacrifice. In the historical age we find that, after the victorious wars with Vidarbha and the Yavanas, Puṣyamitra, the Śuṅga king, completed the performance of two horse-sacrifices. We have the coins of Samudragupta bearing the legend *aśvamedhaparākrama* which were apparently issued immediately after the performance of the horse-sacrifice by that great king. The Aśvamedha was also celebrated by several kings during the interval which elapsed from the time of Puṣyamitra to that of Samudragupta.⁴ Even as

1 *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII.12-23.

2 Cf. *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra*, XX.1.

3 XIII.5.4.1-23.

4 H. C. Raychaudhuri : *Political History of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1953, p. 548.

late as the time of Bhavabhūti (eighth century A.D.) the Aśvamedha was looked upon as the only touch-stone to test the might of the kings.¹

The Original Purpose Forgotten

In all probability, the aforesaid kings who performed the horse-sacrifice took it as a chivalrous achievement. Its original purpose was definitely forgotten. Even in ancient times this sacrifice must have been rare. The *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*² and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*³ state that the Aśvamedha sacrifice was then *utsanna*, i.e. gone out of vogue. The *Atharvaveda*⁴ also appears to regard the Rājasūya, Vājapeya, Aśvamedha, the Satras and several other sacrifices at *Utsanna*. The epico-puranic descriptions of the Aśvamedha certainly prove that many of its major rites were cancelled because their significance could not be understood. As a result of this, it so happened that the Aśvamedha sacrifice got entirely a different form, both in theory and in practice.

We may refer in this connection to the description of the horse-sacrifice as given in the Aśvamedhika Parvan of the *Mahābhārata* in which much greater stress is laid on the festive and chivalrous aspect of this royal observance. Though the general outline of the 'internals' of the Aśvamedha, as given in the *Mahābhārata*, corresponds in some cases to the prescriptions of the Brāhmaṇa literature, many items of the ceremonial are altogether ignored, e.g. *aśva-upasaṃveśanam* of Draupadī. The ritual is mentioned, but not described. The practice of a Brāhmaṇa and a Kṣatriya lute-player singing stanzas composed by themselves in honour of the king and the so-called 'revolving legend' related by the Hotṛ in a ten day's cycle all the year round are omitted. So we shall not be wrong in assuming that, in its earlier stages, the performance of the horse-sacrifice must have had connected with it a number of rituals of a purely different character.

The *aśva-upasaṃveśanam* of Draupadī was evidently ignored, considering it to be an obscene ritual inconsistent with the ethical principles reflected in the great epic. In one of the Cārvāka polemics against Brahmanism and Brahmanical rituals, quoted from the so-called *sūtras* of Bṛhaspati by Mādhava in his *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, it is stated that 'all the obscene rites for the queen commanded in the Aśvamedha were invented by buffoons.'⁵ Here we have quoted from Cowell's free translation, but the real *sūtra* is: *aśvasyātra hi śiśnaṃ tu putnī-grāhyaṃ prakīrtitam* which implies that the wife, evidently the queen, had to take the phallus of the horse. Certainly it is not a case of fabrication invented by the Cārvākas who were definitely hostile to Brahmanism. The details of the Aśva-

1 Act IV.

2 V.4.12.3.

3 XIII.3.3.6.

4 XI.7.7-8.

5 Cowell's tr., London 1914, pp. 10-11.

medha referred to in ancient literature, sufficiently prove that its central ritual was the union of the queen with the horse.¹

Aśvamedha in the Śrautasūtras: The Queen's Part.

Before coming to our point, let us have a full view of the major rituals of the Aśvamedha sacrifice as given in the *Śrautasūtras*. The first rite is the cooking of rice taken from four different vessels. The cooked rice is to be smeared with *ghee* and given to the four principal priests. They will get one thousand cows each along with a certain quantity of gold.² Then two *iṣṭi*-s are performed, the first for Agni Mūrdhanvan and the second for Pūṣan.³ Then the horse is anointed. The king cuts off his hair, cleans his nails, brushes his teeth, bathes in a tank or river, puts on new garments and wears a golden ornament. He has also to observe a vow of silence while doing all these. Then his four queens, well-dressed and wearing ornaments, come to him. The Mahiṣī (chief queen, being the first one married by the king) comes with the princesses, the vāvātā (the favourite queen) with the daughters of the Kṣatriyas, the Parivṛkti (the queen who had not yet conceived) with the daughters of the Sūtas and village headmen, and the Pālāgali (the queen who was the daughter of a court official) with the daughters of the court officials. The king enters the fire-hall and sits to the west of the *gārhapatyā* facing the north.⁴ The horse is then sprinkled with holy water by the four principal priests⁵ and brought near the fire, and offerings are made near it.⁶ A girdle made by *Muñja* grass or of the *Darbhas* is taken and tied around the horse's neck, and verses from the *Taittirīya* (IV. 1.2.1) and the *Vājasaneyi* (XXII. 2) *Samhitās* are recited. Into its right ear *Vājasaneyi* XXII. 19 and *Taittirīya* VII. 1.12.1 are uttered. Then it is let off to roam over the countries.

Everyday during the year that the horse is absent, three *iṣṭi*-s are to be offered to the god Savitr.⁷ A Brāhmaṇa with a *Viṇā* chants three laudatory *gāthās* in honour of the king composed by himself.⁸ The features of the rite also include panegyrics of the sacrifice along with righteous kings of yore by a Kṣatriya lute-player who sings to the lute three songs composed by himself, 'such war he waged, such battle he won' etc.⁹ The Hotṛ narrates a 'circle of

1 A. B. Keith: *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda* (HOS), Part II, p. 345.

2 *Kāt.*, XX.1.4-6 ; *Lāt.*, IX.9.8.

3 *Āśv.*, X.6.2-5 ; *Kāt.*, XX.1.25.

4 *Āpas.*, XX.4.9-14.

5 *Āpas.*, XX.4.

6 *Kāt.*, XX.2.3-5.

7 *Āśv.*, X.6.8 ; *Lāt.*, IX.9.10 ; *Kāt.*, XX.2.6.

8 *Āpas.*, XX.6.5 ; *Kāt.*, XX.2.7.

9 *Āpas.*, XX.6.14.

tales,' *Pāriplava Ākhyāna* which lasts by series of ten days for the whole year.¹ Every day for a year four oblations are also to be made, called *Dhṛti*.²

On the horse's return to the sacrificial ground it is anointed with clarified butter by the queens. They also tie 101 golden beads on the body of the horse and give the remnants of the previous night's offerings to eat uttering a mantra from the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* (XXIII. 8). If the horse does not eat, the remnants are thrown into the water. Near the sacrificial altar a dialogue takes place between the Hotṛ and the Brahmā. The former asks by quoting the 9th and 11th verses of the 23rd Chapter of the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* and the latter answers by quoting the 10th and 12th verses of the same chapter. The horse is praised by uttering the *Ṛgveda* I. 163. Then a piece of cloth is spread over the grass. Thereon a mantle is spread and a gold piece placed on it. The horse is taken on the mantle and killed. The four wives of the king go round the dead body of the horse thrice from left to right and thrice from right to left uttering the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* XXIII. 19. They fan the dead horse with their garments and pretend a ceremonial mourning.³

Then commence the concluding rituals. The crowned queen lies down by the side of the dead horse. The Adhvaryu covers them with the mantle on which the horse lies, and the queen unites with it. The Hotṛ abuses the crowned queen in obscene language and she returns the obscene along with her attendant princesses. The Brahmā (second priest) and the favourite queen along with her attendants enter into a similar obscene abuse. The same holds good in the cases of two other queens and two other priests. All the priests and the queens with their attendants enter into the obscene abusive dialogue by quoting the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, XXIII. 22-31. Finally the queens take out the fat of the dead horse in place of the omentum taken from the goat in other sacrifices.⁴

The Earlier Sources

From the accounts given in the *Śrautasūtras*, at least two significant features of the *Āsvamedha* may be derived at a glance. (1) Women in general, and queens in particular, had a very important part to play in the function. It was compulsory for the queens to stay in the sacrificial hall. Their attendants represented women of different classes coming from different strata of society. On the horse's return to the sacrificial ground, the queens had to conduct everything. When the horse was killed they had to go round it and make ceremonial mourn-

1 *Sāṅkhyāyana*, XVI.2 ; *ĀŚV.* X.6.10-13.

2 *Kāt.*, XX.3.4.

3 *ĀŚV.*, X.8.1ff. ; *Āpas.*, XX.9.6-8 ; XX.14.2ff. ; XXII.17.13 ; *Lāt.*, IX.9.17 ; *Kāt.*, XX.4.16-20 ; XX.5.11-14 ; etc. Here we have omitted a few items like the erection of the *Yāpas*, slaughter of numerous animals, etc.

4 *Āpas.*, XXII. *Kāt.*, XX.6.25-18 ; XX.8.8 ; *ĀŚV.*, X.8.10-13 ; etc.

ings. Finally the cheif queen had to unite with the dead horse. They had to enter, along with their young female attendants, into an obscene abusive dialogue with the priests. (II) The *Mantras* recited in connexion with the *Aśvamedha* are all quoted from the *Ṛgveda*, the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* and the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*.

Verses from the *Ṛgveda* (I. 162; I. 163) were recited only in connexion with the killing of the horse. The *Ṛgveda* knows nothing of the ritual horse-sacrifice which is called *Aśvamedha Yajña* in later texts. The two *Ṛgvedic* hymns, referred to above, reflect an eating-ritual, a relic of the previous hunting age, surviving among the higher pastorals. They describe why and how a horse should be killed. The horse, to be killed, is identified in usual *Ṛgvedic* style with *Āditya*, *Trita* and *Yama* and a belief is expressed that the horse when eaten will go straight to heaven. It is anointed with *Svaru* and fire is carried round it thrice. Then the horse is cut to pieces on a cloth and its 34 or 26 ribs are separated. Its flesh is then cooked on a pot called *ukhā* and a lump is offered in fire. Then all begin to eat uttering *āghū*, *Yājyā* and *Vaṣaṭkāra*.

All other *Mantras* are taken from the *Taittirīya* and the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitās*, especially from the 22nd and 23rd chapters of the latter. In fact, verses from the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* dominate all the essential rituals of the *Aśvamedha*. In describing the ceremonials of the *Aśvamedha* the *Śrautasūtras* have followed the *Brāhmaṇa* literature closely. The *Brāhmaṇa*-s enumerate several ancient monarchs who performed the *Aśvamedha*. The sacrifice itself is identified with the kingdom.¹ Special importance is laid upon the personal rites of the king,² the initiation of the horse before its journey by the four principal priests,³ the practice of a *Brāhmaṇa* and a *Kṣatriya* lute player singing, morning and night, stanzas composed by themselves⁴ and the *Pāriplava Ākhyāna* related by the *Hotṛ*.⁵ The *Mantra*-s used in connexion of all these are quoted in the *Brāhmaṇa* literature from the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* XXII-XXIII.

The Original Form

The *Mantras* of the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* may therefore enable us to reconstruct the earliest and the original form of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. Even in the days of the *Brāhmaṇa* literature the original form of the *Aśvamedha* was distorted and its real purpose was changed into a merely royal custom. We have seen that at least two features of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, viz. the recital of the ancient legends and the queen's union with the horse, were introduced in the age of the

1 *Taittirīya*, III.3.9.

2 *Ibid.*, III.8.1.

3 *Śatapatha*, XIV.1.30-34.

4 *Taitt.*, III.9.14; *Sat.*, XIII.1.5.1ff.; 4.2.8ff.

5 *Sat.*, XIII.4.3.1ff.

Brāhmaṇa literature, had their survivals in the age of the Sūtras, but ultimately declined and sank into oblivion in subsequent ages. From the evidence furnished by the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* it appears that the union of the principal queen with the dead horse, the earliest elaborate description of which is found in the Brāhmaṇa literature, is a relic, or rather a transformation, of an older ritual in which A MAN, EVIDENTLY A PRIEST, HAD TO PLAY THE PART OF THE HORSE AND, AFTER HIS CEREMONIAL INTERCOURSE WITH THE QUEEN, HE WAS PUT TO DEATH.

Before coming to any hasty conclusion we should examine once again the data relating to the Aśvamedha furnished by the Brāhmaṇa literature. We are reproducing below the relevant portions of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* from Eggeling's translation :¹ "When the victims have been bound (to the stakes), the Adhvaryu takes the sprinkling water in order to sprinkle the horse. Whilst the Sacrificer holds on to him behind, he (in sprinkling the horse) runs rapidly through the formula used at the Soma-sacrifice and then commences the one for the Aśvamedha². A cloth, an upper cloth, and gold, this is what they spread out for the horse He leads up the four wives; he thereby has called upon them (to come) and, indeed, also renders them sacrificially pure... 'I will urge the seed-layer (the queen says), let us stretch our feet' (thus in order to secure union). 'In heaven (the Adhvaryu says) Ye envelop yourselves. 'May the vigorous male, the layer of seed, lay seed' (she says in order to secure union)³. The Udgātṛ says (concerning the king's favourite wife),

Raise her upwards.

Even as one taking a burden up a mountain.

And may the centre of her body prosper.

As one winnowing in cool breeze."⁴

The Priest's Union With The Queen

The above is what the Udgātṛ says, but what the Vāvātā 'the favourite queen') says in reply is mentioned only in the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* which also relates the dialogues of the three other priests and queens.⁵ These *Vājasaneyi*-verses have been described above as 'obscene abusive dialogues'. However, in connexion with the afore-mentioned speech of the Udgātṛ, quoted from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, we like to quote the original from the *Vājasaneyi*. My esteemed friend Sri Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, who is probably the first man

1 *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 316ff.

2 XIII.2.7.1ff.

3 XIII.2.8.1ff.

4 XIII.2.9.1ff.

5 XXIII.22-31.

to point out the ritual significance of these verses,¹ has made following free translation of the *Vājasaneyi*, XXIII.26.27. The Udgātṛ says :

Raise her up
As you carry a load on the mountains ;
then let her middle portion be expanded,
As (the grain) is dried in cold wind² ..

The Vāvātā says in reply :

Raise him up
As you carry a load on the mount.
Then let his middle region begin to function,
As (the grain) is dried in cold wind³

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* offers an artificial political explanation of the speech of the Udgātṛ, and we are quoting it from Eggeling's translation:⁴ "RAISE HER UPWARDS, the Aśvamedha, doubtless, is that glory, royal power : that glory, royal power, he thus raises for him (the sacrificer upward). EVEN AS ONE TAKING A BURDEN UP A MOUNTAIN, glory (pomp), doubtless is the burden of royal power : that glory, royal power, he thus fastens on him (as a burden); but he also endows him with that glory, royal power. AND MAY THE CENTRE OF HER BODY PROSPER, the centre of royal power, doubtless, is glory : glory (prosperity) food, he thus lays into the very centre of royal power (or the kingdom). AS ONE WINNOWING IN COOL BREEZE, the cool or royal power, doubtless, is security of possession : security of possession he procures for him."

But its real interpretation is found in Uvaṭa's and Mahīdhara's commentary on the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*. Here we are quoting Chattopadhyaya's translation of the relevant portions of Uvaṭa's commentary :

"The Udgātā unites with the Vāvātā. He asks some one, 'Raise this woman. Raise up this Vāvātā high'. How? As a load is carried up clasping it at the middle, fix her high up. As in the place, *i.e.* so raise her that the waist and the genital region of this Vāvātā may be extended. So hold her as it may

1 *Lokāyata*, Delhi 1959, pp. 318-19.

2 *Ūrdhvaṃenamucchrāpayā*

girau bhāraṃ haranniva /

Athāsyaī madhyamedhatām

śīte vāte punanniva //

3 *Ūrdhvaṃenamucchrāyatād*

girau bhāraṃ haranniva /

Athāsya madhyamejatu śīte vāte punanniva //

4 *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLIV, p. 324.

expand. As a peasant, drying the paddy (seeds) quickens the sowing by taking these and releasing. ”¹

“In reply, Vāvātā told the Udgātā : ‘Thou, too, should be made to act in a similar way.’ Here the female is playing the role of the male. As a load is carried uphill. Then let his middle region to function, *i.e.* be engaged in the reproductive function. Then press him down. As a peasant, drying the barley (seeds) in cool air quickens the sowing by taking these and releasing.”²

Sexual Union Identified with Sacrifice (Yajña)

If we try to reconstruct the ritual from the verses of the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, the following scene flashes before our eyes : The queen is raised up high by a few men, and so is the priest. And in that condition they make sexual intercourse, as the ritual demands. This ritual was later transformed into the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. But the question is : why sexual intercourse ?

In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* we come across numerous passages in which sexual union is identified with sacrifice.³ In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* we have the following passage : “One summons; that is a *himkāra*. He makes request; that is a *prastāva*. Together with the woman he lies down; that is an *udgītha*. He lies upon the woman; that is a *pratihāra*. He comes to an end; that is a *nidhāna*. He comes to a finish; that is a *nidhāna*. This is the *Vāmadevya Sāman* as oven upon copulation. He who knows thus this *Vāmadevya Sāman* as oven copulation, comes to copulation, procreates himself from every copulation, reaches a full length of life, lives long, becomes great in offspring and cattle, great in fame. One should never abstain from any woman. That is his rule.”⁴ In many scattered passages of the *Upaniṣads*, the woman is conceived as the sacrificial fire, her lower portion as the sacrificial wood, the genitalia as the flames, the penetration as the carbon, and the copulation as the spark.⁵ The *Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*⁶ says that the lower portion of a woman (*Upastha*) is to be conceived as the sacrificial altar (*vedī*), the public hairs (*lomāni*) as the sacrificial grass, the outerskin (*bahiṣcarman*) as the floor for the pressing of the

1 Udgātā vāvātāmabhimethayati. Ūrdhvamenām kaṃcitpuruṣamāha. Ūrdhvamenām vāvātām ucchṛtām kuru. Kathamiva. Girau bhāram madhye nigrhya haret evamenām madhye nigrhya ūrdhvamucchrāpaya yatha asyā vāvātāyā madhyam yonipradeśaḥ edhatām. ‘Edh vṛddhau’. Vṛddhiṃ yāyāt athainām grhñiyāḥ. Śīte vāte punanniva. Yathā kṛṣi-valaḥ dhānyam vāte śuddham kurvan grahaṇamokṣau jhaṭiti karoti.

2 Vāvātā pratyāhodgātārām. Bhavatopyetadevam. Ūrdhvamenām udgātāramucchrāyatām ucchrāpaya. Atha śtrīḥ puruṣāyate girau bhāram haranniva. Athaiva kriyamāṇa-syāsya medhyam prajananam ejatu calatu. Athainām nigrāhiṣva śīte vāte punanniva yayān.

3 I.9.2.7 ; I.9.2.11 ; VI.4.3.7 ; VI.6.2.8 ; VI.6.1.11 ; etc.

4 II.1.3 Hume’s tr.

5 Cf. *Chāndogya*, V.8.1-2 ; *Brhadāranyaka*, VI.2.13.

6 VI.4.3.

soma plants (*adhiṣavana*), and the two labia of the vulva (*muṣkau*) as the inmost fire. He who remembers this during copulation gets the reward of the *Vājapeya* sacrifice. The same text goes on so far as to state that, if a woman refuses sexual union, she must be forced to do so.¹

Vedic Sacrifices : Their Primitive and Sophisticated Forms

It is to be remembered in this connexion that there is a gulf of difference between the original and later forms of the sacrifices. Originally the sacrifices were simple rituals, magical rather than propitiatory. "The majority of the sacrificial ceremonies," says Winternitz, "as also the Yajus formula, do not aim at 'worshipping' the gods, but at influencing them, at compelling them to fulfil the wishes of the sacrificer."² Keith has also to admit in connexion with the sacrifices as described in the Brāhmaṇa literature, that "in the vast minority of these cases the nature of the ritual can be solved at once by the application of the concept of sympathetic magic, and this is one of the most obvious and undeniable facts in the whole of the Vedic sacrifice : it is from beginning to end full of magic elements."³ Similar views are held by Bergaigne, Geldner, Weber and others. Macdonell writes : "It is thus impossible to suppose that the sacrificial priests of the *Rgveda*, the composers of the old hymns, should have occupied an isolated position, untouched by magical practices derived from a much earlier age and afterwards continued throughout the priestly literature of later times. In fact, a close examination of the hymns of the *Rgveda* actually affords the evidence that even in them the belief in magical powers independently of the gods is to be found.... Every page of the *Brāhmaṇas* and of the *Sūtras* shows that the whole sacrificial ceremonial was overgrown with the notion that the sacrifice exercised power over god and, going beyond them, could directly influence things and events without their intervention. An incipient form of this notion already appears in the *Rgveda*, where exaggerated sacrificial powers are attributed to ancient priests."⁴

"Primitive magic is founded on the notion that, by creating the illusion that you control reality, you can actually control it. It is an illusory technique complementary to the deficiencies of the real technique. Owing to the low level of production the subject is as yet imperfectly conscious of the objectivity of the external world, and consequently the performance of the preliminary rite appears as the cause of the success in the real task; but at the same time, as a guide to action magic embodies the valuable truth that the

1 VI.4.6-7.

2 *History of Indian Literature*, Calcutta 1922, Vol. I, p. 184.

3 *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, pp. 258-9.

4 *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VIII, p. 312.

external world can in fact be changed by man's subjective attitude towards it." ¹ Referring to the potato-dance of the Maori, George Thomson observes: It is not possible that the potatoes will be influenced by the dance, but the dance may influence the dancers themselves. At least they believe that their dance has something to do with the growth of the plants, and when they tend the plants with this belief, their capacity and self-reliance obviously increase. ² The means of production was meagre and insufficient in the earliest stages of human history. The impetus derived from collective magical performances was thus valuable. It was also a means of production probably the most valuable instrument.

The original purpose of magic was thus economic. It was directly connected with food-gathering or food-production, though so great a scholar like Sir Frazer did not care to understand this. The original purpose of the Vedic sacrifices was also the same. Reference has already been made to the *Satra-yāga* which may be regarded as one of the earliest forms of the Vedic sacrifices. One of the significant rituals of this *Satra* was called *Mahāvratā*. ³ Since *Mahāvratā* means *anna* or food, ⁴ it may be assumed that the purpose of the *Satrayāga* was originally connected with food. Another ancient Vedic sacrifice was called *Vājapeya* ⁵ which means 'food and drink'. Though in subsequent ages its purpose was changed, it was originally in agricultural ritual, as Keith has pointed out rightly. ⁶ So it appears the original purpose of sacrifice does not differ fundamentally from that of magic. Though with the change in the technique of production the pre-class tribal societies disintegrate, magical practices do not die entirely. But their purpose begins to change. Thus in class societies primitive magic transforms itself into the esoteric art of the ruling or privileged class. It survives as a part of religion in its changed and distorted form. ⁷

Why Sexual Union ?

In a preceding section we have quoted a passage from the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* which states that by copulation, according to the rules prescribed, one gets the results of the *Vājapeya* sacrifice. Since *Vājapeya* means 'food and drink,' there is no difficulty in thinking that by sexual union, as the said *Upaniṣad* suggests, one is entitled to get food and drink. In other words sexual union is regarded as a means, or rather a technique of food-production. Reference must be made in this connexion to the passages of the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* describing

1 G. Thomson: *Aeschylus and Athens*, London 1914, pp. 13-14.

2 *Studies in Ancient Greek Society*, Vol. I, London 1949, p. 440.

3 A. B. Keith: *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, HOS 1914, p. CXXX.

4 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV.6.4.2 ; *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa*, IV.10.2 ; cf. Kane: *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, p. 1243.

5 For details see *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLI, pp. XXIIIff.

6 *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, pp. CX-CXI.

7 G. Thomson: *Religion*, London 1950, p. 9.

the priest's ritual intercourse with the queen which we have already quoted along with the commentary of Uvaṭa. The ritual intercourse between the priest and the queen is brought there significantly in relation to the act of sowing in the field: *yathā kṛṣivalaḥ dhānyaṃ yāte śuddhaṃ kurvan grahaṇāamokṣau jhaṭiti karoti*.

The magical or religious rites intended to secure the fertility of the fields were thought as belonging to the special competence of the women who were the first cultivators of the soil and whose power of child-bearing was believed to have a sympathetic effect on the growth of the plant.¹ The association of sexual union with agriculture is thus universal. The aborigines of Central America employ some persons for the purpose of sexual union on the eve of sowing. The Musquakis select a man and a woman to make sexual inter-course in the field. Similar customs are in vogue in Peru, Chili, New Mexico, Nikaragua and other Latin American countries. Referring to these customs Briffault observes that "the belief that sexual act assists the promotion of abundant harvest of the earth's fruits and is indeed indispensable to secure it, is universal in the lower phases of culture."² Frazer also cites similar examples from Central America, Java, New Guinea and many other countries.³ Among the Hos of Chotanagpur during the harvest festival, complete sexual liberty is given to the girls. The Kotas of the Nilgiri hills have a similar festival of sexual freedom. In Orissa, among the Bhuiyas, sexual freedom is given to the girls during their harvest festival called *Māgh Porāi*. In Assam, women, are allowed during spring festivals complete freedom 'without any stain, blemish or loss of reputation.' The same holds good in the harvest festivals of many other tribes of India.⁴

"The relation of the queen and the horse, according to Oldenberg, is clearly a fertility spell, while the obscene language, he thinks, might be explained in the same sense."⁵ We have seen that the 'obscene dialogue' used in the Aśvamedha sacrifice during the queen's union with the horse is found in an earlier text called the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* and that from the said 'obscene dialogue' is found the relic of an older ritual in which the queen, instead of lying with the horse, had to make sexual intercourse with the priest. We have also suggested that the AŚVAMEDHA WAS THE GRADUAL TRANSFORMATION OF THIS OLDER RITUAL IN WHICH, IN ALL PROBABILITY, THE PRIEST HAD TO DIE AFTER HIS CEREMONIAL INTERCOURSE WITH THE QUEEN. Eggeling held that the Puruṣamedha or human

1 R. Briffault, *The Mothers*, London 1952, Vol. II, pp. 251-52.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 207ff.

3 *The Golden Bough*, pp. 135-36.

4 For these and other examples see my *Indian Puberty Rites*, pp. 45ff.

5 Keith: *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, p. 345.

sacrifice developed out of the *Aśvamedha*,¹ but the fact was reverse : the horse became a substitute for the man.

But still we are to answer a number of questions : If it was originally a fertility magic, why was the queen specially selected for sexual union with the priest? What are the grounds for supposing that the priest was killed after his sexual intercourse with the queen? Why and how a collective agricultural ritual became in later times the affair of a king and began to be looked upon as the symbol of royal greatness?

From Tribe to State

The pre-class tribal societies disintegrate owing to the revolutionary changes in the technique of production. In the Higher Pastoral grade when stock-raising was supplemented by agriculture or in the Higher Agricultural grade when agriculture was supplemented by stock-raising, there was a 'revolutionary' change in the field of production, since *surplus* began to be produced. This change in the mode of production also changed the existing social values and relations. Conflict arose regarding the ownership of the *surplus* and thus developed class division and the growth of a privileged class. In order to look after the interest of the privileged class, laws were enacted, police or military system was introduced. In other words, characteristics of modern state spread their ugly appearances over the pre-class undifferentiated tribal societies.

The process of the rise of kingship in pastoral societies can be traced even in the *Rgveda*. In every chapter of the *Rgveda*, desire for cattle is reflected² and there is every ground to believe that the *Rgvedic* people did not depend on agriculture. They despised it as the occupation of the conquered people. References to agriculture are very few in the *Rgveda*.³ Out of its 10,462 verses, only 25 refer to agriculture, most of which belong to the later portions of the text. Cattle-lifting was a usual practice of the *Rgvedic* tribes. The term *gaviṣṭi* used for cattle-lifting was also a term for war. Stories of cattle-lifting are found in the *Rgveda*; the *Paṇis* were renowned cattle-lifters.⁴ Even in the days of the *Mahābhārata*, cattle-lifting was regarded as token of heroism. The great Kurus did not feel ashamed to rob the cattle of king Virāṭa. In the *Rgveda*, intertribal warfare, a characteristic of pastoral society, is frequently mentioned.

Still in the *Rgveda*, we come across passages bearing relics of their pre-class or undifferentiated state. Originally there was a type of communism among the *Rgvedic* gods,⁵ said Max-Müller, and he coined a term *Henotheism* to denote

1 *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLIV, p. XXXIII.

2 Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 64.

3 E. W. Hopkins in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XVII, pp. 84-85.

4 *RV.*, X.108.

5 Cf. *RV.*, I.25.6 ; I.111.2 ; IV.59.2 ; V.87.4 ; VII.73.2 ; etc.

that state, but subsequently with the growth of class division among human beings its reflection was seen even in the Vedic pantheon. There are so many passages in the *Rgveda* which refer to wealth and cattle as common property and to their equal distribution.¹ In the concluding verses of the *Rgveda* unity of mind and determination is desired and in that connexion the following statement is significant : *deva bhāgaḥ yathāpūrve saṁjānānā upāsate*.² This implies that there was once a time when the gods used to sit together and take their respective shares collectively and consciously, and in all probability refers to a lost age when men used to do the same, the age when society was undifferentiated.

Growth of Non-violent Religions

The general character of the *Rgveda*, therefore, reflects a society based upon class division, though here and there in the same text are found relics of an undifferentiated society through which the Vedic tribes passed their pre-Pastoral hunting stage. The *Rgvedic* religion was mainly connected with the sky, in which astral and nature myths predominated. The deities of the *Rgveda* were in most of the cases personifications of different natural phenomena under which the herders had to live. This was a new religion gradually adopted by hunting tribes coming into pastoral stage. But they could not give up the religious practices of their pre-pastoral life. Deities of the pastoral religion were propitiated with pre-pastoral rituals. Of these rituals, animal sacrifice was obviously the most important. With the growth of organised priesthood in the post-*Rgvedic* age, the sacrifice of cattle became a senseless source of the destruction of cattle wealth.

In higher pastoral societies, cattle are used principally for milk and wealth, not for meat, and therefore the flesh of domestic animals—especially female is commonly tabooed.³ This alone explains the taboo of beef-eating which is one of the main characteristics of present day Hindu society. The higher pastoral attitude towards the pre-pastoral tribal habit of meat-eating is reflected in a verse of the *Rgveda* which denounces the Kīkatas, a tribe of Magadha, for their misuse of cattle.⁴ Higher pastorals, and also higher agriculturists, led to the production of surplus and prepared the ground for the rise of urban settlements. Trade was facilitated in which cattle served as the best means of exchange. The Brahmanical religious practices did not suit this new condition. The Brahmanical attitude towards trade was not helpful.

The Buddhist and Jain emphasis on non-injury to animals thus assumes a new significance in this context. The *Suttanipāta* states that cattle should be

1 I.24.3; I.27.6; I.102.4; I.141.1; II.14.12; III.2.12; VI.66.1; VII.52.21; VII.76.45 ; etc.

2 X.191.2.

3 W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, London 1927, p. 406.

4 III.53.14.

protected because they are the givers of food, beauty and happiness.¹ This was certainly a teaching based upon the growing demands of the traders. In fact, this was the crying demand of the age; even the Kṣatriya rulers desired to depend more upon the wealth of the traders than upon the magical powers of the Brāhmaṇa priests. The Brahmayidyā (knowledge of *Brahman*, the absolute, the universal soul) of the Upaniṣads was sponsored not by the Brāhmaṇas but by the Kṣatriyas who held that the Brahmanical sacrificial religion was useless.² In fact, Buddhism was not a sudden rise. It gave moral support to all the demands of the trading class. Money-lending, usury and slave-keeping are not condemned in the Buddhist texts.³

Kingship In Agricultural Societies

The Ṛgvedic tribes were pastoral and it was quite possible that they learnt agriculture from their neighbouring tribes. Only a few verses dealing with agriculture are found in the *Ṛgveda* and the majority of them are found in the first and tenth maṇḍalas. This implies that the Vedic tribes were acquainted with agriculture when the later portions of the *Ṛgveda* were being composed. In the later Saṃhitās as well as in the Brāhmaṇa literature we come across numerous agricultural rituals. These were evidently adopted from the agricultural people who lived side by side with the pastorals. One should not fail to recall in this connexion that the economic basis of the pre-Vedic Harappa culture was agriculture.⁴

Kingship in agricultural societies did not develop in the same way as it did in the pastoral societies. "The development of agricultural civilization without any intervening pastoral phase enhanced the matriarchal position of women not only as owners and heiresses of the arable land, but also through their traditional association with magic or religion."⁵ There is every reason to believe that the earliest magicians were women and that it was their duty to take an important part in the performance of the rites designed to promote the success of agriculture. In early agricultural societies, kingship and priesthood were not different institutions, since the function of the ruler was primarily to influence the course of nature with spells and rites so that the land might yield a good harvest. Here the concept of ruling originated from the magical functions which archaic queens or priestesses were expected to discharge on behalf of the community. In societies, where father-right elements were not aggressively imposed upon, we have

1 VV.296-97, 309.

2 See my paper 'On the Kṣatriya Authorship of Brahmayidyā' in *The Modern Review*, Feb. 1961.

3 R. S. Sharma in *Das Kapital Centenary Volume*, New Delhi, 1968, p. 63.

4 V. Gordon Childe: *What Happened in History*, London 1957, p. 125; *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, London 1954, p. 176.

5 Briffault, *The Mothers*, Vol. II, p. 251.

the superiority of the priestess over the priest, or the queen over the king, based on a corresponding superiority of the goddess or divine ancestress over the god or the divine ancestor. Accordingly not only the royal office was filled by a woman, but the queen was in every stage of development of that office considerably more than merely the wife of the king.

The Queen's Sexual Cycle

The combination of the priestly with kingly office in the 'divine kingships', widely reported from many parts of the world, led Frazer to suggest that the institution of divine kingship was derived from the belief that the well-being of the social and natural orders depended upon the vitality of the priest-king, who must therefore be slain when his powers began to fail him and be replaced by a vigorous successor. The priest's or king's tenure of office was limited in early times to a prescribed period at the end of which he was put to death. In a series of ritual acts he had to make intercourse with the priestess or goddess-queen, mark out the soil for distribution among the clans, turn the first sod with his sacred hoe, cut the first ear of corn with his sacred sickle and, finally, at harvest he was put to death, to be replaced at the new year by a successor of unimpaired vitality.¹

The killing of the king or the priest was thus originally nothing but an incident in the women's ritual cycle. Thomson writes : "It was necessary for the queens to conceive in order that the earth might bear fruit. Their sexual life was a cycle of mimetic magic. Accordingly, the procreation was imagined as a god in the first instance, no doubt, the god of the moon, which in primitive thought is the cause of pregnancy in woman and fertility in the soil and after serving their purpose the men in whom this god was embodied were put to death. They had to die in order that the crops might live. This ritual, which inspired the myths of Ishtar and Tammuj, Isis and Osiris, Venus and Adonis, is the precursor of the Greek sacred marriage, in which it was adopted to the conditions of monogamy."²

The Dying God

Now, we are in a position to answer why the queen was especially selected for sexual union with the priest and why the latter was killed after the performance of such a ritual.

Of course, it will be foolish to expect that, in the historical period when the class division became fully established and a feudal system developed out of it, kings or priests would dedicate their physical bodies in this way. Beasts were supplied as substitutes for men in such rituals, as we find even now-a-days arti-

1 See Frazer's *Dying God* (G. B., III) ; cf. S. H. Hooke, *Myth and Ritual*, Oxford 1933.

2 *Studies in Ancient Greek Society*, Vol. I, pp. 158-59.

cles like the pumpkin becoming substitutes for beasts in non-violent religions. However, in the matriarchal zones of India, as is reasonable to expect on the basis of what we have stated above, we come across the existence of certain customs reflecting the rituals of the 'dying god'. Duarte Barbosa who travelled in the Malabar region in the sixteenth century stated that in some places of that region the king could hold his office only for twelve years and then he was put to death.¹ The kings of Calicut were also god-kings who had to commit ceremonial suicide after twelve years of kingship. Towards the end of the seventeenth century this custom was slightly changed. Twelve years over, there was a big ceremony at the end of which the king was killed. He was kept surrounded by his bodyguards. He who could break the barricade of the bodyguards and kill the king was assigned to a fresh liege of kingship for twelve years.² Gopal Panikkar informs us that not only the king but the high officials as well had to undergo the same sort of ceremonial slaughter. This held good also in the case of the village headmen. For five years they had absolute power, but after that they were put to death.³

But such examples are very few in the historical period, and so we should return once again to the mythical traditions. D. D. Kosambi after a penetrating analysis of the Urvaśī-Purūravas myths came to the conclusion that Purūravas was killed at a sacrifice after having begotten a son and successor upon Urvaśī; he pleaded in vain against her determination.⁴ Kosambi's interpretation of *RV*, X.95 clearly substantiates the dying-god theme. Urvaśī is addressed by Purūravas as *ghore*, which means the grim or dreaded one, hardly a lover's term. Urvaśī apparently tells her lover to get back to his home, *punar astam parehi*. The term *punar astam ehi* is really connected with death, as we find it in the funerary hymn (X.14.18) where the dead man is sent back to the ancestors and Yama with these words. Purūravas himself says that he is to die, in X.95.14 where going to a far distance, lying down in the lap of Nirṛti and so on are familiar idiomatic circumlocutions for death. Urvaśī seems to console him in the next verse by assuring him that he is not to die. The assurance 'thou dost not die' is given in almost identical terms to the horse going to be sacrificed in *RV*. I.162.21: *na vai u etan mriyase*. Purūravas is, however, assured that he is not to die a common profane death, not to be eaten by wolves like any untended corpse; he is to be sacrificed to or by the gods; that is his destiny; so he is called *mṛtyubandhuḥ* (X. 95.18), not an ordinary mortal, but one literary bound to death at the sacrifice. This explains why Urvaśī has the heart of hyena (X.95.15),

1 *Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*, Tr. H. E. Stanley, London 1866, pp. 172ff.

2 Pinkertons: *Voyages and Travels*, Vol. VII, p. 374.

3 *Malabar and Its Folk*, Madras 1909, pp. 120ff.

4 *Myth and Reality*, Bombay 1962, pp. 42ff.

why Purūravas's son can never know his father, but must console himself with thinking of his mother's sacred office (X.95.12-13). In the concluding verse of the dialogue Urvaśi says: 'Thus speak these gods to thee, son of Ilā: inasmuch as thou art now doomed to death, thy offspring will offer sacrifice to the gods, but thou thyself rejoice in heaven.'¹

Clearly Purūravas was killed at a sacrifice, also according to the tradition preserved in the Brāhmaṇa literature. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* account² which is a commentary on the R̥gvedic hymn, though not explaining the most obscure feature of the latter, states that Purūravas became a *gandharva* after making himself the upper and lower *arani*-s of Aśvattha wood from which fire results. Elsewhere in the same text,³ the working of two portions of fire-drill or fire-plough is conceived in terms of human procreation symbolised by Urvaśi and Purūravas. The association of the working of fire-drill with sexual intercourse is met with in the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*⁴ and in other places. Moreover, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* states that Purūravas became a *gandharva* after transforming himself into the *arani*-s. He could become that only after his physical death. Though the *gandharvas* possess a separate heaven of their own, a human being can attain it only as a spirit. This is also supported by the evidence furnished in the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*.⁵

In the pages of the Brāhmaṇa literature we come across passages which indicate that Prajāpati was killed at a sacrifice after a ceremonial sexual union. The name Prajāpati is significant because it means 'lord of men or subjects'. The legend which we find in the Brāhmaṇa literature is already sophisticated. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,⁶ the legend is stated thus: "Prajāpati conceived a passion for his own daughter—either the Sky or the Dawn. 'May I pair with her,' thus (thinking) he united with her. This assuredly was a sin in the eyes of the gods. 'He who acts thus towards his own daughter, our sister, (commits a sin),' they thought. The gods then said to this god who rules over the beasts (Rudra): 'This one surely commits a sin who, acts thus towards his own daughter, our sister. Pierce Him'. Rudra, taking him, pierced him. Half of the seed fell to the ground. And thus it came to pass. Accordingly it has been said by the Ṛṣi with reference to that (incident): 'When the father embraced his daughter, uniting with her, he dropped his seed on the earth'. This (became) the chant (*uktha*) called *Agnimaruta*; in (connexion with) this it is set forth how the gods caused the seed to spring. When the anger of the gods subsided, they

1 *Ibid.*, p. 56.

2 XI.5.1ff.

3 III.4.1.22.

4 VI.4.22.

5 III.4; III.7.

6 I.7.4.1-8; cf. II.1.2.9 (Madh); II.7.2.1-8; I.1.2.5-6 (kāh.).

cured Prajāpati and cut out that dart of this (Rudra); for Prajāpati doubtless is this sacrifice." ¹ According to the version of the legend given in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, ² Prajāpati transformed himself into a roe-buck (ṛṣya) and approached his own daughter who assumed the shape of a doe (rohit). Out of their most fearful forms the gods then fashioned a divine being called Bhūtavat (i.e. Rudra) in order to punish Prajāpati for his incestuous deed. The latter was accordingly pierced by Bhūtavat's arrow and bounded up to the sky, where he became the constellation called Mrga, while his daughter became the star Rohiṇī. The legend is found also in the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*. ³

From the two versions of the same legend, we find that the woman with whom Prajāpati had sexual union was his own daughter. Then he was simply killed and just as Purūravas became a *gandharva* only after his physical death so also Prajāpati became the star *mrga*. The whole thing is regarded as an affair of incest of the father with his daughter and the killing of Prajāpati was interpreted as an act of punishment. Up to this the traditional interpretation may be regarded as consistent, and there is no doubt that this interpretation gave rise to the Puranic legend of Brahmā and Śatarūpā. But the subsequent stages of the legend show that this traditional interpretation is over-simplified. It is stated that, disgusted at the vile act of Prajāpati, Rudra discharged an arrow at him, whereupon Prajāpati was pierced and his semen (*retas*) fell upon the ground. Why is there reference to the semen of Prajāpati? Then it is stated that the semen was seen by Bhaga and at once he became blind. Why was it seen by him and why did he become blind? Again it is stated that the semen was tasted by Pūṣan as a result of which he lost his teeth. Why did such things happen? Had it been a simple case of incest the matter could be ended with the punishment of Prajāpati. Why then Bhaga and Pūṣan had to suffer? According to the *Āitareya* version of the story, the daughter, before her union with Prajāpati, assumed the shape of a *rohita* (*rohitaṃ bhūtam*). The word *rohita* has been translated as *doe*, but according to Sāyana it means *menstruous* : *rohitaṃ lohitaḥ bhūtā prāptā ṛtumatī jātetyarthaḥ*. This reminds us of the menstrual rites, associated with vegetation and fertility, current in different parts of the world. ⁴ So it appears that the legend with which we are dealing refers to a very old ritual, the significance of which could not be understood even in the age of the *Brāhmaṇa* literature.

The same legend is found in the *Rgveda* ⁵ in which Rudra is described as playing the part of Prajāpati. There it is stated that Rudra had sexual union

1 *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XII, pp. 208-10.

2 III.33-34.

3 VIII.2.10.

4 See my *Indian Puberty Rites*, Calcutta 1968, pp. 5ff.

5 X.61.5-7,

with his daughter Uṣā, but this was not regarded as incestuous. "The semen, capable of producing heroic children, increased and was about to overflow. He, then, for the welfare of beings, discharged that. He infused that semen into the body of his own beautiful daughter. When the father conceived such passion for his own youthful daughter, he united with her and she extracted much semen from the copulation. That semen was infused into a lofty frame, the container of good deeds. When the father made sexual intercourse with his own daughter, *he did that with the earth* and infused semen therein. The intelligent gods made the Brahman out of it and created Vāstoṣpati, the protector of rites." So we find that the attitude of the *Rgveda* towards the father's union with his daughter is basically different from that of the Brāhmaṇa literature.

The story of Prajāpati's union with his own daughter has come down to us in an extremely mutilated form and in the Brāhmaṇa literature it has been much fabricated with theological speculations and sacrificial technicalities. However, in spite of everything, the fact remains that Prajāpati was killed after a ritual intercourse with a woman, supposed to be his own daughter. In the same way, Purūravas was also sacrificed after his union with Urvaśī. Reference may be made in this connexion to the Puranic episode of king Veṇa who was slain on account of his wickedness according to the traditional interpretations.¹ But the most interesting feature of the Veṇa episode is that when his body was given to the sacrifice, he was reborn in a new form. The rise of Pṛithu from the body of Veṇa obviously implies that the god-king was put to death to be replaced by a successor of unimpaired vitality. Interestingly enough, Veṇa is described as a god in the *Rgveda*² who was sacrificed and thus became a *gandharva* after his ritual intercourse with a celestial nymph.

Epilogue : Birth of Literature

Referring to the Puruṣamedha sacrifice,³ Eggeling remarks : "In fact it is nothing more than what Śāṅkhāyana appears to claim for it, *viz.*, an adaptation, and that a comparative modern adaptation of the existing Aśvamedha ritual."⁴ Though the form in which it is reproduced in the Brāhmaṇa and the Sūtra literature does not appear to be so archaic, yet there are grounds to believe that the Aśvamedha was originally the Puruṣamedha in which a man was sacrificed instead of the horse after his ceremonial intercourse with the queen. The very fact that the whole ritual of Aśvamedha was included in the Puruṣamedha⁵ proves that both were identical in the beginning but later branched off in two

1 Cf. *Mbh.*, Śānti, LIX.

2 X.123.4-7.

3 *Śat. Br.* XIII.6.1-2 ; *Śāṅ. S. S.*, XVI.10.1-21 ; *Vaitāna Sūtras*, XXXVII.10-26.

4 *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLIV, p. XLIV.

5 *Śāṅ. S. S.*, XVI.10.2-3.

directions, the former being taken by the royal class. Puruṣamedha could be performed by any wealthy individual. The list of different classes of human victims to be offered in the Puruṣamedha sacrifices, as we find in the Brāhmaṇa literature, proves that such victims could be bought or managed from the conquered and exploited peoples.

A few other points should be explained here in connexion with the Aśvamedha sacrifice. In the earlier stages of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, a Brāhmaṇa and a Kṣatriya lute-player used to sing stanzas composed by themselves in honour of the king and the Hotṛ used to relate a 'revolving legend' in a ten days' cycle all the year round. Winternitz points out that germs of later literature can be traced to these recitals.¹ But why such things formed part of the ritual? An oversimplified answer may be given at once. These were recited or sung at the honour of the king for his performance of such a big affair as the Aśvamedha. But things are not really what they seem.

I have a book in Bengali entitled *Viśvasāhityer Ādiparva* (Early History of World Literature). The most interesting fact that had come to my notice while I was writing the book was that all the ancient great literary works were tragedies and that they were all composed in verses with the purpose of singing or reciting before an audience. The relation was not between individual writer and reader, but a collective relation in which the speaker and the audience used to feel the same emotion. The same tradition is not completely lost even today, at least in places where literature has not become entirely sophisticated, individualised and urbanised. Poetry, music and dance were originally undifferentiated, and at that time it was not an art of leisure; it was a guide to action 'designed to effect some change in the external world to impose illusion on reality.'² "The melodies of the *Sāmaveda* were looked upon as possessing magic power even as late as in the Brahmanical times. There is a ritual book belonging to the *Sāmaveda* called *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa* the second part of which is a regular handbook of magic, in which the employment of various *Sāmans* for various purposes is taught."³ Singing is still a technique of work, as we find in reaping the harvest, in sailing the boats, in patting the roofs, in sinking the tubewells, in carrying the logs. Dance was the first to secede from the undifferentiated trio, and the next to do the same was melody.

The earliest form of literature was thus quite different in purpose. It was a guide to action. The Aśvamedha, as we have seen, was a composite ritual connected with the increase of production. The undifferentiated poetry, music and dance was thus an essential feature of the original ritual, though in sub-

1 *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 272.

2 See Thomson: *Studies in Ancient Greek Society*, Vol. I, pp. 439-40.

3 Winternitz, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 167.

sequent ages its purpose was changed. Besides the stanzas of the lute-players or the legends of the Hotṛ, there were other literary items connected with the Aśvamedha. Reference should be made in this connexion to the dialogues between the priests and the queens. These were the earliest form of drama, the dialogues being designed to imitate certain original performances. Already in the *Ṛgveda* we have references to the dialogue-hymns which were clearly meant to be acted. Mention should be made in this connexion of *RV*, I. 165 (Agastya, Indra, and the Maruts), I. 179 (sexual dialogue of Agastya and Lopāmudrā), III.33 (Viśvāmitra and the rivers), IV.18 (Indra, Aditi and Vāmadeva), X. 10 (Yama and Yamī), X. 14 (funeral rite), X.95 (Urvaśī and Purūravas), X. 108 (Saramā and the Paṇis) and X. 135 (Yama and Kumāra, the nucleus of the later legend of Yama and Naciketas). Most of the *Ṛgvedic* hymns are meant to be chanted by one or more priests, but these dialogue hymns are of more importance since they are meant to be performed or mimed before a group of persons assembled for a certain purpose. The dialogue of the priest and the queen, as is found in the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* in connexion with the Aśvamedha, is likewise meant to be part of a ritual act performed by two characters representing the principles and is thus a substitution for an earlier, actual sacrifice of the male.

CAUSE AND CAUSAL AGENT: THE PĀNINIAN VIEW *

By

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§ 1. Pāṇini's definitions of *kāraḥ* in sūtras 1.4.24-55 and the rules by which are introduced affixes for the expression of these *kāraḥ* serve to link semantics with grammatical expressions.¹ The relation between two sentences (or more) is shown by deriving them from the same set of *kāraḥ* connected to each other through the intermediary of a verbal or verbals. Examples of such derivations are given in my review of V. N. Misra, *The Descriptive Technique of Pāṇini* (*Indo-Iranian Journal* 12.226-31 [1970]).

That something functions as a certain *kāraḥ* means, in Pāṇinian terms, that it is considered as an instrument (*sādhana*) for accomplishing an action (*kriyā*), which is thus said to be *sādhya* 'perficienda'.² Of course, 'any nominal can denote something functioning as different *kāraḥ* at different times' (Cardona, 1967b : 211). Moreover, there are instances where what has a certain logical function (e.g. locus) must be said to function syntactically as some other *kāraḥ* (e.g. object); cf. Cardona, loc. cit. Similarly, consider the situation where a cooking utensil (*sthālī*) serves as the locus of cooking, the

* This paper was written upon being requested by the editor of the *Journal Termonologia Indica* to submit an article for publication therein. The manuscript was submitted on 30 August 1968. Since serious delays have ensued, I have taken the liberty of having it published instead in the JOIB. I wish to thank the editor for his kindness. This is a slightly modified version of the original paper, including minor corrections and also references to the article of Kiparsky and Staal (1969). I have not included in the bibliography articles of mine which were in press when the original paper was written but I have supplied page references which became available subsequently.

1 See Cardona, 1967b. In the present paper many details are omitted in order to keep within reasonable bounds of length. These details are treated fully in my *Studies in Indian Grammarians, II: Syntactic Rules*, which is now in preparation. I also leave out of consideration rules 4. 3. 81 ff. May I take this opportunity to make some corrections which appear in the printed version of Cardona 1967b (corrections appear after colons): p. 211, line 8: *definenda*: *definitia*; p. 211, line 10 from bottom: *śeṣe śaṣṭhi*: *śaṣṭhi śeṣe*; p. 212, line 12 from bottom: *dakṣiṇena grāmam* 'north of the village': *uttareṇa/dakṣiṇena grāmam* 'north/south of the village'.

2 All verb roots (*dhātu*) denote activities (*kriyā*). Patañjali is careful to point out that an action is not susceptible of being directly pointed out, like an object (*aśakyā kriyā pīṇḍi-bhūta nidaśayitum*); it is knowable by inference (*sāśv auumānagamyā*). See *Bh.* ad 1. 3. 1 (I. 254. 13-19), 3. 2. 115 (II. 120. 11-12). Further, an activity, *quā* the meaning of a given root, is a composite of activities (*samūharūpā kriyā*); see *VP* 3. 8, 4, *Pr.* on *Bh.* ad 3. 2. 115 (III. 272).

agent of which is a person named *Devadatta* and the object of which is rice gruel (*odana*). For the purpose of deriving Sanskrit sentences by Pāṇini's rules, *sthālī* is qualified as an *adhikaraṇa*, *devadatta* as *karṭṛ* and *odana* as *karman*. The pertinent rules are: 1.4.45 : *ādhārō' dhikaraṇam* 'A locus (is termed, that is, assigned to the syntactic category) *adhikaraṇa* ;' 1.4.54 : *svatantraḥ kartā* 'The independent (*kāraka*, relative to others, is termed) *karṭṛ* ;' 1.4.49 : *kartur īpsi'atamaṃ karma* 'That which the *karṭṛ* most seeks to reach (through his action is termed) *karman*.' One of the possible sentences expressing the relations between each of the *kārakas* and the action of cooking is: *Devadattaḥ sthālyām odanaṃ pacati* 'D. is cooking gruel in a pot.' In this sentence, the ending *ti* (*tip*, replacement of the L-member *laṭ*, with application of person agreement rules and number rules) expresses *karṭṛ*, *am* (the first member of the second [*dvitīyā*] triplet of nominal endings) expresses *karman*, and *ām* (replacement of *i*, the first member of the seventh [*saptamī*] triplet of nominal endings) expresses *adhikaraṇa*. The rules for introducing these affixes are : 3.4.69 : *laḥ karmaṇi ca* (*kartari* 67) *bhāve cākarmakebhyah* 'L-members (to be replaced by *tip* etc. occur) when the following are to be expressed : *karman* also (as well as *karṭṛ*), and, after intransitives, the base meaning of the root ;' 2.3.2 : *karmaṇi dvitīyā* 'The second triplet occurs when a *karman* is to be expressed ;' 2.3.36 : *saptamy adhikaraṇe ca* 'The seventh when an *adhikaraṇa*...' These endings are markers of syntactic categories (*karṭṛ*, *karman*, *adhikaraṇa*) to which *devadatta*, *odana*, and *sthālī* belong for the purpose of deriving this sentence.^{2a}

Now, a *sthālī*, though normally a locus (*ādhāra*) of cooking, may also be viewed as the agent of this action, so that a sentence *sthālī pacati* 'The pot is cooking' is derived.³ This example illustrates the fact that expressions such as

2a It is not out of place to note here that endings such as *ti* and *am* are introduced to denote a *kāraka* without lexical specification. For example, in the sentence *grāmaṃ gacchati caitraḥ*. 'Caitra is going to the village', the verb ending *ti* denotes an unspecified agent, the noun ending *am* an unspecified object. The particular items *caitra* and *grāma* specify that the agent and object in question are the man named *Caitra* and *grāma* specify that the agent and object in question are the man named *Caitra* and a village. Thus, a paraphrase of this sentence, bringing out what a Pāṇiniya considers to be the verbal cognition (*śābdabodha*), conveyed is (*Paramalaghumañjūṣā* [Chowkhamba ed.] p. 76, cf. *Laghumañjūṣā* p. 831): *ekatvāvacchinna-caitrābhinna-karṭṛko vartamānakālīko grāmābhinna-karma-niṣṭho yas samyogaḥ tad-anukūlo vyāpārah*; the action (*vyāpāra*) is qualified as having an agent (*-karṭṛka*) identical with the man named *Caitra* (*caitrābhinna*), taking place at present (*vartamānakālīka*), and leading to a conjunction (*samyoga*, the result [*phala*] of the activity) located in an object (*karmanīṣṭha*) which is identical with a village (*grāmābhinna*). This reflects the view that a *kāraka* is a thing. There is another view, that a *kāraka* is a capacity (*śakti*, *sāmarthya*) of things relative to actions; this need not detain us here.

3 Bh. ad 1.4.23 (1.324.14-25) : *siddhaḥ karaṇādhikaraṇayoh karṭṛbhāvah|kutaḥ|pratik-āraḥ kriyābhedaḥ pacādinām|...sambhavanakriyām dharaṇakriyām ca kurvati sthālī pacatīty*

sthālyām pacati, sthālī pacati are dependent on the speaker's intention of expression (*vivakṣā*); that anything is said to function as one *sādhana* or another is dependent on this *vivakṣā*.⁴

§1.1. In this connection it is important to note that Pāṇini's rules defining *kāraḥ* occur in the section headed by rule 1.4.1 : *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā*, in which section is valid the rule 1.4.2 : *vipratīṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*. 1.4.1 states that in the section beginning with it and ending at 2.2.38 (*kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye*) only one name (*saṃjñā*) applies at a time. In case of conflicting assignments of terms, by 1.4.2 that name applies which is provided by a subsequent rule. For example, by 1.4.10 (*hrasvam laghu*) a short vowel (*hrasva*) is assigned the name *laghu* 'light', while 1.4.11 (*saṃyoge guru*) assigns the name *guru* 'heavy' to a short vowel followed by a consonant cluster (*saṃyoga*). By 1.4.1 and 2 a short vowel followed by a cluster of consonants is assigned uniquely to the *guru* class; cf. vt. 28 ad 1.4.1.⁵

With respect to *kāraḥ* also this situation obtains. For example, if one wishes to say in Sanskrit 'He pierces (wounds) with a bow,' the expression must be *dhanuṣā vidhyati*, with the instrumental singular (*trītyā, ekavacana*) ending used after *dhanus*. The introduction of post-nominal affixes expressing *karman* etc. by 2.3.2 (see §1) is governed by 2.3.1 : *anabhihite*, which states that the affixes are introduced if *karman* etc. are not already otherwise expressed (cf. Cardona, 1967b : 207-208). *Dhanus* functions as the *kāraṇa* of *vyadh*, *kāraṇa* defined by 1.4.42 : *sādhakatamaṃ kāraṇam* 'The means par excellence (of accomplishing an action is termed) *kāraṇa*.' 2.3.1 will thus allow the introduction of the third (*trītyā*) triplet of endings to express *kāraṇa* by 2.3.18 : *karṭṛkāraṇayos trītyā*, which says that this triplet is introduced after a nominal to express *karṭṛ* and *kāraṇa*. 2.3.18 will not serve to introduce this triplet to express *karṭṛ*, already expressed by *ti* (3.4.69, see §1). However, for the bow (*dhanus*) to be

ucyate . . eṣo dhikāraṇasya pākah. This *Bh.* discussion indirectly reflects the view that *kriyā* is *saṃūharūpā*; see fn. 2 above. Though the *Bh.* discussion is brought up in connection with the view that the term *kāraḥ* is an analyzable item meaning 'doer', this does not affect the present discussion, so that I omit the details.

4 Cf. VP 3.7.3ab : *sādhanyavahāraś ca buddhyavasthānibandhanah*; cf. also VP 3.7.90, 91, 104 and the long discussion by Hel. ad VP 3.7.1-3, summarizing equally long and detailed discussions in the *Bh.*

5 Such classifications by assignment of technical names are of course intended to discriminate domains of subsequent operations. In the present case, 7.4.93, whereby the operation of 7.4.97 is extended to reduplicated aorist forms in which the root vowel is *laghu*, does not apply in forms such as *atataḥsat* (*takṣ* 'fashion') contrast *apipacat*. Details concerning 7.4.93 and 79 and related rules are treated in fn. 53 of my *Studies in Indian Grammarians, I*: *The method of description reflected in the śivasūtras*, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 59.1 (1969), p. 19.

viewed as an instrument of piercing it must also be viewed as a point of departure for an arrow. This means it is also qualified as *apādāna*, defined by 1.4.24 : *dhruvam apāye' pādānam* as the firm point when movement away from (it) takes place.⁶ But the assignment of the denotatum of *dhanus* to the syntactic class *apādāna* will allow rule 2.3.28 : *apādāne pañcamī* to apply, whereby the fifth (*pañcamī*) triplet, that is the ablative, is introduced to express *apādāna*. By 1.4.1, 2 only one *saṃjñā* applies at once; that is, a thing is categorized as functioning as only *kāraka* at a time. The *saṃjñā* which applies *dhanus* is *karaṇa*, provided by 1.4.42, subsequent to 1.4.24, so that the correct form is obtained; see vt. 30 ad 1.4.1.⁷

This situation lends a motivation to the fact that the order in which the *kārakas* are defined differs substantially from the order in which the nominal triplets are treated (cf. Cardona, 1967b : 215).

§ 2 One of the *kārakas* defined in the section headed by 1.4.1 is, as noted (see § 1), *karṭṛ* defined in 1.4.54. The following rule is 1.4.55 : *tatprayojako hetuś ca*. The Pāṇinīyas are in general agreement on the interpretation of this sūtra. I summarize this interpretation here in order to relate it to the preceding discussion and to begin the actual discussion of *hetu* 'causal agent'.

It is clear that *hetu* is a name (*saṃjñā*). In this respect, *hetu* has the same status as *karṭṛ* and other *kāraka* names. The term *prayojaka* denotes an agent⁸ of the activity denoted by *prayuj*. The meaning of the latter is: 'having an inferior or superior do something' (respectively, *preṣaṇa*, *adhyeṣaṇa*), 'providing the necessary for something to be done' (*samarthācarana*); the single meaning common to these is 'setting into activity, prompting' (*pravartanā*).⁹ *Prayojaka* is then properly rendered 'causer', 'instigator'. Now arises the question what

6 VP 3.7.145 : *dhanuṣā vidhyatīty atra vināpāyavivakṣayā/karaṇatvaṃ ya'o nāsti tasmāt tadubhayaṃ saha*. Cf. Pr. on vt. 30 ad 1.4.1. (II. 315).

7 I have omitted some subtleties discussed by Hel. ad. VP 3.7.145.

8 Suffix *ṇvul* (→ *aka* by 7.1.1) by 3.1.135 (*ṇvultṛcau*). Like all other affixes (3.1.1 : *pratyayaḥ*) introduced after (*paraśca*, 3.1.2) roots (*dhātoh*, 3.1.91), excluding verb endings *ti* etc., *ṇvul* is termed *kṛt* by 3.1.93 (*kṛd atin*). *Kṛt* affixes express *karṭṛ* by 3.4.67 (*karṭari kṛt*).

9 Cf. Bh. ad 3.3.161 (II.165. 10-11), where the distinction between *vidhi* 'injunction' and *adhiṣṭa* 'requesting' is made; *vidhi* is glossed by *preṣaṇa*, while *adhiṣṭa* is described as a respectful (*satkārapūrvikā*) causing to act (*vyāpāraṇā*). In connection with the sentence *bhikṣā vāsayanti* (see (28) below), Patañjali says, Bh. ad 3.1.26 (II.33.6-7) : *nāvaśyaṃ sa eva prayojayati ya āhoṣyatām iti tūṣṇīm apy āsīno yas tatsamarthāny ācarati so 'pi vāsaṃ prayojayati* 'One who says, "Let dwell" is not necessarily the only one who prompts dwelling; one who does not (lit. "who sits silently) and (yet) provides the necessary for the action to take place also prompts dwelling.' Cf. N, PM ad 3.1.26 (II.388), Pr. ad 3.1.26 (III.89-90). PM (II.388) glosses *Kāś.*'s *tadiyo vyāpāraḥ* (see 2.1 below) as *pravartanā* and then says : *tasyās tvavāntarabhedam āha preṣaṇa*. 'It (*Kāś.*) states its (*pravartanā*'s) subdivisions : *preṣaṇa*....'

tad in *taiprayojaka* refers to. Since, as in other definitions of *kārakas*, 1.4.55 uses the semantic correlate of the syntactic category being defined as definiens, it is simplest to say that, as part of the definiens of *hetu*, the referend of *tad* is *svatantra* of 1.4.54. Thus *Bh.* ad 1.4.55 (I. 339.12-13): *svatantraprayojako hetusaṃjñō bhavati* 'The instigator of the independent one has the name *hetu*;' similarly, *Bh.* ad 3.1.26 (II. 35.19-20); *Hel.* ad *VP* 3.7.123 (324.13), ad *VP* 3.7.125 (328.1): *Pr.* ad 1.4.54 (II. 436), *PM* ad 1.4.55 (I. 584-5), *Ud.* ad 1.4.51 (II. 413), 1.4.54 (II. 437). The *Kāś.* ad 1.4.55 begins by giving a rather looser formulation:¹⁰ *tad ity anantarāḥ kartā parāṃśyate* 'The immediate(ly preceding) *kartṛ* is referred to by *tad*.' Later, it states: *svatantrasya prayojakaḥ*.

Finally, the need for *ca* in 1.4.55 is evident from what has been said in §1.1. Since 1.4.1 and 2 allow only one name to apply at once, *ca* 'and' must be included in 1.4.55 in order to have both terms, *kartṛ* and *hetu* apply at once. That is, a thing which functions as a *hetu* simultaneously functions as a *kartṛ*¹¹

VP 3.7.125 neatly summarizes the accepted view of the Pāṇinīyas:

*preṣaṇādhyeṣaṇe kurvaṃs tatsamarthāni cācaran |
kartaiva vihitāṃ śāstre hetusaṃjñāṃ prapadyate ||*

'The agent (*kartaiva*), giving a command, making a request, or providing the necessary (lit. 'the capable') for something to be done, gets the name *hetu* provided in the grammar.'

Rule 1.4.55, then, states that the instigator of the independent *kāraka* is called both *kartṛ* and *hetu*. *Hetu* is thus the causal agent.

§2.1. In terms of 1.4.54 and 55, then, there are two types of *kartṛ*: one is simply *kartṛ* 'agent', the other is also *hetu* 'causal agent'. To the logical *prayojaka* correspond both the syntactic *kartṛ* and *hetu*, to the logical *prayojya* corresponds only *kartṛ*.¹²

¹⁰ This may simply represent the use of the term *kartṛ* also for the logical correlate of the grammatical category; cf. Pāṇini's rule 1.4.49 (above, §1) and *VP* 3.7.128:*hetuḥ kartuḥ prayojakaḥ*.

¹¹ Allowing something to have two names at once, that is, to belong simultaneously to two classes, is known as *saṃjñāsamāveśa*; cf. *Kāś.* ad 1.4.55 with *N*, *PM*; *Hel.* ad *VP* 3.7.125 (326.16-20). We should note that sub-classification through *saṃjñāsamāveśa* is the norm in the grammar; thus affixes termed *kṛtya* are also termed *kṛt*, and both are members of the affix (*pratyaya*) class (cf. *fin.* 8); see *Bh.* ad 1.4.1 (1.296.6-7). On the other hand, the norm for operations is that a specific operation cancels a general one; see Cardona, 1967a: 35-37. When these norms have to be violated, sections such as 1.4.1 ff. and the section headed by 3.1.94 (in which certain specific operations do not cancel the general ones, see §1.2 of Cardona, 'Panini's Definition, Description, and Use of *Svarita*', in the F.B.J. Kuiper Festschrift *Pratidānam*, 1968, pp. 448-6) are set up.

¹² For the term *prayojya* see *Bh.* ad 3.1.26 (II.32.3-4).

The need for both the categories *karṭṛ* and *hetu* in the grammar becomes evident once we consider sentences containing causative verb forms and their derivation with the aid of rule 3.1.26 : *hetumatī ca* (*ṇic* 25). This rule provides for the affixation of *ṇic* (accented *i* conditioning *vrddhi* replacement) to a root when *hetumat* is to be expressed. Patañjali immediately tells us what *hetumat* 'possessed of a *hetu*' is ; *Bh.* ad 3.1.26 (II.32.27) : *hetuḥ kartāsyā hetumān* 'That is possessed of a *hetu* whose agent is *hetu*.' That is, *hetumat* denotes the action (*vyāpāra*) performed by the causal agent (*hetu*). This activity is, as noted (see § 2), *preṣaṇa* etc. *Kāś.* ad 3.1.26 : *hetuḥ svatantrasya kartuḥ prayojakaḥ | tadīyo vyāpāraḥ preṣaṇādīlakṣaṇo hetumān | tasminn abhidheye dhātor ṇicpratyayo bhavati* ' *Hetu* is the instigator of the independent agent ; its action, defined as *preṣaṇa* etc., is *hetumat* ; when it (*hetumat*) is to be expressed the suffix *ṇic* occurs after a root.'

In a causal verb form, then, two actions are expressed : the base activity, denoted by the verb root, and causation, denoted by the affix *ṇic*. The base meaning of the root is thus said to have added to it the meaning of causation.¹³ As there are two activities, so there are two agents : the *karṭṛ*, agent of the base verb activity, and the *hetu*, agent of causation. Now, Patañjali (ad 3.1.26 [II.31.23]) speaks of a *pradhānakarṭṛ* 'principal agent' and an *apradhāna* 'subsidiary', meaning the *prayojaka* and *prayojya* respectively (cf. *Ud.* III.83). Since an agent requires an activity, this necessarily implies a hierarchy of activities : causation is the principal activity, the meaning of the base root subsidiary (*guṇakriyā*, see *fn.* 14) ; cf. Kaiyaṭa's comment on Patañjali's *pradhānakarṭṛ*, *Pr.* III. 83 : *prakṛtyarthopasarjanatvāṇ ṇyarthasya prādhānyāt tasya kartāpi pradhānam* 'Since the base meaning is subsidiary and the meaning of *ṇi* principal, the agent of the latter is also principal.' There is thus a hierarchy between non-causative and causative sentences. For example,

(1) *pacaty odanaṃ yajñadattaḥ* 'Yajñadatta is cooking rice gruel.'

(2) *pācayaty odanaṃ devadatto yajñadattena* 'Devadatta has Yajñadatta cook rice gruel.' In (1) *Yajñadatta* functions as the *karṭṛ* of *pac*, the object of which (*karman*) is *odana* ; in (2) *Devadatta* is the agent of causation, expressed by *ṇic*, *Yajñadatta* the agent of *pac*. In (1) the verb ending *ti* expresses *karṭṛ*,

13 cf. Patañjali's discussion ad 3.1.26 (II.31.24-32.1) of the view that the root by itself denotes also causation, a view probably prompted by uses such as *pañcabhir halaiḥ kṛṣati* 'He has plowing done with five plows' (cf. *Bh.* II.33.21-27). Under this view the affix *ṇic* would be a cosignifier (*dyotaka*) of causation. In a form such as *gamitaḥ* 'caused to go' the meaning 'going' (*gatyārtha*) expressed by the root and in this case including causation is not added to, not different (*avyatirikta*). But if, as is held in the finally established view (*siddhānta*), the root does not by itself express causation, its meaning is said to be added to (*vyatirikta*) when causation is expressed.

the accusative ending *am* expresses *karman*. In (2), *ii* expresses *karṭṛ* relative to the principal activity, while the instrumental (by 2.3.18, see §1.1) expresses *karṭṛ* relative to the now subsidiary activity denoted by *pac*. Cf. *Bh. II. 31.23-24: prāhānakartari lādayo bhavanti pradhānakartā tenābhidhīyate yaś cātrā-pradhānam siddhā tatra kartarīty eva tṛtīyā*.

§2.2. A question comes up at this point. As has been said, in (2) *devadatta* is the causal agent (*hetu*). Now, the object which this agent wishes to encompass through causation is the agent of the base activity *pac*. In terms of rule 1.4.49 (see §1), then, for (2) *yajñadatta* would have to be qualified as *karman*. This categorization would result in the introduction (by 2.3.2, see §1) of the accusative ending instead of the instrumental, yielding:

(2a) *pācayaty odanam devadatto yajñadattam*

Though the specific sentence (2a) is not desired, such a sentence type is required for verbs of certain semantic groups (e.g. verbs of movement, perception, eating) and intransitives (cf. *fn. 28*). For example,

(3) *gamayati māṇavakaṃ grāmam* 'He has the lad go to the village.' is the causative counterpart of

(4) *gacchati māṇavako grāmam* 'The lad goes to the village.' The correct derivation for sentences of type (4) is provided by means of the categorization given in 1.4.52: *gutibuddhipratyayusānārtha..... akarmakāṇām aṇikartā sa ṇau (karma 49)*. This rule states that the *karṭṛ* of verbs of movement etc. and intransitives is the *karman* of such verbs followed by the causative marker. In turn, this rule is considered a limitation (*niyama*), whereby the *karṭṛ* of only such verbs is called the *karman* of the corresponding causative, not the *karṭṛ* of other verbs; *Bh. II. 32.11-12: eteṣāṃ evāṇyantānāṃ yaḥ kartā sa ṇau karmasaṃjño bhavati nānyeṣāṃ*.¹⁴

§3. It is thus clear that Pāṇini introduced a sub-category of *karṭṛ* called *hetu* in order to account correctly for causative sentences and their relation to non-causative sentences.

There are rules, however, in which Pāṇini uses the term *hetu* in a value different from that which it has by 1.4.55. By 5.3.26: *thā hetau ca chandasi (kimaḥ 25)* is derived a form *kathā* 'why?', valid for sacred literature, from the pronominal *kim*. The semantic characteristic serving to condition the introduction of the affix *thā* is stated as *hetau* 'when *hetu* is to be expressed'.

14 cf. *VP 3.7.127: guṇakriyāyām svātantryāt preṣaṇe karmatām gataḥ | niyamāt karmasaṃ-jñāyāḥ svadharmenābhidhīyate* (Though the agent of the subsidiary action) passes from independence in the subsidiary action to being an object in the act of commanding, since a limitation is made on the name *karman* (by 1.4.52) it (the agent become object) is expressed in the guise of its own quality (of agent). I have omitted any discussion of the relation between rules 3.1.26 and 3.3.163 as well as of the question how a *prayojya* can be said to be *svatantra*.

Here there can be no question of a *prayojaka kartr*; *hetu* in this rule must have its normal (*laukika*) non-technical meaning 'cause, reason' (*kāraṇa*).

Hetu and *hetumat* are again used in their *laukika* values in rule 3.3.156: *hetuhetumator liṅ*. This provides for the introduction after verb roots of the sub-class *liṅ* of L-members (that is, after proper replacements and augmentations, for optative verb forms) when the root meanings are qualified as expressing cause (*hetu*) and effect (*hetumat*). For example,

(5) *dakṣiṇena ced yāyān na śakaṭaṃ paryābhavet* 'If he were to go right the cart would not turn over.'

In (5) going to the right is the *hetu* (*Kāś.* ad 3.3.156: *dakṣiṇena yānaṃ hetuḥ*) and the not turning over is *hetumat* (*Kāś.*: *aparyābhavanam hetumat*). Here again there can be no question of a *prayojaka kartr*. *Hetu* is given in the rule as a qualification of the root meaning; *Kāś.*: *hetubhūte hetumati cārthe vartamānād dhātoḥ* 'After a root expressing the meaning which is *hetu* and *hetumat*.' But the meaning of a root is not a *sādhana*, it is *sādhya* (see above, §1); cf. Hel. ad *VP* 3.7.125 (327.10-11): *hetuhetumator liṅ ity atrāpi hetor dhātvarthaviśeṣaṇatvāt sādhanasya ca dhātvarthābhāvāt laukika eva hetuḥ* 'In... (3.3.156) also, *hetu* is *laukika*, since *hetu* qualifies the root meaning and a *sādhana* is not the meaning of a root'.

Similarly, *hetu* 'cause' is used in 3.2.126: *lakṣaṇahetvoḥ kriyāyāḥ*.¹⁵ This provides for replacing *laṭ* (i.e., the L-member usually replaced by verb endings and introduced when the activity is referred to present) by the participial affixes *śatr* and *śānac* if the verb after which *laṭ* is introduced expresses the defining characteristic (*lakṣaṇa*) or cause (*hetu*) of another action. For example,

(6) *śayānā bhuñjate yavanāḥ* 'The Yavanas eat reclining.'

(7) *adhīyāno vasati* 'He is staying while studying.' That is, he is staying in order to study.

In (6), lying (*śī*) serves to characterize eating (*bhuj*), while in (7) studying (*adhī*) is the cause of staying (*vas*). Now, the same relation between studying and staying could be expressed differently, using the *nomen actionis adhyayana*:

(8) *adhyayanena vasati*¹⁶

¹⁵ Here *Kāś* glosses *hetu* as *janaka* 'which produces'. In effect, *hetu* is generally equivalent to *nimitta* 'cause', of which there are several sub-types; see Hel. ad *VP* 3.7.24 (255.10-11). I omit here a discussion of the relation between *lakṣaṇa* and *hetu*, discussed in *BH.* ad 1.4.84 (cf. *VP* 3.7.24.156), as well as the relation between rules 3.3.156 and 3.2.126 (*BH.* ad 3.3.156).

¹⁶ For the example see Hel. ad *VP* 3.7.24 (250.23): *tadyathā adhyayanena vasati/adhyayanam hetuḥ vāso hetumān*. Cf. *SK* 568 (where *hetu* is said to include *phala* 'result'), *ŚK* ad 2.3.23 (II.231).

The instrumental affix in (8) is provided for by 2.3.23 : *hetau* (*ṭṛīyā* 18), which states that the third triplet of nominal endings is introduced after a nominal base when a *hetu* is to be denoted. Rule 2.3.23 also operates in the derivation of instrumental forms such as *vidyayā* in strings such as

(9) *vidyayā yaśaḥ* ' (There is) fame through knowledge.'

It is obvious that (9) is somehow related in meaning to

(10) *vidyā yaśaḥ karoti* 'Knowledge produces fame.'

(11) *vidyayā yaśaḥ kriyate* 'Fame is produced by knowledge.'

In (10) and (11), *vidyā* is the agent (*karṭṛ*) of *kṛ*, the object (*karman*) of which is *yaśas*. In terms of (9)-(11), then, *vidyā* is both *hetu* and *karṭṛ*. Given the relation which obtains between *vidyā* and *yaśas* through the intermediary *kṛ*, one can derive a compound *yaśaskarī* 'producing fame' as a modifier of *vidyā*:

(12) *yaśaskarī vidyā* 'Knowledge (is) fame-producing.'

The compound is derived with the help of 3.2.20 : *kṛñō hetu ...* (*ṭa* 16), which provides for the affixation of *ṭa* to *kṛ* in construction with an *upapada* denoting an object (*karmaṇi*, 3.2.1)¹⁷ if the agent (*see fn. 17*) of *kṛ* is a *hetu*.¹⁸

In a sequence such as (12), then, *vidyā* is both *hetu* and *karṭṛ*. But, while this is so, *vidyā* is not *hetu* and *karṭṛ* in the same way that *devadatta* is for the purposes of sentence (2). *Vidyā* is qualified as a *hetu* by virtue of its being considered the cause or source of fame, not by virtue of its being a causer of another agent's performing an action. That is, *vidyā* does not qualify for being termed *hetu* in terms of 1.4.55 ;¹⁹ it is a cause, not a causal agent.

17 *Karmaṇi* in 3.2.1 is a locative expression. By 3.1.92 (*tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*) what is stated in the locative form in the section headed by 3.1.91 (*see fn. 8*) is termed *upapada*. Hence, an item denoting something functioning as *karman* is termed *upapada* for the purposes of 3.2.20; in the present instance this is *yaśas*. Since *yaśas* is *upapada*, 2.2.19 (*upapadam atih*) applies, whereby an *upapada* forms a non-alternating (*nityam*, 2.2.17) compound (*samāsaḥ* 2.1.3) with a syntactically bound (*samartha*) item. The affix introduced by 3.2.20 is *ṭa* (*a*). Since this is marked with *ṭ*, 4.1.15 (*ṭit... nīp* 5) applies, whereby the feminine is formed with the suffix *nīp* (*i*). *-kara-i* — *-kar-i* by 6.4.148 (*yasyeti ca*). I omit the rules providing for *guṇa* replacement in *kṛ*. The affix *ṭa* of 3.2.20 is *kṛt* by 3.1.93, so that *-karī* denotes an agent by 3.4.67; on these rules *see fn. 8 above*.

18 Cf. *N* ad 3.2.20 (II.555) : *nāpi pratyayārthatvaṃ (eṣām) / kartari kṛd iti kartuḥ pratyayārthatvaṃ... tasmāt pratyayārthaviśeṣaṇatvaṃ eṣaṃ yuktam* 'Nor are (they, *hetu* etc. stated in 3.2.20) meanings of the affix; the meaning of the affix is *karṭṛ* by... (3.4.67); hence what is correct is that they qualify the affixal meaning.'

19 Since *hetu* in 3.2.20 has its non-technical meaning, the very use of the term in the rule excludes, in the view of commentators, the application of 3.2.20 in deriving expressions such as *kumbhakāra* 'pot maker' (for the derivation of which see Cardona, 1967a: fn. 5). In the view of some Pāṇiniyas a *kāraka* such as *karṭṛ* or *karman* is a cause (*nimitta*, cf. *fn. 15 above*)

§ 3.1. Let us now return to sentence (9) and rule 2.3.23. It is clear, as I noted above, that *vidyā* is not a *prayojaka karṭr*. It is equally clear that rule 2.3.23 envisions cases such as (9) and not sentences like (2), so that it contains an instance of the *laukika* use of the term *hetu*. For, if in 2.3.23 the technical (*pāribhāṣika*) *hetu* of 1.4.55 were intended, the very rule would be vacuous. *Hetu* by 1.4.55 is, by definition, a *karṭr*, and the use of the third triplet to express *karṭr* is already provided by 2.3.18 (see § 1.1). By the same token, whatever one may wish to say about a possible equivalence in meaning of (9)-(11), in terms of paraphrase for example, rule 2.3.23 is vacuous unless (9) differs from (10) and (11) in that *vidyā* does not there function as a *karṭr*.²⁰ The conclusion must be that Pāṇini set up 2.3.23 to account for sentences such as (9), in which he viewed *vidyā* as not functioning as a *kāraka*. That is, in (9) the *kāraka* is *yaśas*, which functions as the *karṭr* of a verb of existence,²¹ while *vidyā* is related not to a verbal but directly to *yaśas*. In this case, specific provision has to be made for the use of the instrumental in (9). For, in the absence of such as specific provision rule 2.3.50: *śaṣṭhī śeṣe* would apply, whereby the genitive is introduced to express a relation (*sambandha*) obtaining between the denotata of two nominals without the intermediary of a verbal. The result would be

(13) *vidyāyā yaśaḥ*²²

Rule 2.3.23 thus has the purpose of avoiding (13) to express the meaning conveyed by (9) and providing for (9).²³

of an activity by virtue of being necessary for its accomplishment; cf. VP 3.7.128, *Kāś.* ad 1.4.23. Now they say, since the affix *ṭa* expresses *karṭr*, which is a *nimitta*, the specific use of *hetu* in 3.2.20 limits its application to cases where the agent is the undeviating cause (*Kāś.* : *aikāntikaṃ kārāṇam*, glossed by Haradatta as *niyatam avyabhicāri*) of the activity which produces the result; N ad 3.2.20 (II.556) : *siddhe karturhi nimittatve punar hetuśabda upādiyamāna aikāntikatvaṃ bodhayati/yaḥ kartā yasyāḥ kriyāyā ekāntiko hetur iti* |

20 The same would apply for the possibility of *vidyā* functioning as a *kāraka* 'instrument'.

21 A nominal sentence such as (9) is interpreted as having an instance of one of the verbs of being, viz. *bhavati*, *asti*, *vartate*, *vidyate*. Cf. Cardona, 1967a : 39, *Lingua* 25.219 fn. 4 (1970).

22 For the argument summarized above, see, e.g., N ad 2.3.23 (II.180) : *hetur dvidvidhaḥ śāstriyo laukikaś ca/ tatra śāstriyaḥ tatprayojako hetuś ca/ laukikaḥ phalasāadhanayogyaḥ padārthaḥ/ tatra śāstriye hetau karṭṛkaraṇayos tṛtiyety evaṃ siddhā tṛtiyā/ tasmāl laukikasya hetor idam grahaṇam* | See also PM ad loc., Hel. ad VP 3.7.125 (327.1-3). Hel. ad VP 3.7.24 (250.23-251.1), immediately after noting that *adhyayana* is *hetu* and *vāsa* is *hetumat* (see fn. 16 above), says: *tayoḥ sambandhe śeṣaśaṣṭhyām prāptāyām hetau tṛtiyā*; similarly, Ud. ad 2.3.13 (II.785).

23 The established view is summarized in VP 3.7.25ab, 24ab: *dravyādiviśayo hetuḥ kārakaṃ niyatakriyam, anāśrite tu vyāpāre nimittam hetur ucyate* 'A cause has as its domain things etc. (qualities, actions, the last as in (8) above); a *kāraka* necessarily has an action (connected with it); when an action is not undertaken, a conditioning cause (*nimitta*) is called *hetu*.' These famous half verses are cited by, e.g., PM ad 1.4.23, 2.3.23; ŚK ad 2.3.23 (II.231), Prauḍh. ad 2.3.23 (901).

A similar case of a distinction to be made in terms of syntactic categories where, in terms of logical relations, one might not see a distinction, is afforded by the following :

(14) *mṛdaṃ ghaṭam karoti* ' He makes the clay into a pot. '

(15) *mṛdā ghaṭam karoti* ' He makes a pot with clay. '

In both cases, the clay is the source or original cause (*upādāna*) of the pot. But for (14) it must be categorized as a *karman* and for (15) as a *karaṇa*.²⁴

§3.2. In connection with rule 3.2.20 the commentators²⁵ bring up the point that, since *kṛ* is given therein without the causative marker *ṇic*, the *hetu* intended is the *laukika hetu*. In other rules where *hetu* is used in its technical value by 1.4.55 Pāṇini does in fact provide for operations concerning roots followed by *ṇic*. The rules in question are:

(a) 1.3.68:²⁶ *bhīsmiyor hetubhaye* (*ṇer* 67, *kartari* 14, *ātmanepadam* 12)

(b) 6.1.56: *bibheter hetubhaye* (*ṇau* 54, *vibhāṣā* 51, at 45)

(c) 7.3.40: *bhiyo hetubhaye ṣuk* (*ṇau* 36)

The semantic condition for all three rules is *hetubhaye* ' when fear of the *hetu* is expressed '. (a) states that the verb endings called *ātmanepada* occur after *bhī* ' fear ' followed by *ṇi* (i.e., *ṇic*) when *kartr* is to be expressed. For (b) and (c) the conditioning right context is *ṇi* (*ṇic*); (b) provides for the replacement of the *ī* of *bhī* by *ā*, while (c) states that the root has final augment *ṣ*.²⁷ Since *bhī* is a member of the third (*juhvādi*) present class (*bibheti*), not of the tenth (*curādi*) class, *ṇic* can only be the affix introduced by 3.1.26 (see §2.1). Hence the *kartr* to be expressed by *ātmanepada* must be the *hetu*. Further, *bhī* is an intransitive (*akarmaka*) verb, that is, it does not co-occur in sentences with nominals whose denotata are classed as its *karman*.²⁸ For, with verbs of fearing, that which is the source of fear (*bhaya₁hetu*) is assigned to the syntactic category *apādāna* by 1.4.25: *bhītrārthānām bhaya₁hetuḥ* (*apā₁lānam* 24). Hence, a

24 For the example see *Pr.* ad 3.2.1 (III.220), *Hel.* ad *VP* 3.7.47 (267.19-21).

25 E.g. *Hel.* ad *VP* 3.7.125 (327.13) : *tatra nījvidhānāt kṛṇā iti ca nījrahitasya nirdeśāt*; similarly *N*, *PM* ad 3.2.20.

26 The subsequent sūtras (69-71) also come into play but are omitted here. In the following, examples are also limited to the root *bhī* ' be afraid ', so that rule 6.1.57 is not considered with 6.1.56.

27 I omit the arguments given by commentators beginning with Patañjali ad 1.1.56 vt. 24 (I.140.4-6) to show that the augment *ṣ* occurs only in the absence of *ā* replacement.

28 Verbs of movement such as *gam* ' go ' are transitive (*sakarmaka*) in that they co-occur with nominals classed as denoting their *karman*; e.g. sentence (4) above. These verbs differ from other transitives in that their *karman* is also expressed by the dative (2.3.12); e.g. *grāmāya gacchati*. Since *gam* etc. are transitive and sentences such as (3) require correct derivations, rule 1.4.52 (see §2.1 above) makes special provision for verbs of movement.

nominal denoting the source of fear occurs, in a sentence containing a non-causative form of *bhī*, followed by ablative affixes (by 2.3.28, see §1.1). Thus, if one wishes to express that *Devadatta* fears a man with matted hair (*jaṭila*), one says

(16) *jaṭilād bibhēti devadattaḥ*

Since, as noted, *bhī* is an intransitive verb, if one forms a causative from it to express that the man with matted hair makes *Devadatta* fear, then *devadatta*, the *kartr* of the non-causative (16) is, by 1.4.52 (see §2.2), classed as the *karman* of the causative. We thus get by (a) - (c):

(17) *jaṭilo devadattaṃ bhīṣayate*

(18) *jaṭilo devadattaṃ bhāyayate*

Sentences (16) - (18) call for comments similar to those made about sentences (9)-(11). In (16), (17), and (18) *jaṭila* is always the source of fear. But in (16) *jaṭila* is not an agent, while in (17)-(18) he is both the source of fear and the causal agent.

From what has been noted, it follows that Pāṇini uses *hetu* in 1.4.25 differently from the way he uses it in (a)-(c). In 1.4.25, *bhayaḥetu* is the semantic correlate to which corresponds the syntactic category *apādāna*; *hetu* is thus used here in its *laukika* value. In (a)-(c), on the contrary, *hetu* in *hetu-bhaya* is an instance of the *pāribhāṣika hetu* by 1.4.55.²⁹

§ 4. We must return once more to 2.3.23 and the sentences it provides for. As noted (§§ 3-3.1), *vidyā* in (9) does not function as a *prayojaka kartr*, so that *hetau* in this rule is an instance of the non-technical use of the term *hetu*. The same holds for rules 2.3.25-27, in which *hetau* of 2.3.23 is valid by *anuvṛtti*:

(a) 2.3.55: *vibhāṣā guṇe' striyām (pañcamī 24, ṛtīyā 18)*

(b) 2.3.26: *śaṣṭhī hetuprayoge*

(c) 2.3.27: *sarvanāmnas ṛtīyā*

All three rules provide for the introduction of post-nominal triplets of endings when *hetu* is expressed. (a) states that the instrumental and ablative endings occur when expressing a quality (*guṇa*) which is a cause, except with quality words which are feminine in gender. E. g.

(19) *pāṇḍityān muktaḥ* ' (He has been) released because of (his) being wise.' (*pāṇḍitya* 'the quality proper to a wise man (*pañḍita*)')

(20) *pāṇḍityena muktaḥ* 'id.'

But, using the feminine item *prajñā* 'wisdom', only

29 1.3.68 has to specify *hetubhaya* to avoid the use of *ātamanepada* in sentences such as *kuñcikayainam bhāyayati* 'He frightens him with a bamboo stick', in which *kuñcikā*, functioning as an instrument, is what one is afraid of.

(21) *prajñayā muktaḥ*

(b) states that when the word *hetu* is used the genitive alone occurs, while (c) provides for the use of both the genitive and instrumental when *hetu* is used in construction with a pronominal. E. g.

(22) *annasya hetor atra vasati* 'He is staying here because of food.'

(23) *kasya hetor atra vasati* 'For what reason is he staying here?'

(24) *kenā hetunātra vasati* 'id.'

It is clear that (c) reintroduces the general use of the instrumental to express cause, now in alternation with a genitive. This reintroduction for sentence types (23)-(24) is necessary because the specific rule (b) cancels the general rule 2.3.23. (23) is thus like (8) except for containing the word *hetu*. The question answered by (8) could be (23) or (24), while the answer to these could be (8) or

(25) *adhyayanasya hetor vasati*

Similar in structure to (25) is

(26) *bhikṣāṇaṃ hetor vasati bhikṣuḥ* 'The mendicant is staying because of the alms.'

Now, rule 2.3.23 allows this to be expressed by a sentence similar in structure to (8), namely

(27) *bhikṣābhir vasati bhikṣuḥ*

In (27) *bhikṣā* 'alms' do not function as a *kāraka*, just as *adhyayana* in (8) and *vidyā* in (9) do not. But we may also have a sentence

(28) *bhikṣā vāsayanti bhikṣuṃ* 'The alms cause the beggar to stay.'³⁰

For (27) *bhikṣā* function as the cause (*hetu*) of staying, while for (28) they function as the causal agent (*hetu* by 1.4.55).

These considerations are important for understanding rule 2.3.24: *akartary rñe pañcamī (hetau 23)*. This states that the ablative endings are used to express *hetu* when the *hetu* is a debt (*rñā*) except when the debt is also an agent (*kartr*). The rule is necessary to avoid the use of the instrumental in sentences such as

(29) *śatād baddho devadatto yajñadattena* 'D. has been imprisoned by Y. on account of (a debt of) one hundred (pieces) '.

(30) *śatād badhnāti devadattaṃ yajñadattaḥ* 'Y. imprisons D. ...' (29) and (30) are like (27); as *bhikṣā* are viewed as the cause of staying, so *śata* is viewed as the cause of imprisonment. Similarly, as *bhikṣā* in (28) are viewed as the causal agent, so is *śata* in

30 The example *bhikṣā vāsayanti* is given in *Bh.* ad 3.1.26 (see fn. 9 above).

(31) *śataṃ devadattaṃ bandhayati yajñadattena* 'A hundred ... cause Y. to imprison D.'
and the passive equivalents

(32) *śatena bandhyate devadatto yajñadattena*

(33) *śatena bandhito devadatto yajñadattena*

In (31), as in (2), the ending *ti* expresses *karṭr* of causation, while the instrumental (*yajñadattena*) expresses the subsidiary *karṭr*. In (32) and (33) both the principal and subsidiary *karṭr* are expressed by the instrumental (*śatena*, *yajñadattena*).

From what has been said, it is clear that 2.3.24 includes both uses of the term *hetu*. The introduction of the ablative endings is conditioned by the expression of *hetu* 'cause' as in 2.3.24. 2.3.24 is thus a specific rule countering the introduction of the instrumental when the *hetu* is specifically a debt. The *hetu* excepted from the domain of 2.3.24, on the other hand, is the causal agent. This situation has caused commentators some concern. For, they ask, how can *hetu* be used in its non-technical (*laukika*) value in 2.3.23, carry over into 2.3.24-27, and have its technical (*pāribhāṣika*) value in 2.3.24? The simplest answer to this question is that, in formulating this series of rules, Pāṇini used *hetu* neutrally and that the value of the term, whether *laukika* or *pāribhāṣika*, is determined by interpretation.³¹ Thus, as noted (see § 3.1), *hetu* in 2.3.23 must have its non-technical value if the rule is not to be vacuous. In 2.3.24, on the other hand, *hetu* has both values: in conditioning the ablative it has the same value as in 2.3.23, which 2.3.24 thus counters; the domain excepted from the operation of 2.3.24, on the other hand, is the expression of causal agent.

§4.1. The use of certain items in two different values, a normal sense valid for Sanskrit general and a technical sense assigned by a rule of the grammar, is not unusual, since Pāṇini used Sanskrit as his meta-language to describe the object language Sanskrit. For example, rule 1.1.1 (*vr̥ddhirādaic*) introduces the technical term *vr̥ddhi* as a name for certain vowels (denoted by *āt* and *aic*). But in 5.1.47 (*tad asmin vr̥ddhyāyalābhaśulkopadā dīyate*) *vr̥ddhi* cannot have this value; it must mean 'interest charged on a loan'.³² Similarly, the names of the *kāraṇas*, introduced by 1.4.24 ff., are technical terms of the grammar; they are what Pāṇinīyas call 'artificial' (*kr̥trima*) as opposed to non-artificial (*akr̥trima*) terms, which have their regular Sanskrit meanings. But a term such as *karaṇa* does not have the technical value 'instrument' in all rules where it is used. In 3.1.17 (*śabdavairakalahābhraṇameghebhyaḥ karaṇe*) *karaṇa* is

31 The argument claiming the *sāmānya* 'common' use of *hetu* is given in *N*, *PM* ad 2.3.24 (II.181), *ŚK* ad 2.3.24 (II.231); other possible solutions are discussed, which I omit here.

32 *Kāś.* ad 5.1.47: *yad adhamarṇenottamarṇāya mūladhanātirikṭaṃ deyaṃ tad vr̥ddhiḥ*. See also *VP* 2.365-6 with *Pr.* ad 4.1.162 (III.616).

simply a nomen actionis meaning 'doing' (the meaning of *kṛ*; *Kāś.*: *karo-tyarthe*).³³

§5. The Pāṇinīyas thus consistently distinguish between *hetu* 'cause' and *hetu* 'causal agent'. This distinction is also necessary, as I have shown, for the correct derivation of sentences such as those discussed in the above sections.

Recently, however, the distinction made between a technical (*pāribhāṣika*) and non-technical (*laukika*) use of *hetu*, reflecting this distinction between cause and causal agent, been questioned by Rocher (1964). Of rule 1.4.55 (see §2) Rocher says (1964:40): 'The sūtra simply says that the *hetu*, like the *karṭṛ* is a *kāraka* which operates independently. In other words in situations involving a "cause", this *kāraka* too is operating independently (*svatantra*).' This is a misunderstanding. If the introduction of names of categories (*karṭṛ*, *karman*, *karaṇa*, etc.) has the purpose of providing conditions for the introduction of linguistic elements in the derivation of Sanskrit sentences, a rule 1.4.55 which, in Rocher's words (loc. cit.), says that '..... the *hetu* is "equally" (*ca*) independent as the *karṭṛ*....' has little value. Nor is Rocher justified in claiming (*ibidem*) that Pāṇini's commentators '... proclaim the agent of the causative verb to be the *hetu* with the result that they deny the appellation *karṭṛ* to this agent.' That Rocher insists on her interpretation of 1.4.55 is, further, based on a fundamental misunderstanding which I have discussed elsewhere (Cardona, 1967b). She says (1964:40): 'As it was the case with the preceding sūtras defining the other *kārakas*, 1.4.55 too has a purely extra-linguistic bearing and is not at all concerned with the way or ways in which the *hetu* is expressed.' It is also difficult to see how, from her own perspective, Rocher can justify Pāṇini's having to define *hetu* at all. For, she considers (1964:33) that '...there is only one *hetu*, "cause", a technical term indicating as basic an element of the action as any other *kāraka*, without any difference whether the action is expressed by a causative or a non-causative verbal form.' If *hetu* is always used in the grammar in the meaning 'cause' and this is the normal (*laukika*) value of this term in Sanskrit, it should require no specific definition. In view of these facts I do not think it necessary to discuss all the details of Rocher's exposition. One example will suffice to bring out some of the problems involved.

Rocher says (1964:34): '... we want to show that the *hetu* is said here [2.3.23 ff.] to be expressed by particular case terminations, and that it, thus, ranks with *apādāna*, *saṃpradāna*, *adhikaraṇa*, *karaṇa*, *karman* and *karṭṛ* as a full-fledged *kāraka*.' She goes on to say (loc. cit.): 'According to sūtra 2.3.24, in the sentence *śatād baddhaḥ* the cause is expressed by the ablative case ending, whereas in the counter-example, *śatena bandhitaḥ*, it is expressed by means of the

33 For this and similar cases see *Bh.* ad 1.1.23 (I.81.9-16).

instrumental case ending, according to the general rule 2.3.23.' Finally, she remarks (1964 : 35) : 'In the case under consideration the debt which, in the non-causative construction, fulfilled the function of *hetu* only, fulfilled simultaneously in the causative construction the function also of *kartr*.' Now, by 1.4.1 and 2 (see 1.1 above), a thing which qualifies for being qualified as *kartr* (1.4.54) and *hetu* (1.4.55) will only be termed *hetu* unless special provision is made. Pāṇini takes care of this by using *ca* in 1.4.55 (see § 2 above). Since Rocher (1964 : 40) denies that *ca* in 1.4.55 is intended for *samjñāsamāveśa*, if we adopt her view *śatena* in sentence (33) cannot be said to function as a *kartr*. Why, then, should Pāṇini except *kartr* in 2.3.24 ? Moreover, if *śata* of (33) qualifies only for the category *hetu* 'cause', the instrumental form *śatena* should not be gotten at all. For 2.3.24, providing for the ablative, counters 2.3.23. Only if 1.4.55 is given the interpretation of the Pāṇinīyas and sentence (33) interpreted as I have shown (see § 4) will the correct forms be gotten.

§ 5.1. In a recent paper Kiparsky and Staal (1969) have again taken up the subject of *hetu*, but only to confuse *hetu* 'cause' and *hetu* 'causal agent'. They begin their discussion of *hetu* by saying, almost correctly (1969:97) : 'Sūtra 1.4.55 defines *hetu* as that which prompts the *kartr* ...' Parenthetically they refer to Rocher's 'criticism of this interpretation, which follows the Indian commentators ...' I say 'almost correctly' because Kiparsky and Staal do not mention that, to the Pāṇinīyas, a *hetu* by 1.4.55 is also necessarily a *kartr* ; as we shall see below this omission has serious results. Kiparsky and Staal go on to say (1969-98) : 'The notion of *kāraka* as applied to complex sentences is relevant here in that the *hetu* relation may be represented by an embedded sentence ... The *hetu* may in general be expressed by an Instrumental, as in : *vidyayā yaśaḥ* "fame due to learning" (2.3.23).'³⁴ They then note (1969:98) the following regarding the expression *puruṣadakṣiṇagamana* 'the man's going to the right' : 'The Instrumental may be used to turn this into a *hetu*, e.g. : *puruṣadakṣiṇagamanena śakaṭam na paryābhaviṣyati* "through the man's going to the right the cart will not turn over". Alternatively this *hetu* may be expressed by a Nominative of the nominal compound together with a Causative of the verb : *puruṣadakṣiṇagamanam śakaṭam na paryābhāvayīṣyati* "the man's going to the right will cause that the cart will not turn over". Lastly, this *hetu* may be expressed by the Potential mood of the verb (3.3.156) ... *puruṣo dakṣiṇena ... ced yāyān na śakaṭam ... paryābhavet ...* "if the man were to go to the right, the cart would not turn over". Let us refer to Kiparsky and Staal's first and last Sanskrit examples as (9) and (5) respectively (see § 3 above), to their second and third sentences as (34) and (35) respectively.³⁵

34 Kiparsky and Staal (1969: 93) also consider the locative absolute 'A kind of generalized *adhikaraṇa*....' This and other misunderstandings are considered in my review of Staal's monograph *Word Order in Sanskrit and Universal Grammar*, *Indo-Iranian Journal* 12.232-9 (1970).

35 I have modified Kiparsky and Staal's examples to the extent of omitting numerals they append to forms.

It is clear that in (9) and (5) there is no question of a causal agent (*prayojaka kartr*), so that there can be no question of a *hetu* by 1.4.55. Kiparsky and Staal's error arises from the omission noted above. As for (34) and (35) consider the following. If, as Kiparsky and Staal say, *puruṣadakṣiṇagamana* in (34) functions as the same kind of *hetu* as *puruṣadakṣiṇagamana* in (35), then the *hetu* of (34) is also, in Pāṇini's terms, a *kartr*. The instrumental form in (34) can then be gotten by applying 2.3.18 (see §1.1 above), so that 2.3.23 is vacuous. This does not exhaust the difficulties. By 2.3.1 (§1.1 above), since *kartr* is already expressed by the ending *tī*, a post-nominal affix cannot be introduced to express *kartr* unless this is a second *kartr* (cf. (2) above). If one now claim that for this very reason 2.3.23 is necessary to get the instrumental in (34), the answer is that this is possible only if the *hetu* of (34) is not also a *kartr*. For, if to obtain the instrumental in (34) one says that the instrumental expresses the category *hetu*, while the verb ending expresses the category *kartr*, both categorizations applying to the same thing, then one must also admit that the action *paryābhū* is *hetumat*, thus allowing 3.1.126 (see §2.1 above) to operate. The *hetu* of (34) cannot, therefore, be considered to be of the same kind as the *hetu* of (35) if Pāṇini's rules are to apply correctly for deriving these sentences. This is reasonable: *puruṣadakṣiṇagamana* in (34) is the cause of the cart's not turning over, but in (35) it functions as causal agent. Nor can Kiparsky and Staal do as Rocher has done and claim that there is but one *hetu* for Pāṇini, functioning now as agent now as simple *hetu*. For they do claim, as Rocher does not, to follow the Pāṇinīyas.

§6. To summarize, Pāṇini and the Pāṇinīyas consistently distinguish between *hetu* 'cause' and *hetu* 'causal agent'. This distinction is necessary for the correct derivation of Sanskrit sentences by Pāṇinian rules.

Index of major rules cited. (References are to the sections in which rules are first mentioned.)

1.3.63: *bhīsmayor hetubhaye* : §3.2

1.4.1: *ākaḍārād ekā saṃjñā* : §1.1

1.4.2: *vipratīṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* : §1.1

1.4.24: *dhruvam apāye'pādānam* : §1.1

1.4.25: *bhītrārthānām bhayaḥetuḥ* : §3.2

1.4.42: *sādhakatamaṃ karaṇam* : §1.1

1.4.45: *ādihāro'dhikaraṇam* : §1

1.4.49: *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma* : §1

1.4.52: *gatibuddhipratyavasānārthaśabdakarmākāṇām anikartā sa nau* : §2.2

1.4.54: *svatantraḥ kartā* : §1

1.4.55: *tatprayojako hetuś ca* : §2

- 2.3.1: *anabhihite* : §1.1
 2.3.2: *karmani dvitīyā* : §1
 2.3.18: *karīrkaraṇayos tṛtīyā* : §1.1
 2.3.23: *hetau* : §3
 2.3.24: *akartary rñe pañcamī* : §4
 2.3.25: *vibhāṣā guṇe'striyām* : §4
 2.3.26: *śaṣṭhī hetuprayoge* : §4
 2.3.27: *sarvanāmnas tṛtīyā* : §4
 2.3.28: *apādāne pañcamī* : §1.1
 2.3.36: *saptamy adhikaraṇe ca* : §1
 2.3.50: *śaṣṭhī śeṣe* : §3.1
 3.1.26: *hetumati ca* : §2.1
 3.2.20: *kṛṇo hetutācchilyānulomyeṣu* : §3
 3.2.126: *lakṣaṇahetvoḥ kriyāyāḥ* : §3
 3.3.156: *hetuhetumator liṇ* : §3
 5.3.26: *thā hetau ca chandasi* : §3
 6.1.56: *bibheter hetubhaye* : §3.2
 7.3.40: *bhiyo hetubhaye ṣuk* : §3.2

References and Abbreviations

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 ——— with *Pradīpa* and *Uddyota*. 5 vols. Gurukul Jhajar (Rohtak), 1962-1963. References are to volume and page; e.g. I. 1.
Cardona, George. 1967a: 'Negations in Pāṇinian Rules'. *Language* 43.34-56
 1967b. 'Pāṇini's Syntactic Categories'. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda 16.201-215
Kāś. : *Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana and Jayāditya. With the *Padamañjarī* of Haradatta and the *Kāśikāvivaraṇapañjikā* (*Nyāsa*) of Jinendrabuddhi. Ed. by Swami D. D. Shastri. 6 vols., 1965-1967. Varanasi
Kiparsky, P. and J. F. Staal. 1969. 'Syntactic and Semantic Relations in Pāṇini'. *Foundations of Language* 5.83-117 (1969)
N : *Nyāsa*. See *Kāś.*
Pr. : *Pradīpa* of Kaiyaṭa. See *Bh.*
Praūḍh. : *Praūḍhamanoramā* of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita. (*Kāśī Saṃskṛta Grantha-mālā.*) Benares, 1939

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- ŚK : *Śabdakaustubha* of Bhaṭṭojī. 2 vols. (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series.) Benares, 1917, 1933
- SK : *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭojī. With *Bālamānoramā*. (Kāśī Saṃskṛta Granthamālā.) Varanasi, 1958. References are according to the serial numerotation of this edition.
- Ud. : *Uddyota* of Nāgeśa. See *Bh.*
- VP : *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari. Ed. by K. V. Abhyankar and V. P. Limaye. Poona, 1967.
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THE EVOLUTION OF THE SUPARṆA SAGA IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

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The Suparṇa-Ākhyāna in the *Āstikaparvan* of the *Ādiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* represents one of those remarkable stories in the vast storehouse of Indian mythology, which are known for their great antiquity and popular interest. The exact parallel of the saga of Suparṇa would be the famous Pururavā-Urvaśī legend of Ṛgvedic origin streaming down through different stages to the classical Sanskrit literature. The Suparṇa story has its roots in the *Ṛgveda* and rolls on being gradually amplified and embellished through various strata of later Vedic literature and a semi-Vedic work styled Suparṇa-Adhyāya, until it finally reaches its full-fledged form in the *Mahābhārata*, though it is also to be found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This article¹ attempts to show the evolution of the saga with a comparative study of its various versions as found in the different ancient sources. Outline :—

1. Suparṇa legend in the *Ṛgveda*
2. Suparṇa legend in the post-Ṛgvedic and Brāhmaṇic literature
3. Suparṇa-Adhyāya
4. Comparison of the Ṛgvedic version with the Suparṇa-Adhyāya
5. Comparison of the post-Ṛgvedic and Brāhmaṇic versions with Suparṇa-Adhyāya
6. Suparṇa-Ākhyāna in the *Mahābhārata*
7. Comparison of the versions of Suparṇa-Adhyāya and Suparṇa-Ākhyāna
8. Comparison of the two versions with that of the *Rāmāyaṇa*
9. Suparṇa story in the Southern recension of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*
10. Reference to the story in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*
11. Suparṇākhyāna as a part of the *Āstikaparvan*
- I. *Suparṇa legend in the Ṛgveda :*

The earliest evidence of the Suparṇa tale is in the *Ṛgveda*. There we find numerous references to it scattered in various verses and hymns. The legend is

1 We wish to put on record our indebtedness in the preparation of this article to J. Charpentier's excellent work, 'Die Suparṇasage' (Leipzig) dealing with the Suparṇa-Adhyāya. In addition, Winternitz's 'The serpent sacrifice mentioned in the Mahābhārata' (JBBRAS, II, 1926), and B. R. Sharma's 'Reflexion on Suparṇa in the Vedas' (Indian Linguistics, vol. 22, 1961) have also been consulted.

naturally in its embryonic form. There are different and even contradictory accounts at different places and no unified and consistent story can be carved out. But from the rather scanty indications something can be gleaned to a certain extent. One notable point is that the *R̥gveda* does not know of the Kadrū-Vinatā element of the legend. It only tell-us (at different places)¹ that (1) the Soma was originally lying in the lofty heaven of Indra, from where it was brought by the Suparṇa with a rapid flight for men as the drink of immortality and sacrifice so that men can perform sacrifices pleasant to the gods; or (2) the Soma was in the yonder regions (parāvataḥ) from where it was brought by the Suparṇa to and for Indra. Thus there is a mixture of two parallel conceptions. (There are traces of other ideas also, but they are not of much concern to our purpose.) This legend of the Soma-robbing eagle is widely known in the circle of the Vedic poets, although the details are only summarily narrated. Yet one can say that the *R̥gveds* contained a legend which agrees well with the later Suparṇa's story in the matter of Suparṇa's bringing the Soma from Indra's heaven. This story looks like a parallel to the Prometheus legend in Greece although the thing brought from the heaven is not fire, as in the Vedic Mātariśvan-legends but the heavenly drink of immortality and sacrifice.

The story in the *R̥gveda*, goes on thus: The Soma was kept in Indra's heaven, where it was protected by Indra and other heavenly beings, among whom was the archer Kṛśānu. The eagle overcomes all opposition, but the enraged Kṛśānu shoots an arrow at him severing one of his feathers which falls during his flight. (IV. 27, 3cd, IX. 77, 2cd and IV. 27, 4cd). The question is not the robbing of the Soma for the sake of Indra from the highest but rather of robbing the Soma from the heaven of Indra for the inhabitants of the earth. As for the legend that the eagle brings the Soma to Indra who is in difficulty, there are traces in the *R̥gveda*. This conception is however akin to the Brāhmaṇic one, as we shall see.

2. *Suparṇa-legend in the post-R̥gvedic and Brāhmaṇic literature :*

The trend of the legend is obviously enlargement. Accordingly in the post-R̥gvedic Vedic literature such as the *Yajurveda* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, we see that the Suparṇakathā has grown considerably. There is a vague allusion to this legend in the *Atharvaveda* saying that Gāyatrī assumed the form of Śyena : (Av. VI. 48, lab) 'śyeno si gāyatrācchandā anu tvā rabhe'. Except this we do not hear about the legend in the *Atharvaveda*.

But the *Yajurveda* in its different versions has this story narrated continuously and fully, unlike the *R̥gveda* where it is in a sketchy form. Not only that, but we find that the element of the Kadrū-Vinatā dispute is also present,

¹ Chiefly in IV. 18 and 26-27. Cf. I. 93. 6; V. 49. 7; VI. 20, 6; IX. 77, 2; X. 11, 4 etc.

which was not in the R̥gvedic story. The R̥gveda obviously proves that the legend of Kadrū and Vinatā, however old, is not originally connected with the other one of the Soma-bringing by Garuḍa or Suparṇa. The two were perhaps independently current and are brought together only in later times when we find greater and greater tendency to weave them into one story. This necessitates a presupposition that there was a long course of development between the legend of the R̥gveda and that in the post-R̥gvedic literature. It was during this span of time that the two legends of Soma-stealing and Kadrū—Vinatā were combined and united, so that the latter forms the background of the former. This amalgamation was accomplished perhaps because Garuḍa commonly figured in both, as did also the idea of Soma-bringing.

Let us first see the *Black Yajurveda* version. The summary of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (VI. I.6.I. ff) story is as follows :—

Kadrū and Suparṇī had a dispute with each other's person as the stake. Kadrū defeated Suparṇī. She asks Suparṇī to buy her release by fetching Soma from the third heaven. Kadrū is this earth, and Suparṇī is the heaven, ¹ and the descendants of Suparṇī are the metres. Suparṇī asks her children to bring Soma. Jagatī and Triṣṭubh flew up but returned without obtaining it. Finally Gāyatrī soared high and brought the Soma and also the four syllables lost by the other two metres. When the Soma was borne away the Gāndharva Viśvāvasu stole it but only for three nights. Thus Gāyatrī brought release to her mother.

The *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* [(XXXIII. 10) practically follows the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*. The *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* (XXXIV. 3) says, 'The Gāyatrī transformed into an eagle (śyena) brought down the Soma ; the Soma guard shot at it cutting off one of her talons and the Soma shoot which fell out of it became the Pūtika-plant.' The *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* says, 'In the third heaven, there was Soma. Gāyatrī assumed the form of an eagle and brought the Soma down. A feather of the eagle was torn away and it transformed itself into a Palāśa tree.'

As regards the *White Yajurveda* it is represented by the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, to which we shall come shortly. The version there is different and in greater detail than in the *Black Yajurveda*.

Coming to the post-Saṃhitā period, we find that the *Brāhmaṇas* give a more detailed picture of the legend. *Aitareya*, *Taittirīya*, *Tāṇḍya*, *Gopatha* and *Pañca-*

1 ' That ' Kadrū (red brown '), the mother of the serpents, means the earth can scarcely be doubted. The Earth is called in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (V. 23) Sarparājñī ' queen of the serpents '. The serpents were regarded as the ' offspring of the earth ' among the Greeks, the Lithuanians and the Esthonians. (Compare my Sarpabali, pp. 3, 7, 30). Vinatā (' bent down ') is called Suparṇī (' the fair-winged one ') in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III, 6.2, where there is to be found an older form of the story, though unfortunately it is retouched from the priestly point of view. She is possibly the canopy of heaven, regarded as the mother of birds and of the Sun-bird Garuḍa in particular. ' (Winternitz, p. 79, footnote)

viṃśa Brāhmaṇa accounts do not contain the Kadrū-Vinatā element. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (III. 25, III. 26) version is akin to the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* story in its soma-bringing element. Here is the summary :—

Soma the king was in the yonder world. The gods and the seers reflected on how to make the Soma come to them. They sent the metres to fetch the Soma. When Jagatī and Triṣṭubh did not succeed and returned weary, Gāyatrī flew and terrified the guardians of the Soma, grasped with foot and mouth Soma the king and also grasped the syllables which the other two metres had dropped. Kṛśānu, a Soma guardian, shot at her and cut off the nail of her left foot. A later passage (VI. 14) says that the Gāyatrī became an eagle and brought the Soma.

The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (III. 2.1.1-2) says that the parna of Gāyatrī which was severed became the palāśa tree. The *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* (1.3.8) has a version similar to the *Kāthaka Saṃhitā*. Gāyatrī became an eagle (śyena) and took away the Soma and a shoot of Soma which fell off by being shot at by a guardian of Soma became the pūtika plant. The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* follows this account. The *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* (VIII.4.1) follows the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* but without mentioning Gāyatrī's fight with the Soma guardians says that the shoots of Soma that fell down as it was being fetched became the pūtikas.

The story in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is actually in a form which is closer to the later *Suparṇa* story in its more developed state in *Suparṇa—Adhyāya* or *Ākhyāna*. The *Brāhmaṇa* narrates the tale in several places, the most outstanding being III.6.2. 2-11, 15 and III.2.4. 1-2. The following is the summary of the *Śatapatha* story :—

The gods who were on earth and wanted to get the Soma in heaven give to *Suparṇī* (Vāc) and *Kadrū* (earth) magic forms and provoke a fight between them to get the Soma for their sacrifice. They make a bet with their own persons as stake, and it looks clear that the bet is about who can see the farthest. *Suparṇī* sees beyond the sea a white horse, which is tied to a post (or rather — we suggest—rubbing itself against it, 'sevate'), and *Kadrū* does not see that only, but also a hair (wrongly interpreted by Charpentier as 'tail', because in the original it is 'vāḷa'), hanging from the post, being moved by the wind. By order of *Kadrū*, *Suparṇī* flies there and comes back with the answer that it is exactly as *Kadrū* had said, and therefore, she has won. Then *Kadrū* gives to *Suparṇī* the advice to bring the Soma from heaven to buy herself free. *Suparṇī* brings forth the metres, and among them the Gāyatrī flies up to bring the Soma. The Soma lies in a hiding place very difficult to find, between two golden containers and is watched over by the Gandharvas. A footless archer aimed at Gāyatrī while she was carrying him off and severed one of her feathers or of Soma.

It is enough to indicate briefly that the most striking difference between the Ṛgvedic and the post-Ṛgvedic traditions is constituted by the fact that the two myths, those of Soma-robbing and of Kadrū-Vinatā, have come to be intimately fused in the post-Ṛgvedic stage, as noticed in the *Black Yajurveda* and *White Yajurveda* represented by the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. As pointed out earlier, the Brāhmaṇa idea that the Soma is brought to and for the gods on earth from the yonder world is similar to the other conception in the *Ṛgveda*.

3. *The Suparṇa-Adhyāya (the precursor of the Mahābhārata's Suparṇa-Ākhyāna)*:

The importance of the Suparṇa-Adhyāya has been observed by Winternitz, 'Suparṇa-ākhyāna (*i.e.* Suparṇa-Adhyāya) is a story the roots of which reach down into the depth of ancient mythology, and which has an important bearing on the relation between the Vedic and epic literature.' (Indian Antiquary, Vol. 27, 1898, p. 126). He says in his 'A History of the Indian Literature', "This is an apocryphal work belonging to the later Vedic literature, the author trying his utmost to imitate the hymns of the Ṛgveda in language, accentuation and external form so that his work should appear to belong to the Ṛgveda. The date of this work is quite uncertain, but on metrical grounds, we may place it approximately in the period of the metrical *Upaniṣads*, such as the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*. It is a cycle of ballads dealing with the legend of Kadrū, the snake-mother, and Vinatā, the bird-mother, and the enmity between Garuḍa and the snakes, a legend which dates far back into Vedic times, and which appears in epic form in the Āstīkaparvan of the *Mahābhārata*". (p. 312).

The Suparṇa-Adhyāya is in 165 verses including the Anukramaṇī in 1.5 plus the prose of 5.3b (later additions also included). The whole work is divided into 15 Sūktas and 31 Vargas. Each sūkta has mostly 2 Vargas, but 1 and 15 have 3, and sūkta 2 only 1 varga. The anukramaṇī (1.5) gives that number, but 1.1 says that there are 11 sūktas. (This discrepancy indicates that the text has undergone various stages of development.)

Contents :

There are *two* big parts: one the preliminary one, which describes the story upto the Soma-fetching by Suparṇa; and the second one describing the actual robbing of the Soma and its results.

Part I: The Kadrū-Vinatā bet and its consequences

- 1.1 : The Maṅgala and the conspectus.
- 1.2 : The beginning of the story. Heaven and earth were sisters in the form of a female-eagle Vinatā and a female-snake Kadrū. At a great sacrifice, by some fault, Kadrū lost one eye and both sisters flew to Tārṁśya (Prajāpati). Two Vālakhilyas are stuck in the mud. They (plural!), laughed at by Indra, rush to Ṛṣi Tārṁśya

and offer half of their penance if he begets a son who may humble and humiliate proud Indra. Tārksya (who is Kaśyapa of our Ākhyāna-story) produces an embryo in Vinatā.

- 1.3 : Vinatā then gives birth to three eggs. She impatiently breaks the first, and lightning flies to heaven. It is on account of this that lightning has no shape or form. Vinatā then waits longer and breaks the second one, and Aruṇa is born who curses the mother because he has been born crippled. But the sun comes and makes him his charioteer.
- 2.1 : Great omens take place on the birth of Garuḍa, and the serpents are destroyed but are again created by Svayambhū. It is said that fire gets stopped where people like Garuḍa are born in Māgha-Nakṣatra.
- 3.1 : Garuḍa is praised and the story begins. Kadrū and Vinatā make a bet, with their own persons as stake. Vinatā scolds Kadrū and refers to her being one-eyed. Kadrū then points out the fact that Vinatā is supposed to have a sharper eye-sight and points out a white horse on the other shore of the ocean and says that the horse has got a black hair (‘vāla’, which Charpentier wrongly translates as ‘tail’) hanging from the post. (It could be white, and ‘kṣṇa’ in the Suparṇa-Adhyāya could have come from the *Mahābhārata*-story.)
- 3.2 : Vinatā in contempt rejects her statement. Kadrū says that she can see better with one eye than Vinatā (with two). With that Kadrū starts the dispute with slavery as a stake, and Vinatā agrees. Vinatā thinks of sending Mātariśvan or of going both together. Vinatā offers to carry Kadrū, if necessary. (It is Vinatā who appears in a rather unfavourable light in this episode.)
- 4.1 : Kadrū says, “The thing is as I said. Therefore, you have lost the bet.” After that, she orders Vinatā to take her and her snake-sons to the island Rāmaṇīyaka. It is here that Garuḍa appears for the first time and it appears as if he is crying. Vinatā asks him why he is crying etc. He answers saying that it was because of his mother’s and his own condition.
- 4.2 : The snakes propose to Vinatā that Suparṇa should take them to the sun and Suparṇa promises to do so, guided by Aruṇa but takes them too high, too close to the sun. The serpents begged him to take them back to their mother Kadrū, who complains to Vinatā about their condition and their sufferings.

- 5.1 : Kadrū is in despair and accuses Suparṇa of the deed and entreats Indra to send rain to relieve them. Then Suparṇa complains to Vinatā about his slavery asking, "Have I done anything wrong?"
- 5.2 : Vinatā explains the cause of her slavery and Suparṇa asks how he can deliver her, and Vinatā answers, "Go and ask the serpents". Then Vinatā herself asks the serpents how she could be freed from slavery.
- 6.1 : Kadrū answers that Soma is in the highest heaven, and that Garuḍa should bring it to redeem his mother. Vinatā tells Garuḍa, "This is the way to redeem ourselves, but it is very difficult.". Garuḍa promises to do it, provided his mother hasn't killed any Brāhmaṇas. She reassures him on that score. The serpents tell Garuḍa directly that this is the way to redeem himself and his mother. They want the Soma so as to obtain immortality.
- 6.2 : Suparṇa promises to bring the Soma, and his mother fears that the difficulty is too great and prefers her son's life to her freedom. Garuḍa proclaims that he is the personification of the metres, but he needs extra food to accomplish the difficult task.
- 7.1 : Vinatā indicates that there are a mighty elephant and a monster, who are in a lake upon a high mountain. Garuḍa says that he cannot eat them on the ground, because he is a bird. Vinatā answers that there is a Rohiṇi tree which is the friend of Garuḍa's father. If this tree doesn't support him, no other tree can. It is on this tree that the Vālakhilyas and the Vaikhāṇasas live.
- 7.2 : Garuḍa gets the two mighty animals and flies to the tree and asks the tree to support him. The tree tells him to rest on a branch where the Vālakhilyas and the Vaikhāṇasas live. Then the tree sees that the branch is broken and that he will kill the Brāhmaṇas on earth and thus will incur sin, be destroyed and will not be able to bring the Soma.
- 8.1 : Garuḍa takes the branch together with the two monsters and then meets Tārksya, who, as it seems, addresses Garuḍa advising him to throw the branch down. Garuḍa then goes back to Vinatā and tells her that even after eating the monsters he is not satiated.
- 8.2 : Vinatā advises him to go and eat the Niṣādas, who are completely uncivilised and barbaric, but he should spare the brāhmaṇas among them. She then gives an answer to Garuḍa's question as to how he should recognise a brāhmaṇa. She describes the qualities of a brāhmaṇa.

- 9.1 : Continuation of the description of the brāhmaṇas. Garuḍa promises to bring the Soma after eating everything as told, and it is probably Vinatā who gives him a sort of blessing.
- 9.2 : Garuḍa eats the Niṣādas greedily. He finds a brāhmaṇa in his throat, which feels burnt, and asks him to get out together with his family. The brāhmaṇa does so and Garuḍa eats the rest and proceeds on his journey.
- 10.1 : A dialogue between Suparṇa and Tārṅṣya follows. The latter, after speaking with him about his mother, pronounces a blessing on him. (It is not impossible that this dialogue could be between Suparṇa and the delivered brāhmaṇa)

Part II: Soma Robbing

- 10.2 : There is a dialogue between Indra and Bṛhaspati, where Indra asks whether anyone can rob the Soma. Bṛhaspati says that Garuḍa might well do so. The point of Vinatā's tapas is mentioned in connection with Garuḍa's birth.
- 11.1 : Bṛhaspati praises at the same time Indra as the lord of the whole universe. Now there is a dialogue between Vinatā and Aruṇa, where Vinatā asks her son to help Garuḍa. But he refuses, saying that Garuḍa is irresistible.
- 11.2 : The same dialogue of Vinatā and Aruṇa continues and it ends with a blessing for Suparṇa from Vinatā. The previous dialogue between Indra and Bṛhaspati continues. Indra hears noise in the place where the Soma is kept and wants to go there. Bṛhaspati tells him it is due to Garuḍa, who has already overcome the Soma-watchers and has robbed the Soma.
- 12.1 : Through the questions and answers between Indra and Bṛhaspati, we come to know that Garuḍa has overcome the archer Bhauvana (the footless one), and then the snake-demons, such as Arbuda, Nahuṣa, Ulūka etc. and also the Gandharvas like Kakubandha etc.
- 12.2 : Bṛhaspati tells Indra also that the two lightning weapons Abhaya and Bhaya have been smashed.
- 13.1 : He says that the māyā of Indra has been overcome and also his wheel with knives, and that several other obstacles have been conquered by Garuḍa.
- 13.2 : That the Ādityas, Rudras, Vasus, Sādhyas and Maruts have all fled in different directions, and that even the fire around Soma has been quenched by Garuḍa by means of rivers of ghee.

14.1 : Indra decides to throw his Vajra upon Suparṇa. But it rebounds from the bird. Indra asks Bṛhaspati how that is possible, and Bṛhaspati says that Garuḍa consists of all the metres and the Vedas, and the Vāḷakhilyas and therefore he is invulnerable. It is now Indra that begs Suparṇa to honour the Vajra, and he agrees to let one feather fall, saying that he does not want to show his strength but his mildness.

14.2 : The feather is then cut in three parts by the Vajra. From the top came the peacock, from the middle the two-headed serpent and from the bottom, the mongoose. Indra asks Garuḍa what is his strength and asks for his friendship. Garuḍa extols his own might. Indra asks what will happen if the serpents have this Soma. But Garuḍa declares he will not give it to them but only show it.

15.1 : Garuḍa calls the snakes and tells them that the Soma is there. He asks them to come and get it if they can. Then he returns to Indra and gives him back the Soma and proclaims freedom for both himself and his mother. Indra boasts of his own might and asks how it was possible for Garuḍa to get the Soma.

15.2 : Garuḍa says that he has to free his mother from slavery and offers himself as a servant of Indra after praising him. Indra in thankfulness offers him food and immortality and Suparṇa requests Indra to have the snakes as his food. He begs to carry the sacrifice, to enter into the Vedas, and to be learnt by the Brāhmaṇas. Indra grants the request. The serpents stand up as if to defend themselves. But Suparṇa eats them and becomes stronger.

15.3 : The whole Suparṇa-Adhyāya ends with an invocation and praise of Garuḍa asking for his help and then finally follows the 'Śravaṇa-phala'.

4. *Comparison of the Rgvedic myth with the tale in the later-Vedic Suparṇa-Adhyāya :*

1. In the first place, the myths in the *Rgveda* and in the Suparṇa-Adhyāya are both concerned with the stealing of the Soma by the Suparṇa from Indra (for whatever reasons). Therefore on account of this agreement, we should consider the element of Soma-robbing as the oldest, literarily a fixed part of the Suparṇa-legend.

2. The Soma is in Indra's heaven and watched over by different heavenly beings, especially the archer Kṛśānu (who is in the Suparṇa-Adhyāya called Bhauvana). This Bhauvan is Fruitless, and Sāyaṇa says Kṛśānu is also so. (IV.27.3.14).

3. Garuḍa frightens away the watchmen. Sayana says the same thing for the *Ṛgveda*, though it seems it is only indirectly implied.

4. Garuḍa overcomes all difficulties, and thereby the superiority of Garuḍa over Indra, accepted by Indra himself, is underlined in both cases.

5. Again, in the Suparṇa-Adhyāya, Garuḍa does not give the Soma to the snakes but gives it untouched *back* to Indra. In the *Ṛgveda* on the other hand it is not explicitly said. Yet it seems implicit and likely, because the sūkta indicates a reconciliation between Garuḍa and Indra, who praises Garuḍa for his exploit.

As against these points of similarity, there are points of disagreement, such as,

1. In the Suparṇa-Adhyāya Garuḍa lets fall one feather in honour of Indra's Vajra, which is not able to hurt Garuḍa. But in the *Ṛgveda*, Kṛśānu shoots it off.

2. In the *Ṛgveda*, the eagle brings the Soma from Indra's heaven for *men*. In the Suparṇa-Adhyāya, the Suparṇa brings the Soma from Indra *to deliver* his mother Vinatā from the slavery to the snakes.

3. Lastly there is a very significant difference. There is no trace in the *Ṛgveda* of the whole preliminary story concerning Kadrū-Vinatā and the snakes. Hence the story of the Soma-robbing has nothing to do with the Kadrū-Vinatā tale, but stands independently in the *Ṛgveda*.

5. *Comparison of the Yajurvedic story with the Suparṇa-Adhyāya :*

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* version can be called the direct source of the Suparṇa-Adhyāya. Herein after the *Taittirīya Saṃhita* version, the oldest form of the myth of the bet between Kadrū and Vinatā as in the Suparṇa-Adhyāya is to be found with its details. There are differences also, e.g. in the Suparṇa-Adhyāya there is no specific reference to the metres, which is but natural. Yet Garuḍa is represented as the personification or the embodiment of the metres and the Vedas (14.1, 6.2). The whole story of the bet is exactly as in the Adhyāya, but it is provoked by the gods in order to get the Soma for their sacrifice. Again, in the *Brāhmaṇa* Kadrū sends Vinatā alone to find out. She goes and returns saying that Kadrū is right. And here ends in the *Sauparṇī-kādravam-Ākhyānam* (III.6.2. 2-7), which comes as an introduction to the later part of Soma-stealing (III.6.2. 8-15). The *Brāhmaṇa* continues (without the further incidents given in the Suparṇa-Ākhyāna) and says that Kadrū asks Suparṇī to buy herself free by bringing herself the Soma from heaven. Then follows the Soma-robbing story in a very fragmentary form. Suparṇī brings forth Gāyatrī who goes to bring the Soma. The Soma is kept between two golden containers, which is similar to the idea of two lightning weapons Bhaya and Abhaya in the Suparṇa-Adhyāya. She takes them away and gives them to

the gods, and with the Soma Suparnī buys herself free *from the gods*. This idea is quite different from that in the Suparṇa-Adhyāya.

6. *Suparnākhyāna in the Mahābhārata* (adhs. 14, 18-30) :

The tale goes back to hoary antiquity, the Devayuga when the gods and the demons churned the ocean. Brahmā Prajāpati, the Creator of the universe, had two daughters, Vinatā and Kadrū, unparalleled in their beauty. They were wedded unto Kaśyapa, the Patriarch, a celebrated mythical figure of yore. Once their kind and loving husband, who was another Prajāpati as it were (and actually is often so designated as if this were his other name), was highly pleased with his righteous wives, who to their boundless joy were granted boons. Kadrū was for one thousand serpent-sons of eminent lustre, whereas Vinatā chose only two, who might excel in brilliance and prowess the sons of Kadrū with all their numerical strength. (The two sisters were of course staunch rivals as all co-wives are.) Kaśyapa granted her the boon of one and a *half* sons, with a significant instruction to look after her foetuses carefully and patiently. (This is to be connected with what is said later in adhy. 27.24-29, where the pure and righteous Vinatā is specially blessed by her husband Kaśyapa with two adorable sons, born of his own desire and the penances of the Vāḷakhilya sages.) After a long time both brought forth their eggs. After a further 500 Years, the sons of Kadrū crept out, but the twins of Vinatā did not make their appearance. Vinatā naturally was shamefaced, and, growing overwhelmingly desirous of progeny, she childishly broke open one of the unripened eggs and saw but a *half*-bodied or partly-developed son. (This is how Kaśyapa's words came true.) The child was angry with his mother who was responsible for his maimed condition and so cursed her that she should some day become the slave of her competitor for not less than 500 years (probably the very period to the extent of which he was prematurely born), and that his own brother should redeem her from her deplorable condition, provided she silently waited and watched for 500 years and even more, in order to engender miraculous might into him. This first son of Vinatā, Aruṇa, is identified with ' dawn ' and quite consistently is also conceived as the charioteer or the forerunner of the Sun. He is also regarded as crippled and a half-wit in mythology for the same reason. (Quite surprisingly this miniature-like saga of ours bears a very striking and interesting resemblance to the principal Bhārata-tale, which also describes the fratricidal animosity and the ensuing war between the 100 Kauravas and the 5 Pāṇḍavas, corresponding to the 1000 wicked Kādraveyas and the noble Vainateya. There is one more remarkable feature of paralleli m. Aruṇa, born as a result of his mother's undue

haste and immature understanding and consequently cursing her for his miserable condition, finds an exact parallel in Karṇa, Kuntī's unlucky son and a perennial cause of rankling anguish to her. Aruṇa becomes the Sūta of the Sun and Karṇa also is called 'sūtaputra.' We however do not intend to suggest any hidden *symbolic* meaning in our Ākhyāna. We just wanted to point out the noticeable resemblance between the two tales which is a very curious fact.) (Adh.14). Once the two sisters beheld on the farther shore of the sea the wondrous steed, Uccaiṣravas that had been churned out of the ocean as one of the 14 marvellous jewels. Kadrū asked Vinatā what colour she thought the horse was. Vinatā answered that it was pure-white and asked Kadrū in turn what she thought, so that they could enter into a wager. Kadrū replied that the horse had a black-haired (Kṛṣṇavāla) tail, and so the rival sisters betted with personal servitude for a wager. They agreed to check the fact (about the horse) on the next day and went home for the night. Vinatā was of a simple and straight-forward nature. But the crafty Kadrū, knowing full well that Vinatā was right, planned to hoodwink Vinatā, since she was resolved to enslave her rival (jihmaṃ cikīrṣatī). Hence she commanded her thousand snake-sons to turn themselves into black hairs and to attach themselves to the horse's white tail. The serpents refused, and down crashed on them the mother's fierce curse that they would perish in the forthcoming sacrifice performed by King Janamejaya. The Pitāmaha also, looking to the iniquity and the appallin increase of the poisonous snakes, endorsed the curse in the interest of humanity. (Adh. 18).

The terror-stricken serpents then gathered together to deliberate about the disaster and decided ultimately to obey, hoping that their mother would relent eventually. And they went. (This, occurring in App.1.13, is a controversial point in the legend, where the sources differ, and it will be discussed further down). The next morning, Kadrū and Vinatā set out to examine the horse closely, crossed the vast ocean (Adh. 19) and landed in the vicinity of the horse. The horse *had*—as it appeared now through Kadrū's trickery—a black-haired tail; hence Vinatā with downcast face became Kadrū's slave.

About 500 years of poor Vinatā's groaning under the yoke of the wicked Kadrū must have rolled on; when Garuḍa was born at the right time, himself rending open the egg, and the very next moment, assuming titanic proportions, he rose into the sky. He was refulgent like Fire incarnate. The gods ran to Agni out of fright; Agni consoled them and told them that Garuḍa was exactly like himself in lustre. The gods then humbly bowed down to Garuḍa and heaped praises upon him. (Adh. 20).

Then Garuḍa came to Vinatā in her servility, and Kadrū bade Vinatā to carry her to the habitat of the Nāgas called Rāmaṇīyaka in the interior of the ocean. Vinatā bore Kadrū, and Garuḍa the serpents. Garuḍa flew towards the Sun and the snakes swooned being scorched. So, Kadrū invoked Indra (Adh. 21) the god of rains and received his favour in the shape of showers, and the serpents recovered their consciousness and were cheered up (Adh. 28). The region to which they were brought was extremely enchanting. After fully enjoying there, they again ordered Garuḍa to take them to another beautiful island. Garuḍa, out of sheer surprise, inquired of his mother why he was required to act every time according to the whims of the serpents. Vinatā explained that she was enslaved by Kadrū through the swindle of the snakes. Garuḍa, very much aggrieved, asked the serpents how Vinatā could be freed, when they asked him to bring them the heavenly nectar as ransom (Adh. 23). Garuḍa immediately set off to procure the Amṛta, learning from his mother about his food. With blessings from his mother, Garuḍa went, and came to the place of the Niṣādas, obstructed their way and began to draw them into his tremendous gaping mouth. The Niṣādas hurried into the jaws of Garuḍa and were devoured (Adh. 24). But Garuḍa, remembering the admonition of his mother, carefully spared a Brāhmaṇa-couple, who blessed the noble Garuḍa. Then Garuḍa saw his father, Kaśyapa, and desired to know the means to satisfy his voracity. Kaśyapa pointed out a tortoise and an elephant, two erstwhile brothers, the sages Vibhāvasu and Supratika. In the matter of the distribution of wealth they wrangled; the irate Vibhāvasu cursed the avaricious Supratika to become an elephant, who reciprocated by cursing Vibhāvasu to become a tortoise. Since that day they were constantly engaged in fighting ferociously. Kaśyapa asked Garuḍa to make use of these peculiar creatures. He pounced upon them and grabbed them one with each talon, soared into the sky and arrived at Alambatīrtha, the abode of heavenly bejewelled trees, which actually shook in the wind of the flutter of his wings. The most luxuriant and gigantic Rohiṇa-tree however told Garuḍa that he had a branch as long as a hundred yojanas, and that Garuḍa could devour his prey by perching comfortably on it (Adh. 25). But the enormous perch broke like a twig at his very touch; and Garuḍa promptly held it with his beak as he saw the Valakhilya-sages hanging from the branch upside down. And with the broken branch he travelled several regions along with those monsters, but could not find a suitable place to deposit the revered sages. He went to the Gandhamādana, mountain where he saw once again his father doing penance. Kaśyapa saw his son's matchless strength and celestial effulgence. He at once propitiated the Vālakhilyas on his behalf

lest they be incensed and burn him off. Knowing that Garuḍa's endeavour was for the welfare of the people, they kindly left the branch and went to the Himālaya. Then, Kaśyapa showed a unique mountain called Niṣpuruṣa, not accessible even by mind. Garuḍa reached it within no time and dropped the branch with a rumbling sound. Even the great mountain trembled and its summits were shattered by the impact of the gusty wind produced by the eagle's huge wings. On the peak of the mountain Garuḍa sat and satisfied his hunger by consuming the two monsters.

From the top of the mountain, Garuḍa darted off high into the air and the gods in heaven were panicky beyond limit. Their weapons dashed and clashed against each other and even Indra's own dear thunderbolt was in distress. The cloudless sky thundered, the winds blew violently and meteors appeared. Awfully affrighted by this sudden havoc, the god of gods, Indra, rushed to Bṛhaspati and asked him why there was such an unprecedented quake, although he could not imagine then anyone who could defy him. Bṛhaspati revealed to him that it was the Vainateya, the son of Kaśyapa Prajāpati, endowed also with the essence of the austere penances of the Vālakhilyas, Garuḍa was born to supersede Indra in power and lustre, because in the past Indra offended the Vālakhilya sages out of his arrogance. (Cf. the beginning of this story.) Adh. 27 narrates this interesting story of Indra and the Vālakhilyas and the circumstances of Garuḍa's birth. The Guru of the gods further informed Indra that Garuḍa had come to take away the Soma and that no task was impossible for him. So hearing, Indra alerted his god-warriors to thwart Garuḍa and to protect the nectar. The doughty gods were arrayed encircling the Ambrosia, perfectly equipped with all sorts of dazzling panoply and brightly sharpened weapons and missiles. Garuḍa advanced indomitably against the formidable front of the gods who at the very sight of Garuḍa stood aghast and began to quiver. Even the valiant Bhauvana, the Soma-guard, badly smitten by Garuḍa, was ultimately slain after a brief fray. Then, Garuḍa raised a terrible tornado of dust and the blinded gods were dispersed and lacerated by Garuḍa with the blows of his wings and claws. Thus Garuḍa thoroughly shook the whole heaven and spread chaos every-where. The wind-god, impelled by Indra, however, cleared the cloud, and the gods were able to strike at Garuḍa. Garuḍa now bounced into the sky and, though hurt all round, knocked down the gods. The strong ranks of the gods were broken and scattered by the breathtaking onslaught of Garuḍa. They all dripping with blood scurried helter-skelter in all directions. The mighty Garuḍa rendering the gods lifeless, proceeded and beheld a dreadful blazing fire around the Soma. Fleet and resourceful, he created 99 mouths, sucked the rivers' waters and extingui-

shed the fire. (Adh. 28) He reducing his body and becoming golden rushed in forcibly, like a gushing flood into the ocean. There he saw a knife-edged discus revolving incessantly. It was a fearsome mechanism fashioned by the gods to cut asunder the robbers of Soma. Garuḍa was, of course, not to be daunted. He contracted his colossal body and went in through the interstices of the spokes. More obstacles: below the Cakra there were two deadly and ever-angry cobras with horrid eyes whose mere glance was sufficient to reduce one at once to ashes. The skilful Garuḍa briskly filled their eyes with dust and having assailed their bodies swiftly swooped down upon the Amṛta, shook off the Yantra, and took a spectacular leap into the sky, without himself tasting of the nectar. He met Lord Viṣṇu on his way. Nārāyaṇa was mightily pleased with Garuḍa's most marvellous exploits. He made him immortal even without Amṛta and chose him as his vehicle and conferred a lofty place on his banner, to comply with his petitions. Indra, however, was still restless. He desperately tried to pursue and intimidate Garuḍa by means of his Vajra. But that weapon was impotent and ineffective against Garuḍa and Indra's last bid was also foiled. Smilingly Garuḍa, the invulnerable, spoke in courteous language, "I shall, however, pay respect to the great sage Dadhīchi (' *rṣeḥ mānaṃ kariṣyāmi vajraṃ yasya asthisambhavam* '), to the famous missile and to thee too. So here do I deliberately drop one feather". All creatures were astounded at the sight of Garuḍa's beautiful 'Parṇa', and because of it he was called "Suparṇa". Indra was lost in the admiration of such a mighty creature and expressed desire to know Garuḍa's extra-ordinary power while extending his friendship to him (Adh. 29). Garuḍa, though averse to self-glorification, described to Indra, out of friendly regard, his unfathomable prowess. Indra, highly impressed, proposed that, as a test of friendship, Garuḍa should restore the Ambrosia to him, since the serpents would use it for everyone's harm. "Garuḍa advised Indra to take the Soma from wherever he should place it. Indra, pleased, offered Garuḍa a boon. Garuḍa, remembering the cunning trickery of the snakes who were guilty of his mother's slavery, condescended to ask the serpents for his food.¹ Indra consented and followed Garuḍa, who came and told the serpents, 'I place the Amṛta on the kuśa grass. Wash and take it. And let my mother be free now, as I have fulfilled your condition.' The serpents went to bathe,

1 'The enmity between Garuḍa and the serpents reminds one of the contest between the eagle and the serpents mentioned by the Greek poets and artists (Otto Keller, *Tiere des Klassischen Altertums*, Innsbruck, 1867, pp. 247ff.). Perhaps an older myth about the contest of the sun-bird with the cloud-serpents is at the basis of both the conceptions.'—(Winternitz, p. 80, footnote).

and Indra disappeared with the Soma. The deluded snakes came to the spot, and finding the nectar carried away, realized that they had been repaid in kind for their trickery, and started licking the blades of the kuśa where the Soma had been kept, with the result that their tongue was bisected by the pointed darbha grass and hence they came to be known as 'dvijihva' (two-tongued). And the kuśa on account of the contact of Amṛta came to be regarded as sacred from that day. The jubilant Suparṇa, of impeccable glory and worshipped by the sky-soarers, regaled his dear mother.

This is the glorious saga of Garutmān; by reciting it in the assembly of learned Brāhmaṇas a meritorious person would go to heaven, the usual 'śravaṇa-phala'.

Not only in its tale, but in its poetry too, the Suparṇākhyāna is abundantly rich. It is characterized above all by a sustained flight of imagination. The stupendous puissance of Garuḍa is communicated to us with power through a matching massiveness of depiction. The narration often proceeds in a chiselled style, remarkable for its fluency and raciness, simplicity and unostentatiousness. And yet the poet can unfailingly evoke a sense of the 'immense' in describing Garuḍa's invincible might. It is no wonder that the Ākhyāna should have enjoyed a great popular appeal.

7. *Comparison of the Suparṇa-Adhyāya and Suparṇa-Ākhyāna :*

The two tales have an obvious *basic* similarity, yet they also have some important differences.

Differences in the Suparṇa-Ākhyāna-version :

1. Kadrū and Vinatā are represented as the daughters of the Prajāpati.
2. Kadrū lays 1000 eggs from which after 500 years the snakes come.
3. Vinatā lays two eggs and there is therefore no mention of the incident of lightning.
4. The curse of Aruṇa is given explicitly.
5. Kadrū's trickery and her curse, and the snakes ultimately forming the black tail of the horse, are all innovations.
6. Ocean-description is added.
7. The story of the Niṣādas and that of the elephant and the tortoise are in inverse order.
8. Kaśyapa, and not Vinatā, advises Garuḍa to eat the monsters to satisfy his hunger. In both, however, Vinatā advises Garuḍa to eat the Niṣādas, and spare the Brāhmaṇas among them and tells how to recognise them.

9. The Vāḷakhīlyas, requested by Kaśyapa, leave the broken tree-branch, and Garuḍa throws down the branch on an uninhabited mountain.

10. The story of Indra and the Vāḷakhīlyas is narrated when Garuḍa goes to heaven, as against in the beginning in the Suparṇa-Adhyāya.

11. The fight of Garuḍa with the Soma-watchers, and his reaching the Soma, shows several differences.

12. Garuḍa obtains immortality through Viṣṇu's grace. He is also made the vehicle of Viṣṇu.

13. Garuḍa asks the snakes to bathe before taking the Soma. And it is Indra who snatches the Soma away. The snakes lick the kuśa-grass and split their tongues.

14. Garuḍa himself sheds his feather in honour of Dadhīci and Indra.

Differences in the Suparṇa-Adhyāya-version :

1. Kadrū and Vinatā are earth and heaven as snake and eagle.
2. Kadrū and Vinatā commit a fault at a sacrifice and are excluded from it. Kadrū loses one eye and both fly to Tārksya.
3. Vinatā wants to send Mātariśvan to find out about the horse.
4. Garuḍa is crying and complains that he has had no teacher.
5. Vinatā answers Garuḍa's question saying that she has not committed any Brāhmaṇa-murder.
6. Garuḍa is represented as embodying the metres and the Vedas, which is a feature taken from the Brāhmaṇas.
7. The Vaikhānasas (besides the Vāḷakhīlyas) are also the inhabitants of the Rohiṇa-tree in the branch broken by Garuḍa; but nothing is said about them when Garuḍa drops the branch, which is also not clearly stated.
8. We are not told that one of the monsters is a tortoise.
9. The dialogue occurs between Vinatā and Aruṇa.
10. There are 23 watchmen of the Soma, only 9 of which are given by name in the Suparṇa-Ākhyāna.
11. There are two lightning-weapons which seem to correspond to the two containers, the Kuśis in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.
12. The directions in which the gods are said to disperse and flee are also different.
13. Garuḍa satisfies the fire surrounding the Soma with ghee.
14. Indra urges Garuḍa to honour his vajra and Garuḍa lets one feather fall, which transforms itself into three things.

15. Garuḍa himself takes the Soma back to Indra.

16. Garuḍa is granted food and immortality by Indra.

It is important to notice that the equations (Vinatā = Heaven, Garuḍa = metres and Vedas, Kadrū = earth) and also the transformation of the feather, are missing in the *Mahābhārata*, and the Suparṇa-Adhyāya seems to have taken them from the Brāhmaṇas. This is a sign that the Suparṇa-Adhyāya is still a late-Vedic text, that keeps the Brāhmaṇa-tradition, while the *Mahābhārata* is already more free from such influence. As regards the mutual relation between the two texts, it can be taken for obvious reasons that the Suparṇa-Adhyāya is older than the Suparṇa-Ākhyāna. It is also clear that the Suparṇa-Adhyāya is the chief source of the Suparṇa-Ākhyāna. The manifold divergences between the versions nevertheless indicate that the epic tale had had probably other sources. Those sources we do not know, but we can point out that the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* (18.4) speaks of a Suparṇa-Ākhyāna in 103 Anuṣṭubhs. Thus, it is quite likely that other similar texts had existed but had been later supplanted by the Suparṇa-Ākhyāna. Grube (quoted by Charpentier) says that in the *Śāṅkāyana Śrauta Sūtra* there are the Prātikas of 103 verses which are completely different from the Suparṇa-Adhyāya. Especially striking is the discrepancy in the different order of the monsters and the Niṣādas, which do not seem to give any sufficient motive for the change made by the *Mahābhārata*-redactor, excepting the fact that he found the changed order in some other source than the Suparṇa-Adhyāya. (Yet it may be his own, in order to have Garuḍa fly from the highest mountain straight to heaven.) In the myth of the Soma-stealing, again, there are so many differences that they cannot be explained well without taking recourse to the presumption that there are other sources besides the Suparṇa-Adhyāya for the Suparṇa-Ākhyāna author. On the other hand, it seems that it is not possible to deny that the Suparṇa-Adhyāya as it exists now has been subsequently influenced by the *Mahābhārata*-tale, especially in 4.1. verse 2, 6.1. verse 5, 8.1. verse 4, 14.1. verse 6. These verses belonging to the *Mahābhārata* are irrelevant and even disturbing in the Suparṇa-Adhyāya. Therefore the conclusion seems obvious that they are borrowed from the *Mahābhārata* and adapted for their introduction into the Suparṇa-Adhyāya.

Charpentier thinks that the story of Indra and the Vālakhilyas in the Suparṇa-Adhyāya is not original but is introduced in it after the Suparṇa-Ākhyāna. The reason is that it is much better placed in the *Mahābhārata* than in the Suparṇa-Adhyāya, where they seem to be extra interpolations. The Vālakhilyas come in the Suparṇa-Ākhyāna at a later stage and as a sort of additional episode. It is brought as a motive or reason for the humiliation of Indra through Garuḍa, whereas in the Suparṇa-Adhyāya, the story is badly presented and has nothing in the following that refers to it, although the Vālakhilyas are mentioned

later in 7.1. It seems that judging by 14.1, it would be difficult (though not impossible, really) to justify the connection of the Vālakhilyas with the birth of Garuḍa. The original story could do without the Vālakhilyas and run smoothly, since in function of the point of Vinatā's tapas (1.2), the birth of Garuḍa is logically and reasonably explained. This element has a greater unity with the rest of the tale; the Vālakhilya-element is on the other hand isolated in the Suparṇa-Adhyāya tale. The Vālakhilyas are again not referred to in the dialogue between Indra and Br̥haspati. In the Br̥hmaṇas also, the Vālakhilyas are not mentioned. Therefore it is possible to conclude that the element of the Vālakhilyas in the Suparṇa-Adhyāya is the result of the subsequent backward influence of the *Mahābhārata*-tale.

This was the contention of Charpentier. We however incline to think that the Vālakhilya-element is *not* retrospectively introduced in the Suparṇa-Adhyāya from the Suparṇa-Ākhyāna, and that it is actually the innovation of the Suparṇa-Adhyāya author. The only thing is that he has not been able to create an impression of polish and finish, which the Ākhyāna-composer has achieved. Yet the basic fact remains that the Vālakhilyas are an intended part of the Adhyāya-tale. The fact that the Suparṇa-Adhyāya mentions the Vālakhilyas in 7.1 shows that it is at least aware of them. The point of Indra's humiliation through Garuḍa applies to the Adhyāya also equally well (1.2). Again, it is possible to establish the connection of the Vālakhilyas and the birth of Garuḍa in 14.1 in the dialogue between Indra and Br̥haspati. Actually, in the Adhyāya, four different factors are mentioned as responsible for the birth of Garuḍa. They are: Tārksya or Kaśyapa, the tapas of Vinatā (10.2, verse 4), the tapas of the Vālakhilyas (1.2, 14.1), and the metres and the Vedas (14.1). (The last element is the result of a continuation of the Br̥hmaṇic bias, which would be naturally excluded in the Suparṇa-Ākhyāna, the *Mahābhārata* being remote from the Br̥hmaṇas). Vinatā's tapas though appearing subsequently in the Ākhyāna (27, 26) and the Adhyāya (10.2, verse 4) is instrumental in Garuḍa's birth. In the Ākhyāna (14.6, 27.27) as well as Adhyāya (1.2), Kaśyapa is obviously the main cause of Garuḍa's creation, in conjunction with the Vālakhilya-tapas as contributing to it (27.27ab and 1.2). Apparently in both the Adhyāya and Ākhyāna stories the Vālakhilya element can be regarded as additional. The passage in question is not so coherently narrated in the Adhyāya, yet its author can be said to have placed the episode in a more *historical* order. It is the Ākhyāna-author who improves the effect by dexterously placing it in a more interesting position from the story-telling point of view. Thus it must be finally said that the Vālakhilya passage is originally introduced in the Adhyāya by its author and derived from it but more attractively placed by the Ākhyāna author.

Summary :

1. The old genuine parts of the Suparṇa-Adhyāya form the chief source

of the story (in the *Mahābhārata*) used directly by the *Mahābhārata*-redactor ; but he has also freely chosen, altered, discarded and edited them as to their contents, besides their style and language.

2. But besides the *Suparṇa-Adhyāya*, the *Mahābhārata*-redactor has used other sources which are not to be traced any more. He worked them into the tale of the *Mahābhārata*.

3. The text of the *Suparṇa-Adhyāya*, as we have it now, has been subsequently influenced by the *Mahābhārata*-text. This point is subject to our criticism above.

8. *The Suparṇa-Adhyāya and the Rāmāyaṇa* :

In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, it is not a very extensive piece, but it is useful for the reconstruction of the old legend. It occurs in 3.35.27-36 of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This is the summary :—

Rāvaṇa comes to the shore of the ocean and sees there the tree Subhadra, a gigantic tree full of holy people. It is here that Garuḍa flew, carrying the elephant and the tortoise in his claws and broke the branch of this tree. There dwelt the Vaikhānasas, Vālakhilyas, Sādhyas and Dhumras. Out of compassion for them, Garuḍa takes up the branch, devours the monsters and kills the Niṣādas with the branch, after having delivered the holy people, for which he is full of joy. After that, he tears the iron railings, breaks the treasure-house and robs the Soma out of Indra's palace.

According to Hertel, the *Rāmāyaṇa* must have had a different source than the *Suparṇa-Adhyāya*; he however does not tell us the reasons. But he says that there is agreement, between the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Suparṇa-Adhyāya* ; only in this point that the holy people are under the tree *on the ground*, and not as in the *Mahābhārata*-story in the underside of the branch. He says that the *Suparṇa-Adhyāya* 7.1. 4-5 proves the agreement. But Charpentier thinks that it does not prove the agreement, because the stanza 7.1.4 has got the word 'yasyām' (śākhāyām). It is true that in 7.1.5b, it is said 'haniṣyasi brāhmaṇān ye pṛthivyām'. But this can be explained to mean that there were also the brāhmaṇas on the earth. And further he argues that the use of the word 'brāhmaṇa' would also be rather strange, since the Vālakhilyas are called 'ṛṣis'. Therefore it is quite possible that it meant that the falling of the branch may kill the people on the earth (wherever the branch be dropped) among whom there may be brāhmaṇas. And that is a crime to be avoided, as it is often said in the *Suparṇa-Adhyāya*. In another text 13.4 we have another reference with 'yatra'. Therefore it is not possible to prove from the *Suparṇa-Adhyāya* that the Vālakhilyas are below the tree and not on the branch—quite the contrary. And it is not possible that the *Mahābhārata*-redactor has misunderstood the *Suparṇa-Adhyāya*, the *Suparṇa-Ākhyāna* clearly mentions that they were on the branch.

On the other hand, the *Rāmāyaṇa* does not give any clear decision in this point. 35.27 says 'munibhiḥ vṛtam' (nyagrodham) and 35.30 says as the *Suparṇa-Adhyāya*, 'tatra'—Therefore Hertel's view that only in this point (that the *Vāḷakhilyas* were below on the ground and not on the branch) the *Rāmāyaṇa* agrees with the *Suparṇa-Adhyāya* and that in other respects it goes its own way, is not right, since the *Suparṇa-Adhyāya* does not warrant even this agreement. The *Rāmāyaṇa* says that the *Vāḷakhilyas* were on the ground, and so it would differ from both *Suparṇa-Adhyāya* and *Suparṇa-Ākhyāna*. And, that ultimately would support Hertel's view that the *Rāmāyaṇa* has a different source than the *Suparṇa-Adhyāya*, because there is *now* not even one point of *special* agreement between them (as Charpentier has rightly shown), not even in the one pointed out by himself.

Charpentier, however, points out the following features of *agreement between the Suparṇa-Adhyāya and the Rāmāyaṇa* :—

1. *Vaikhānasas* are mentioned with the *Vāḷakhilyas*.
2. *Garuḍa* eats first the two monsters and then destroys the *Niṣādas*, which is different from the *Mahābhārata* tale.
3. After the destruction of the *Niṣādas*, *Garuḍa* goes for the *Soma*.

Differences between the Suparṇa-Adhyāya and the Rāmāyaṇa :

1. The tree is called *Subhadra* in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This is an important difference; the other two versions have the name '*Rohiṇa*'. But since the *Rāmāyaṇa*-kavi calls it a '*nyagrodha*' tree, he may have found the name *Rohiṇa* ill-fitting, because *Rohiṇa* ("rauhiṇa") means a sandal-tree, which therefore would create confusion. For the *Rāmāyaṇa*-composer—rather naturally—the '*nyagrodha*' was the ideal for a big long-branched tree. Yet a mere change of name could be the invention of the Kavi, and alone does not seem to call for a new source.

2. *Garuḍa* smites the *Niṣādas* with the branch.—This difference can be answered by the fact that the *Rāmāyaṇa* could have invented this point in order to make it more acceptable, since it is an improvement on the idea of the eating of human beings, especially impure ones.

3. The description of the robbing of the *Soma* is different in the *Rāmāyaṇa* from that of the *Suparṇa-Adhyāya*.—These differences do not seem to be important and can be accounted for by saying that the *Rāmāyaṇa*-version is very short and does not profess to give an elaborate description.

Thus from all these facts we must conclude, thinks Charpentier, that the *Suparṇa-Adhyāya* was for the *Rāmāyaṇa* the chief source and even possibly the only source. The use of any other source by the *Rāmāyaṇa*-poet is at least not demonstrated or proved.—Charpentier is not however fully right, because

the *Rāmāyaṇa*-version indicates that it, in all probability, knew the *Mahābhārata*-version. The *Rāmāyaṇa* calls the two monsters 'gajakacchapau', which is in the *Mahābhārata* Ākhyāna and not in the *Suparṇa-Adhyāya*.—But then what about the difference of the *Rāmāyaṇa*-version from both the *Adhyāya* and the *Ākhyāna* in regard to the *Vālaṅkīyas* being on the ground? The difference could possibly be explained by saying that the *Rāmāyaṇa*-redactor knew both those old versions (*Adhyāya* and *Ākhyāna* ones) but that he modified them deliberately according to his more refined standards. The *Rāmāyaṇa*-version could be an improvement on the odd old idea of letting all those *ṛṣis* live like a swarm of insects on the underside of a tree-branch (especially since the *Rāmāyaṇa* names so many kinds of them besides the *Vālaṅkīyas*). Or else it could be said that he had, besides the above, another source and version of the legend; but there seems to be scarcely any need for this second alternative, when we realise what the redactorial dynamism is capable of.

Hence both Charpentier and Hertel must be partially corrected in the sense explained above.

9. *Suparṇa story in the Southern recension of the Anuśāsanaparvan of the Mahābhārata :*

Curiously enough the *Suparṇa* story occurs again in the *Anuśāsanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* in a fairly elaborate form. Actually the story running into 461 lines is documented solidly only by the Southern recension which is generally longer and more inflated than the Northern. The whole chunk has been rightly relegated to the Appendix (IA) by the editor Dr. R. N. Dandekar, in accordance with the text-critical principle of regarding one-recensional passages as evidently spurious and interpolational (unless under very special circumstances). The story of *Garuḍa* is inserted by the S-redactor after *adhy. 8*, where *Bhīṣma* speaks of persons worthy of worship to *Yudhiṣṭhira*. To satisfy the curiosity of the latter *Bhīṣma*, permitted by *Vāsudeva*, begins to recite the story as received from his teacher *Jāmadagnya Rāma*. The story is only broadly similar to the *Ādiparvan* story because of many of its own interesting touches. The narration is of course prosaic and in no way comparable to the vivid and vigorous expression of the *Ākhyāna*. We will note only a few salient *changes* effected by the S-redactor.

The redactor has certainly sensed the disconcerting nature of the episode of *Kadrū's* curse. Seeing that ultimately not all the serpents are incinerated in *Janamejaya's* snake-sacrifice he thinks that *Kadrū's* curse cannot be universal and so the disobedience of the snakes should be partial. This apparently accounts for the survival of some snakes after the *sarpasatra*. (We cannot go into all the implications of this fascinating text-critical problem at this place because it is not vital to our *Suparṇa* story.) The redactor has of course nicely

introduced the dialogue between the snakes and their tricky mother Kadrū, involving her sophistry and the moral dilemma for her sons. Some righteous ones however fled and down went the curse of their mother prompted by her own convenient expectation of filial obedience.

The Ākhyāna order of Vinatā's slavery and the birth of Garuḍa is here reversed. Garuḍa, ignorant of his mother's condition, was moving about swollen with pride at his enormous strength. In the meanwhile the sage Nārada, venerable to the gods, decided to rebuke and remind him of his duty to his distressed mother. The point is interesting especially because of Nārada who is mythically known for his propensity to shoot quarrel and trouble (though always to remove evil eventually). Garuḍa tries to appease his elder mother Kadrū in very sweet and pleasing words to release his mother, but the wicked Kadrū asks him to bring the Amṛta as a ransom.

The author has really waxed eloquent in the description of the fight of the elephant and the tortoise. The order of the two incidents of the Niṣādas (here called Kuvindas) and the two monsters is changed as in the Adhyāya story. Again like the Adhyāya there is no reference at all to what happens of the Vāḷakhilyas and the Vaikhānasas between the time when Garuḍa flies high with the huge branch full of the sages and drops it. The sinful Kuvindas live in a region in the ocean and are killed by the branch. The branch is dropped on the mountain in the Ākhyāna. However he devours the monsters on the mountain as in the Ākhyāna. Agni in Indra's heaven burning all-round for the protection of the Amṛta is surprisingly quenched by butter and not water as in the *Ādiparvan*. In the present story Garuḍa discharges one feather in order to do honour to Brahmā from whom the vajra was obtained by Indra, but again challenges the vajra to hurt the feather if it can. And the vajra is stuck to the feather and so Garuḍa is called Suparṇa. This is completely different from the Ākhyāna Garuḍa who is called Suparṇa for his nobility in shedding his parṇa in honour of the ṛṣi, Indra and the vajra itself.

The most striking change introduced by the S-redactor is in regard to the sequel to the Soma-bringing by Suparṇa. He announces to Kadrū, 'I have brought quickly the Amṛta for my righteous mother and let her be now released by you.' Kadrū was so excited that she immediately let Vinatā go. Garuḍa now recalls the subterfuge of Kadrū and her snake-sons, and reminding her of that picks up the nectar and starts to fly. Kadrū is angry and asks him to stop his fraud. Garuḍa cleverly replies, ' You asked me to *bring* the Amṛta and I did bring it. I have fulfilled your order and have redeemed my mother righteously and truthfully. If you asked me to give it to you, I do not think you deserve it.' A very interesting innovation! Saying so he goes to Indra and returns the nectar to him, quite differently from the Ākhyāna.

Considering all these major differences, the Anuśāsana story in the S-recension deserves to be called a third version of the Suparṇa saga. The changes are quite important and seem to be deliberate redactorial inventions. It is possible that yet another floating version of the story current in the South has been embodied by the S-redactor. As noted above, we can say that there could be different sources in addition to the Suparṇa-Adhyāya from which the *Ādi* and *Anuśāsana* stories are independently derived, though always making adequate allowance for the free redactorial ingenuity.

10. *Reference to the Story in the Kathāsaritsāgara :*

A version of the legend of Kadrū and Vinatā is to be also found in Soma-deva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* (IV. 22), where the two ladies quarrel about the colour of the horses of the Sun, and Kadrū asks her children the serpents to blacken the horses of the Sun and so they spit their poison on them. Garuḍa brings the nectar from the sea of milk and here, it is Viṣṇu pleased with his great might who grants him a boon making the snakes become his food, and not Indra. The ending part of the theft of Soma by Indra is much the same as in the Suparṇa-Ākhyāna.

11. *Suparṇākhyāna as a Part of the Āstikaparvan :*

The Great Epic has an epic-like prelude. The component parvans are like the diverse designs in the frame or like the several spokes of the hub of the sub-epic of Janamejaya's snake-sacrifice. The sub-parvans describe the antecedents of the serpent-sacrifice and each ends with a reference leading to it, which becomes their common refrain, as in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* or the *Daśakumāracarita*. Now since the story of Janamejaya's snake-sacrifice is affixed as a basis and preface to the central Bhārata-Kathā, it has to contain the entire serpent-lore pivoting around that event. Of all the countries of the earth, India abounds most in serpents. With this abundance of serpents, agrees also the importance which the serpent has occupied in the mythology and worship of the Indians from the most ancient times to the present day. And nothing is more significant of the importance of this creature in Indian myth than that a whole conglomeration of serpent-stories was added on as an introduction to the great epic, the *Mahābhārata* and that according to this introduction that epic itself with its hundred thousand verses had been recited at a so-called ' serpent-sacrifice '. (Winternitz, p. 80) This well-woven sub-epic narrative comprises the *Paulomaparvan*, the *Pauṣyaparvan*, and the *Āstikaparvan* with the serpent stories galore. Our Suparṇākhyāna is one such. It seems, the ingenious *Mahābhārata*-redactor brings about a splendid synthesis of the Janamejaya-epic out of the scattered fragments pertaining to the snakelore popular in his times.

Winternitz furnishes remarkable resemblances of the Indian serpent-sacrifice story with the legends among peoples of Tyrol and the Alpine lands, Denmark,

Sicily, Grossensass, Luchon, Eisaktal, Eggental, Lechtal, Wurmtal, Seiseralm, Salzburg, Walsertal, Bohemia. In these popular stories, we meet with the fundamental idea that the serpents are consumed in a big fire. (Details of course vary slightly.) Winternitz refers to the different scholars' attempts to explain the serpent-sacrifice of Janamejaya in various ways, historical and mythological—symbolical. He says, 'I believe that the extra-Indian parallels to the serpent sacrifice mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* are so striking that it would not be proper to see in them merely accidental resemblances. If, however, the resemblance is not accidental, then there are only two possibilities: either we have (in this case) to deal with a myth which reaches back to the Indo-Germanic prehistoric times, or that there are stories and ideas which have spontaneously arisen here as well as there from the same psychological motive. In both cases, however—and this appears to me to be a methodologically important conclusion—all these stories, whether we come across them in India or anywhere else, must be explained in the same way.' (Winternitz, p. 90)

A NOTE ON PARIKṢIT AND JANAMEJAYA

By

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In the 127th *Sūkta* of the 20th Book of the *Atharvaveda*, we are told of one king Parikṣit in whose realm people thrive merrily.¹ According to both Roth² and Bloomfield,³ the two eminent Vedic scholars, this Parikṣit is a divine being. But some other scholars (including Oldenberg⁴ and Zimmer⁵) think that the Vedic poet is actually referring to a human being in this *Sūkta*. And the authors of the *Vedic Index*⁶ are inclined to agree with the latter view. They further identify him with the monarch of the same name, referred to in the First Book of the *Mahābhārata*, and described as the great-grandfather of Pratīpa.⁷ H. C. Raychaudhuri in his *Political History of Ancient India*⁸ not only accepts the historicity of this Parikṣit but also makes every effort to prove that he is really the grandson of Arjuna, the celebrated hero of the Bhārata war.

The *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* disclose the existence of at least four Parikṣits (the spelling given in these works is Parikṣit), two of the Lunar dynasty and two belonging to the Solar or *Ikṣvākuvaṃśa*. Parikṣit I was an ancestor of the heroes of the Bhārata war. In chapter 89 of the 1st Book of the *Great epic*, he appears as the son of Aṣṣvat and the grandson of Kuru. In the next chapter of the same Book, however, he is described as the son of Arugvā and the great-grandson of Kuru. The other Parikṣit of the Lunar dynasty was the well-known grandson of Arjuna and the father of Janamejaya, the performer of the great snake-sacrifice in whose court the *Mahābhārata* was said to have been recited for the first time. The third Parikṣit is described in the *Great epic*⁹ as belonging to the Ikṣvāku dynasty of Ayodhyā. He appears as a romantic personality in the *Mahābhārata*. In the list of the ancestors of Daśaratha, given in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,¹⁰ this Parikṣit does not find any place. The fourth Parikṣit, a son of Tāmasa Manu, is mentioned in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*.¹¹

1 7-10; see also PHAI (6th ed.), pp. 12ff.

2 *St. Petersburg Dictionary*, s.v.

3 *Hymns of the Atharvaveda*, pp. 690-691.

4 *ZDMG*, Vol. 42, p. 237; *Buddha*, p. 396.

5 *Altindisches Leben*, p. 131.

6 Vol. I, p. 494.

7 Cr. ed., I. 89.47; 90.43. See also Sorensen, *An Index to the Names of the Mahābhārata*, p. 540.

8 pp. 12ff.

9 Cr. ed., III.190.3ff.

10 Cr. ed., I.69.17ff.

11 II.36.49.

The author of *Political History* identifies Arjuna's grandson with the Vedic Parikṣit. In the *Great epic*,¹ he is described as the father of Janamejaya, Śrutasena, Ugrasena and Bhīmasena. And in both the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*² and the *Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*³ this Parikṣit is described as the father of the persons bearing those names. Raychaudhuri infers from this that the Vedic poets have actually referred to Abhimanyu's son in their works.

Now, regarding the names of the sons of the earlier Parikṣit of the Lunar dynasty the *Great epic* has made some confusion. In chapter 89 of the 1st Book, we have been told of the seven sons of this Parikṣit; they are—Kakṣasena, Ugrasena, Citrasena, Indrasena, Suśeṇa, Bhīmasena and Janamejaya. In chapter 90 only Bhīmasena is mentioned as the son and successor of this Parikṣit. From this anomaly Raychaudhuri conjectures that Parikṣit II has a better claim than Parikṣit I to be regarded as identical with the Vedic Parikṣit. But the *Viṣṇu*⁴ (which is admittedly one of the earlier Purāṇas) clearly states that Parikṣit I had four sons viz. Janamejaya, Śrutasena, Ugrasena and Bhīmasena. But Raychaudhuri thinks it safe to ignore the evidence of this Purāṇa.

Now, the Atharvavedic Parikṣit is pictured as a strong monarch ruling over a highly prosperous kingdom. But the same cannot be said about Abhimanyu's son Parikṣit. The *Ādiparvan*⁵ pictures him as addicted to hunting and also refers to the fact that he made over all the affairs of the state to his ministers. We have been told that he had to die because of his own irresponsible conduct. The *Great epic* further bestows upon him the rather unflattering epithet 'Kurukulādhama'⁶.

Some other factors also clearly go against Raychaudhuri's theory. According to a *gāthā*, quoted in both *Śatapatha* (XIII. 5.4.2) and *Aitareya Brāhmaṇas* (VIII. 21), the capital of Janamejaya, the son of the Vedic Parikṣit, was Āsandivat. Raychaudhuri makes a wild conjecture and suggests its identification with Hastināpura of the *Mahābhārata*. But it may be pointed out, in all humility, that there is absolutely no basis, whatsoever, for such a suggestion. Less we tread on guesses and conjectures, the better for us and better for Indian history. The fact that the Vedic Janamejaya, who was a *Pārikṣita*, had his royal seat at this place and not at Hastināpura (which is entirely ignored in the Vedic literature) goes far to show that he was not the celebrated grandson of Abhimanyu.

1 Cr. ed., I.3.1.

2 XIII. 5.4.3.

3 XVI. 9.7.

4 IV. 20.1.

5 Cr. ed., Ch. 37.

6 See Sorensen, *op. cit.*, p. 540. See also Cr. ed., I. 37.18.

More than once in the *Ādiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* Janamejaya, the grandson of Abhimanyu, is described as the conqueror of Taxila. The Vedic texts, on the other hand, never connect Pāriksita Janamejaya with that place, which also indirectly shows that they are not the same person. Again, the famous 'Sarpasatra' of the epic Janamejaya, which is the subject-matter of so many chapters of the *Ādiparvan*, finds no echo even in the latest stratum of the Vedic literature, not to mention the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Raychaudhuri rejects the historicity of this episode obviously because it does not suit his theory. He even questions the existence of Parikṣit I and prefers to call him 'shadowy'. Here he goes against the almost unanimous testimony of the *Great epic* and the major *Purāṇas*. Parikṣit I is not only known to the author of the 1st Book of the *Mahābhārata* but also to the poets of the *Harivaṃśa*, the *Viṣṇu*, and other *Purāṇas*. Even the Cheller grant of Vīracōḷa,¹ which has been referred to by Raychaudhuri, does not deny the existence of Parikṣit I. Raychaudhuri would make us believe that Parikṣit I and II represent a bardic duplication of the same original individual. But unfortunately that admirable scholar has given us no valid reason for such a conclusion.

We agree with the author of *Political History* when he observes that Parikṣit, lauded in the 20th Book of the *Atharvaveda*, is a human being. He has been described as a powerful Kuru king who ruled over an affluent realm (*Janah sa bhadramedhati rāṣṭre rājñah Parikṣitah*). Abhimanyu's son Parikṣit, on the other hand, has not been able to snatch any such laudatory verse from the pen of the poet of the *Ādiparvan* of the *Great epic*. Undaunted and undismayed by this, the author of *Political History* has pounced upon the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, in order to build his own image of Parikṣit. Now, this work is separated by at least five hundred years from the latest stratum of the *Mahābhārata*. So the evidence of this *Purāṇa*, which has been assigned to the post-Gupta period by most of the Purāṇic scholars including R. G. Bhandarkar, Hazra and Kane, can never be conclusive. It is interesting to note that in the *Great epic* Parikṣit I is pictured as the great-grandfather of Pratīpa. And actually one such Pratīpa finds place in that Book² of the *Atharvaveda* in which Parikṣit is mentioned. Both Zimmer and Keith are inclined to identify this Pratīpa with his epic namesake; and if this be accepted, Raychaudhuri's position will further weaken. Now both the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*³ and *Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*⁴ state that Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka officiated at the horse-sacrifice of Janamejaya Pāriksita. In the *Altareya Brāhmaṇa*, however, this honour goes to Tura Kāvaṣeya. But it

1 SII, Vol. I, p. 57.

2 XX. 129.2.

3 XIII. 5.3.5.

4 XVI. 7.7; 8.27.

should have to be borne in mind that in the *Great epic*¹ Somaśravas appears as the *purohita* of Janamejaya, the grandson of Abhimanyu. Basing his arguments on the evidence of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, Raychaudhuri contends that this Janamejaya had performed two horse-sacrifices. But since earlier works like the *Mahābhārata*, the *Vāyu* and the *Harivaṃśa* speak only of one sacrifice on the part of Abhimanyu's grandson, we cannot accept the testimony of the *Matsya Purāṇa*.

In the *Śāntiparvan*² of the *Mahābhārata* Bhīṣma tells us about one Pārikṣita Janamejaya who had performed a horse-sacrifice in order to cleanse himself from the sin of *Brahmahatyā*. And in this act this king was assisted by Indrota Daivāpa. This king has been further described³ as a most powerful monarch (*mahāvīryaḥ*). But nowhere in the *Great epic* and the *Purāṇas* Abhimanyu's grandson Janamejaya is connected with the murder of any Brahmin. There can, therefore, be little doubt that Bhīṣma is referring here to the Vedic Janamejaya (surely an ancestor of Abhimanyu's grandson) who had Indrota Śaunaka as his priest. This Janamejaya is apparently mentioned in the *Dronaparvan*⁴ as having been defeated by Māndhātā and also in the *Śāntiparvan*⁵ as having conquered the world in three nights. It is also of great interest to note that in the *Rāmāyaṇa* one Janamejaya⁶ is mentioned as an ancient king, and in all probability, he is the earlier Janamejaya, as that epic does not show any acquaintance with any of the descendants of the Pāṇḍavas. Such references go far to prove that the epic and Purāṇic bards knew of one earlier Janamejaya who was very powerful and a performer of horse-sacrifice.

According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*⁷ there were one hundred Janamejayas; but the *Vāyu*⁸ and the *Brahmāṇḍa*⁹ speak of eighty Janamejayas. We may or may not believe in such sweeping statements of the *Purāṇas*, but they at least point to the fact that there were more than one Janamejayas in ancient India. The *Harivaṃśa* (I.32.67) expressly states that there were two Parikṣits and two Janamejayas.

The above discussion makes it clear that Parikṣit and Janamejaya, mentioned in the Vedic literature, cannot be identified with Parikṣit and Janamejaya, the

1 Cr. ed., I. 3.12.

2 Cr. ed., 146.2ff.

3 *Loc. cit.*

4 62.10 (Cr. ed., Vol. IX., p. 1102).

5 Cr. ed., XII. 124.16 :

*Ekarātreṇa Māndhātā tryaheṇa Janamejayah |
saptarātreṇa Nābhāgaḥ prthivīm pratipedivān ||*

6 Cr. ed., II. 58.36.

7 273. 71-73.

8 99. 454.

9 III. 68. 20-26; 74.267.

son and the grandson of Abhimanyu of the *Great epic*. The Vedic literature, which otherwise ignores the redoubtable Pāṇḍava brothers, cannot reasonably be expected to yield the names of their descendants, who were certainly much lesser figures. Further the Nasik cave inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puṣumāvī¹ of the year 19 (second half of the second century) mentions one Janamejaya along with such ancient royal personalities as Nābhāga, Nahuṣa, Yayāti, Ambariṣa etc. This evidence also directly goes against Raychaudhuri's theory.

In the light of the above discussion it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Parikṣit and Janamejaya of the Vedic texts were actually earlier kings of the Lunar dynasty bearing the same names. And if we regard them as historical personalities, we have to forget for good the theory of Āryan immigration to India in the middle of the second millennium B.C.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 60ff. No. 2; see also Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, etc. (2nd ed.), pp. 203ff.

KNOWLEDGE AND ITS VALIDITY

By

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What is right knowledge ?

We call a man trustworthy when things told by him are known to us to be exactly what he told and which are not falsified later on. In the same way, in the sphere of knowledge that knowledge is regarded to be valid which makes us reach the object pointed by it and which is not contradicted by subsequent action.¹ For instance we see the vision of water at a distance. We suppose it to be water and endeavour to reach it. After reaching the place of water if we find that it is water, our knowledge is right. But if we find that it is not water, we believe that our knowledge of it is not right. Hence one of the criteria of our knowledge is that it should make us reach the object indicated.² We may also regard the knowledge of an object valid if we have a reasonable ground for the expectation of the desired result emanating from it. For instance, a farmer begins his activity of sowing with the expectation of reaping a good harvest in normal conditions undisturbed by storms and stones. His knowledge of the act of sowing is valid as it indicates the possibility of reaching the desired result. In the words of Kamalaśīla that knowledge is valid which refers to a possible successful action, though not to its actual achievement.³

We regard that as an object which is present before consciousness. It is present either directly or indirectly. That which is directly present is called the object of perception, while that which is indirectly present the object of inference.

The object of sense-perception is localized in space and time, in a particular dimension but that of inference is conceived through the mark and becomes localized afterwards. Hence the object indicated can come only through sense-perception and inference. Therefore the validity of our knowledge depends upon these two sources.⁴ That knowledge which differs from the above-mentioned one is not right. Only that knowledge is right which indicates an attainable object and an object is attainable only through sense-perception and inference. Hence that knowledge which comes in ways other than perception and inference is not valid. Such knowledge would be either absolutely unreal like the sky-flower or it would be abstract like the universals. Another characteristic of right

1 Nyāya-Bindu Tīkā, p. 4 & Pramāṇa-Vārtikā, Chapter I.

2 Nyāya-Bindu Tīkā, p. 14.

3 Tattva-Saṅgraha-Pañjikā, p. 392.

4 Pramāṇa-Samuccaya, I. 2.

knowledge is that it indicates an object which is capable of producing a purposeful activity,¹ because men endeavour to attain only that object which will satisfy their need.² Hence right knowledge should always be efficient knowledge,³ a knowledge which indicates an object which makes our cherished dreams realised.

What is a Source of Knowledge ?

What is the source of right knowledge? There is a difference between what is indicated by sense-organs and the object? Here we are confronted with a difficulty. Our knowledge is limited to senses, and if they are giving a different form of the object than what it is in its actual being, what would be the source of our knowledge and belief. Dharmakīrti says that sense-organs are not the sole source. The form of the object presented by the senses is not to be considered as valid if it differs from the form of the object presented by the understanding. For instance, the vision of a yellow conchshell seen by a daltonist is not considered to be valid because in reality it is white. In the same way, the vision of mirage is not considered as valid because it does not quench our thirst. In such cases where there is an apparent difference between the presentation of senses and the object of understanding, we have to test the efficiency of the object. If the object is capable of producing the result expected from it, it is valid, if it is not, it is invalid. Hence another criterion of knowledge is its capacity of producing the effect attributed to it.⁴ That fire is real which is capable of burning, cooking and lighting. The fire which is incapable of discharging these functions is unreal.⁵ Besides the characteristics of being uncontradicted by experience and being efficient the validity of our source of knowledge consists in its presenting to us the cognition of that object which has been uncognized till the moment, i.e. it is the first cognition⁶ which gives validity and not the subsequent ones.⁷ The cognition which lasts for more than a moment is not cognition because it cognizes what has already been cognized. It is memory.⁸ *

The question arises 'why is the first moment of cognition alone the valid cognition and not the subsequent ones? Why is this prejudice for the one moment and abhorrence for other ones? Dīnāga holds that if we regard every moment of cognition as the source of valid knowledge there would be no limit to our sources.⁹ In fact what takes place in our cognition

1 Nyāya-Bindu Tīkā, p. 5.

2 Ibid., p. 5.

3 Tattva-Saṅgraha, verse 1675.

4 Pramāṇa-Vārtika, II. 1.

5 Pramāṇa-Vārtika-Bhāṣya, II. 1.

6 Buddhist logic, I, p. 64.

7 Nyāya-Bindu-Tīkā, p. 4.

8 Pramāṇa-Vārtika, II. 5.

9 Pramāṇa-Samuccaya, I. 3.

is that in the first moment there is a flash of reality—the extreme particular¹ on our sense-organs. We have a simple reflex². Then we try to determine what the object is and afterwards we come to a definite judgement,—‘this is that’ or ‘this is a patch of blue colour’. This judgment is the result of our conception, the fruit of understanding, which is expressible in words, while the particular as such is un-utterable,³ because the moment we try to determine its form it vanishes. Thus, valid knowledge may be defined as that knowledge which is uncontradicted and which reveals its own object as well as differentiates other objects⁴. It is the knowledge where we get no defect or contradiction even after taking pains to investigate the defect and contradiction.⁵ It is the factor which gives knowledge a definite object which is capable of producing effect and which has a relation of either identity or causation.⁶ The Mīmāṃsaka defines source of knowledge as a ‘cognition of the object uncognized’. According to the Naiyāyika, a source of knowledge is the most predominant among all causes producing cognition.

These definitions of Pramāṇa given by different schools of Indian philosophy resemble the definition of Pramāṇa given by Dīnāga, Dharmakīrti, Dharmottara and Prajñākara etc. But there is a fundamental difference between the Buddhist and the Realist schools. According to the Realist the object indicated is durable, subsisting of qualities, universals, particulars, and inherence etc. While for the Buddhist it is momentary, devoid of the factors of time, place, quality, universal etc. It is extreme particular, point-instant.⁷

Sources of Valid Knowledge.

Reality has two characters, one which is directly apprehended and the other which is distinctly conceived. Like the two characters of reality there are two sources of the knowledge of reality, perception and inference. In perception we have the direct vision of reality. Here we have sensations (simple reflex) caused by the stimulus of the reality upon the senses. Here the process is not subject to analysis. The object of perception is the extreme particular which is unimaginable and un-utterable. While in inference we try to encircle the reality visualised in the sense-perception within the categories of the understanding. Here we remember what has been perceived in the first moment. The remembrance stimulates will and the will stimulates action. In the process of knowl-

1 svalakṣaṇa.

2 pratibhāsa.

3 anabhilāpya.

4 nyāyāvatāra.

5 Śāstra-Dīpikā, p. 50.

6 Pramāṇa-Vārtikālaṅkāra, p. 27.

7 deśakālasavbhāvānanugatam sarvatovyāvṛttam svalakṣaṇam kṣaṇam—Nyāya-Vārtikā-

edge the object is not directly perceived, but is distinctly conceived and we know that this is a patch of blue colour.' The reality apprehended by this process is apprehended through a mark. For instance from seeing the smoke we infer the existence of fire. The difference between these two sources is a radical one, a real one, or in other words a transcendental one.¹ They are mutually exclusive. Perception cannot transgress the sphere of inference and vice versa. What is perceived is unimaginable, and what is imagined or conceived can never be the subject of perception. Dharmakīrti declares that there are two and only two sources of knowledge because there are only two characters of reality, the directly perceived and the indirectly conceived. Any attempt to increase or decrease the number of sources of knowledge would be illogical and futile.² This theory of 'exclusive domain' is called 'unmixed' or 'settled' theory of right knowledge in contrast with the realist theory of 'mixed' or duplicate knowledge.⁴

Other schools of Indian philosophy do not accept the Buddhist view that there are only two sources of knowledge, and that they are mutually exclusive. They widely differ on this point from one another. For instance, the Cārvākas believe only in perception. The early Vaiśeṣikas believed in perception and inference, although their view of perception and inference differs from the Buddhist view of perception and inference. The Sāṅkhya believed in testimony in addition to perception and inference. The Naiyāyika adds analogy as the fourth source of knowledge. The Prābhākara Mīmāṃsaka adds 'presumption' as the fifth source of knowledge. The Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsaka adds 'non-apprehension' as the sixth source of knowledge. Thus perception, inference, verbal testimony, analogy, presumption and non-apprehension are generally regarded as the six classical sources of knowledge. Advaita Vedānta recognises all of them as right sources of knowledge. Some schools of theistic Vedānta, however, add to this list of Pramāṇas—ratiocination,⁵ probability,⁶ tradition,⁷ intuition⁸ and negation.⁹ But the Sautrāntika says that there are only two sources of knowledge, perception and inference. The other sources of knowledge either do not possess the character of right cognition or are included in perception or inference.¹⁰ Their validity as a source of right knowledge is examined in detail.

1 Buddhist Logic, I. p. 73.

2 Pramāṇa-Vārtikā, III, verses 63-64.

3 Pramāṇa-Vyavasthā.

4 Pramāṇa-samplava.

5 yukti.

6 sambhava.

7 aithya.

8 pratibhā.

9 abhāva.

10 Tattva-Saṅgraha, verse 1488.

Verbal Testimony :

According to Śābaraswāmin 'the cognition of things not within the reach of senses which proceeds from the cognition of words is called verbal.'¹ Śāntarakṣita explains that verbal cognition is that knowledge of imperceptible things which is derived from words, the words being either eternal sentence 'or 'sentence uttered by a trustworthy person.'²

The verbal cognition is regarded as a separate source of knowledge because the knowledge derived from it cannot be 'sense-perception' as its object is beyond senses, nor can it be 'inference' because it lacks all the characteristics of an inferential cognition.

The trustworthiness of verbal cognition can be examined in two heads :

(1) the trustworthiness of eternal sentence and (2) the trustworthiness of a reliable person.³

The eternal sentence means one that does not proceed from a human source. It may be capable or incapable of bringing about its cognition at all times. If it is capable of bringing about its cognition at all times, there is no need to proceed to the process of cognition at all, and if it is incapable of producing cognition, there is no need of resorting to it. In either case it does not stand critical examination.⁴ Further, if a sentence is eternal, and does not emanate from a person, it is not possible for it to give any kind of knowledge at all,⁵ as knowledge is invariably associated only with persons. As regards knowledge derived from a trustworthy person, it cannot be a separate source of knowledge. The man is found to be true, that is his statements have been corroborated in actual life. Hence what he states is believed on the basis of an inference.⁶ The actual form of inference is as follows:

Whatever statements he makes are true.

This is a statement made by him.

Hence this statement is true.

This shows that the verbal testimony of a trustworthy person is included into inference.

This view endorses the view of Dinnānga who maintains that 'Verbal cognition' cannot be a separate source of knowledge as it is either perception or inference. 'Trustworthy authority means—

1 Mimāṃsā-Bhāṣya, 1.1.5.

2 Tattva-Saṅgraha, verses 1489-1491.

3 Tattva-Saṅgraha-Pañjikā, p. 434.

4 Tattva-Saṅgraha, verse 1501.

5 Ibid., verse 1503.

6 Pramāṇa-Samuccaya, Chapter 2. Quoted in the History of Indian Logic, p. 288.

(1) either that the trustworthy person speaks truly or

(2) that the thing spoken is trustworthy and true. In the former case it means that the 'credibility of the person' is derived from inference, in the later case our belief is based on perception. Because when the person apprehends in perception the truth of the statement, he comes to realise that the statement is true.¹ In this way verbal testimony cannot be regarded as a separate source of knowledge.

(b) *Is Veda a separate source of knowledge ?*

The Mīmāṃsaka believes in the authority of the Veda and regards it as the highest source of knowledge. To prove the infallibility of the Veda he gives certain arguments which are found unsound by the Buddhists : First, the words of a trustworthy person cannot be valid because it is difficult to decide who is trustworthy and who is not. Secondly, men suffer from defects like hatred, delusion, attachment, infatuation etc., and hence their utterance cannot give valid knowledge. The words of the Veda are valid because they are not human creations. They cannot be vitiated by the defects of human speech.² But Dharmakīrti charges that the argument cannot provide a sound base for the validity of the Veda. As the defects like hatred, delusion and infatuation subsist in a person, so excellences like compassion, virtue, wisdom etc. which provide validity to a cognition also subsist in a person. They cannot subsist in a vacuum. The Veda is not human creation. So it is devoid of excellences and cannot be a source of true knowledge.³ Moreover if the 'non-creation' by a human being is regarded as the ground of truth and eternity, the same can prove sky-lotus to be true and eternal. Again the meaning of the sentences of the Veda or any other scripture or creature that matter can be known only through symbols, and these symbols can be expressed only by human beings. Human beings suffer from defects like hatred, delusion etc. Hence the meaning which is attributed to eternal words through symbols by human beings is vitiated by errors.⁴ It may be argued that the relation between Vedic words and their meanings is eternal. In such a case the meaning of the Veda being eternal must be clear even to ignorant persons, but experience shows that this presumption is baseless. Hence whether we maintain the eternity or non-eternity of the Veda, there is no difference in the conclusion that it cannot be a separate source of knowledge.

The presumption that the Vedas are eternal (non-human creation) will create many difficulties. If we maintain that the relation between words and their meanings cannot be expressed by human beings, it would be impossible

1 Nyāya-Vārtika, p. 63.

2 Pramāṇa-Vārtika, I. 222.

3 Ibid., I, verses 228-229.

4 Ibid., I, verse 229.

to know the content of the Veda, the Veda will not be known by any one. And in its unknown position it cannot be regarded as a valid source of knowledge.

The Mīmāṃsaka argues that the Vedas are not human creations as nobody is able to remember their author. Had they been human creation someone would have certainly been able to know their author. Another argument for the eternity of the Veda is that the study of the Veda has been pursued since time immemorial by teachers and their pupils and so beginning of this study cannot be ascertained¹. Dharmakīrti's charges against these arguments is that they would make the works like *Raghuvamśa*, *Meghadūta*, etc. non-human creation² and infallible because they have been also studied by teachers and their pupils for a pretty long period of time³. The mere fact that a thing has continued since time immemorial and has come to us from a continuous line of teachers can not be a reason for its truth. Can the marriage-relations between sons and mothers or fathers and daughters as prevalent among the Parsis be regarded infallible and valid on the ground that they have been in vogue since time immemorial⁴? If custom or the line of teachers is regarded as a solid foundation for the validity of any knowledge, then the immoral customs of foreigners and the books of non-believers would equally be a valid source of knowledge like the Vedas and there will be no value of our efforts in contending the authority of the Vedas.⁵ Moreover the Vedas do not reveal their own meanings. They are revealed only through human beings who are vitiated with defects. Then what would be the criterion of judging that the meaning assigned by Jaimini or Yāska (who are equally human beings) is the only correct one?

The argument of the Mīmāṃsaka is that the Vedas cannot be understood by human beings because they are subject to greed, temptation, anger etc. The Veda itself is unable to reveal its own meaning. If it is neither known nor revealed what would be the criterion of its apprehension? What would be the basis of our presumption that a particular sentence has this same meaning and not some other meaning? For instance, how are we going to maintain that the sentence '*Svargakāmaḥ agnihotram juhuyāt*' means that 'a man desirous for heaven should perform agnihotra? Why should we not maintain that this sentence means that a man should eat the flesh of a dog?⁶ The argument that only the first meaning is correct and not the second one because it is prevalent among the people cannot be accepted, because entirely different interpreta-

1 Ibid., verses 242-243.

2 apauruṣeya.

3 Ibid., I, verse 244.

4 Ibid., I, verse 248.

5 Ibid., I, verse 249.

6 Ibid., I, verses 320-321.

tions have been given by the upholders of the argument to the words which have different meanings prevalent among the people. For instance Urvaśī is commonly known as a heavenly damsel but for the Mīmāṃsaka it means a particular vedic utensil. Heaven means 'abode of gods', but for the Mīmāṃsaka it is a particular bliss.¹

It is further said that the Vedas are a valid source of knowledge because they have such utterances which are uncontradicted by experience. For instance we find in the Veda 'Fire is medicine of cold.'² Dharmakīrti says that the validity of one or two sentences of the Veda cannot validate the whole text of the Veda as the invalidity of one or two sentences cannot invalidate it. If this is a criterion of validity, then there will be nothing like invalidity because even the worst liar speaks one or two sentences which are completely true.³ Dharmakīrti, therefore, concludes that Verbal cognition can never be a source of knowledge at all. What is true by 'perception' and 'inference' cannot be falsified even if we do not believe in the Vedas. And what is untrue on the basis of perception and inference can never be validated by the Vedas. For instance, the relation between smoke and fire has been perceived by senses and corroborated by inference. It cannot be invalidated by the Vedas.⁴ Thus the Buddhists do not accept the authority of the Veda. For them there are only two sources of knowledge. But they regard the Buddha as the Pramāṇa Incarnate. The very first line of the *Pramāṇa Samuccaya* begins with the salutation to the Buddha who is 'Pramāṇa Incarnate.'⁵ Dharmakīrti says that the Buddha is Pramāṇa because he has a consistent knowledge.⁶ Śāntarakṣita in his *Tattvasaṅgraha* and Kamalaśīla in his *Pañjikā* (a commentary on *Tattvasaṅgraha*) devote a whole chapter named 'Sarvajña-parīkṣā' to prove the omniscience of the Buddha. Even the earlier Yogācāras-Asaṅga and Vasubandhu regard Āgama as a separate source of knowledge and rely on the words of the Buddha for their philosophical guidance.⁷

To ridicule the authority of the Vedas and to accept the words of the Buddha appear to be the mission of the Buddhist philosophers. This mission is obviously self-stultifying. It does not prove that verbal testimony is no source of knowledge. It simply replaces one type of verbal testimony by another type. The Buddhist cannot remain a Buddhist if he becomes a free thinker and casts aside the veil of the authority of the words of the Buddha. All that appears to

1 Ibid., I, verses 322-323.

2 agnir himasya bheṣajam.

3 Pramāṇa-Vārtika, I, verses 332-337.

4 Ibid., IV. 6.

5 Pramāṇa-Samuccaya, I.1.

6 Pramāṇa-Vārtika, II, p. 165.

7 Abhidharmakośa, I.1.

be correct in his position is this that verbal testimony is a separate source of knowledge. It cannot be included in perception or in inference. If the words of the Buddha are reliable, there is nothing to disprove the reliability of the Veda. What can be said of the one can equally be said of the other. So the Buddhist rejection of the Vedic testimony is prejudiced and biased.

(c) *Analogy*¹

'Analogy' is that which accomplishes its purpose through similarity to a known object.² For instance when we see at first a 'gavaya' we remember the features of a cow which we have often seen and compare the general features of the "gavaya" with those of the 'cow' and conclude that it is 'gavaya'. According to 'Śābara'³—Upamāna or similitude brings about the cognition of things not in contact with the sense. For instance the sight of the 'gavaya' brings about the 'remembrance' of the cow.⁴

The Mīmāṃsaka holds that 'analogy' is a separate source of knowledge. As it is entirely devoid of the function of the sense-organs, it cannot be called sense-perception. Again it lacks the features of inference. There is no proban in analogy to make it inference. Analogy apprehends an entirely new object which is not previously apprehended. For instance, before the perception of a 'gavaya', its similarity with a cow is not apprehended at all.⁵

But the Buddhist analysis shows that analogy is not a separate source of knowledge. The man who makes the analogy that this 'gavaya' is like a 'cow' sees both the cow and the 'gavaya' and their general feature. He distinguishes the gavaya from the cow on the basis of some characters which are not present in the cow. This apprehension he gets with the help of his sense-organs. Hence his mode of this apprehension is perceptual. Analogy is a case of perception.

Kumārila challenges the above explanation and urges that the object of analogy is the similarity between a remembered thing and a perceived thing. Though similarity is cognized by sense perception, yet the cognition of the remembered object as qualified by similarity with the perceived object is not cognized by sense perception. Hence 'Analogy' is different from sense perception and is a separate source of knowledge⁶. Śāntarakṣita objects to the explanation given by Kumārila and says that 'Analogy' does not differ from 'remembrance'. What happens here is that there are some parts in the body of a 'gavaya' which bring 'remembrance' of the same parts of a cow and also its

1 upamāna.

2 Tattva-Saṅgraha-Pañjikā, p. 444.

3 Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra-Bhāṣya, 1.1.5.

4 Tattva-Saṅgraha, verses 1526-1527.

5 Ibid., verses 1538, 1540, 1542.

6 Ibid., verses 1536, 1537.

difference from the cow. Hence the perception of the gavaya's body is followed by the remembrance of the cow's body. 'Remembrance' apprehends what has already been apprehended, so 'analogy' being 'remembrance' cannot be regarded as a separate source of knowledge. If such slight difference of cognitions makes it a separate source, there would be no limit to sources of knowledge¹.

Diñnāga maintains that analogy is only the 'perception of likeness' and is not distinct from perception and testimony². When a person perceives a cow and a 'gavaya' it is through sense-organs that he apprehends the likeness between the two. When he is told about the likeness between a cow and a 'gavaya' he remembers that some qualities of the cow are present in the 'gavaya' while other qualities are absent. Thus analogy is not different from perception and testimony.

Commenting on the argument of Diñnāga, Vācaspati Miśra says that Diñnāga commits a mistake in thinking that the 'knowledge of likeness' or the knowledge of an object qualified by likeness is the result of sense perception, for 'the knowledge of 'likeness' or of an object qualified by likeness' constitutes a new means of cognition. But Vācaspati Miśra's contention is too wide. Analogy may be different from mere perception, but it is not different from remembrance as Śāntarakṣita insists. If it is 'remembrance' it can be regarded the joint operation of perception, inference and verbal-testimony. So it is not a separate source of knowledge.

(d) *Presumption*

Presumption³ according to Śabaraswāmin consists in presuming something not seen, on the ground that a fact already perceived would not be possible without it. For instance it is found that Devadatta who is alive, is not seen in his house, and this 'non-existence' in the house leads to the presumption that he is somewhere outside the house.⁴

Kumārila enumerates five kinds of Presumption. First, when a man hears that Devadatta does not eat during day time and still he is fat, it is at once presumed that he eats at night. This presumption is based on what is heard.⁵ Secondly, when we presume the quality of motion in the sun from its going from one place to another, this is a presumption based on inference.⁶ Thirdly, when on seeing the 'gavaya' we remember its likeness with cow and presume that it is

1 Ibid., verses 1557, 1558.

2 Pramāṇa-Samuccaya. Quoted in the 'Fragments from Diñnāga', pp. 48-49.

3 arthāpatti.

4 Śabara-Bhāṣya, 1.1.5.

5 Tattva-Saṅgraha, verse 1592.

6 Ibid., verse 1588.

'gavaya' the presumption is based on analogy.¹ The fourth kind of presumption is based upon presumption itself. For instance, the denotation of a word cannot be defined unless we assume the expressive potency of words. Further this potency would not be possible but for the 'presumption' of the eternity of words,² because what is non-eternal cannot be related to any convention. The fifth kind of presumption is based on negation. When we do not see Devadatta in the house, we presume that he would be outside the house. It is based upon negation.³

The Buddhists take a critical view of presumption and find it non-different from perception or inference. The examples of 'moving sun' and the nocturnal eating of Devadatta are the clear cases of inference. We infer from our experience that a thing which goes from one place to another has motion. The sun appears at one place and disappears another. Hence like an ordinary thing the sun has also the capacity of motion. The fatness and eating are related with one another as the effect and the cause respectively. Hence the former leads to the inference of the latter. The presumption based on analogy is in fact analogical inference. The presumption based on presumption is a case of multiple inference. The presumption of verbal potency is actually the effect of the perception of words on hearing. The presumption based upon negation gives no certainty, so it cannot be a valid source of knowledge. For instance, the absence of Devadatta in the house does not provide the certainty that he is outside his house. He might not be in the world at all. Moreover negation is a kind of inference. So presumption based upon negation is nothing but inference.⁴

(c) *Negation*⁵

Negation is said to be the means of cognition of an object in the case of which the five means of cognition do not function.⁶ In the case of non-functioning of perception and the other means of cognition negation may consist either in the 'Non-modification of the soul' or in the cognition of an other object.⁷

Kumārila avers that 'Negation' is a means of cognition because like the eye etc. it serves as the cause of cognition. The object of negation is negative. Its source of knowledge therefore must be negative.⁸ He explains the difference between negation and perception. Negation is known by a different name than perception. Had there been no difference between the two, there would have

1 Ibid., verse 1599.

2 Ibid., verse 1600-1601.

3 Ibid., verse 1602.

4 Ibid., verses 1645-1647.

5 abhāva.

6 Tattva-Saṅgraha, verse 1648.

7 Ibid., verse 1649.

8 Ibid., verse 1657.

been no need to have a different nomenclature. In perception we apprehend the positive aspect of a thing, while in negation we apprehend the negative aspect of that thing. The Buddhists refute the arguments of Kumārila. If 'Negation of cognition' is an entity, the negation of cognized object should also be an entity. And if it is an entity, why should it not be included under perception.¹ The argument that the 'negation of the effect' consists in the presence of the cause, and this fact of its presence in the cause is an entirely different thing from negation, is included under perception.² The argument that 'negation is a means of cognition' like the eye etc. cannot be upheld because what is entirely featureless cannot serve as the basis of cognition.³ As regards the definition that 'negation consists in the non-modification of the soul', it is entirely irrelevant. A permanent and eternal entity can have no modification, and even if it has modification, its modification cannot be provisional. It should be permanent like the soul. But our experience shows that negation is not permanent but provisional. Hence it does not belong to soul.⁴

Ratiocination and probability are regarded by some philosophers as separate sources of knowledge. But Kumārila has rightly included them in inference. They are the different types of inference. Ratiocination⁵ is illustrated as follows:—

'A comes about when B is there.

A does not come about when B is not there.

Therefore A proceeds from B.'

Obviously this ratiocination is a clear case of inference based on causality. So it can not be taken as a separate source of knowledge.

Further, 'probability'⁶ is also nothing but a kind of inference. It brings about the cognition of the components of an aggregate after the aggregate is known. The members of the aggregate are the causes of the idea of the aggregate. From the idea of the aggregate we infer the idea of its component parts. Hence it is inference.

Tradition and Intuition :

'Tradition'⁷ is that means of cognition whose original promulgator cannot be traceable, but which has come down through a long continued assertion, e.g. a ghost resides in this Banyan tree.⁸

1 Ibid., verses 1667-1670.

2 Ibid., verse 1671.

3 Ibid., verse 1680.

4 Ibid., verses 1662-1664.

5 Ibid., verse 1692, yukti.

6 Tattva-Saṅgraha, verse 1699, Saṁbhava.

7 aitihiya.

8 Tattva-Saṅgraha-Pañjikā, p. 484.

Intuition is that cognition which indicates the 'existence' or 'non-existence' of things, which appears suddenly without any restrictions of time or place. When a girl has the notion 'my brother will come today' and this does come about, it is a case of intuition.¹

Śāntarakṣita says that 'tradition' and 'intuition' are often found to be false. They cannot give certainty and therefore cannot be a true source of knowledge² at all. The knowledge derived from the tradition and intuition is either perceptible or imperceptible. In the former case it is included in perception and in the later in inference.³ In conclusion all the alleged sources of knowledge except perception and inference lack the fundamental characteristics of a valid source of knowledge. They are not 'uncontradicted by experience'. They are not apprehension of an unapprehended object. Hence they cannot be sources of knowledge.⁴ The sources of knowledge are two and two only. Their number can neither be increased nor decreased.⁵

Criterion of Truth

Experience is the sole guide in every matter. But are all cognitions caused by perception or inference valid or invalid themselves? Does reliability of a cognition come after due ascertainment from alien sources? These questions have been the points of debate among the various schools of Indian philosophy and four main theories have been propounded.⁶

First, according to the Jains truth is incomprehensible. It is dialectical in nature. What is true for one may simply be one aspect of truth which is not grasped by others who regard it to be false. Therefore every knowledge is always to a certain extent false and to a certain extent true. Truth and falsity are nothing but different aspects of truth. Both are intrinsic or natural to knowledge. This theory is known as the theory of intrinsic truth and intrinsic falsity.⁷ Sāṅkhya also maintains this very theory, although they give a different reason for it. The vicinity of 'self luminous consciousness' illuminates cognition and its truth as well as its falsity. Secondly, according to Nyāya, knowledge is not itself true or false.⁸ Its truth and falsity are ascertained by experience. Truth and falsity cannot be said to be intrinsically made out⁹ or intrinsically known.¹⁰

1 pratibhā.

2 Tattva-Saṅgraha-Pañjikā, p. 484.

3 Tattva-Saṅgraha, verse 1700.

4 Ibid., verses 1702-1708.

5 Pramāṇa-Vārtika, 3.63.

6 Tattva-Saṅgraha-Pañjikā, p. 745.

7 prāmāṇyam aprāmāṇyam ubhayam svataḥ.

8 prāmāṇyam aprāmāṇyam ubhayam parataḥ.

9 Svatoḡrāhya.

10 Svatojanya.

The Naiyāyika asks : if our first apprehension is true in itself why is it that we often doubt it whether it is right or not ? This shows that truth of knowledge is known extrinsically or extraneously.¹ A cognition is valid if it leads to a fruitful effect.² In other words that knowledge is true which is consistent with the subsequent result or is uncontradicted by the subsequent experience. The correspondence is the test of knowledge. This correspondence resembles the Buddhist theory of co-ordination. Thirdly, according to the Buddhists, 'all knowledge is erroneous and becomes true only through subsequent assertion and annulment. When we come to experience that a certain kind of knowledge leads to a successful purposive action and our aims are fulfilled by it we regard it as true while as long as its efficiency has not been realised or believed to be so on reasonable grounds we cannot rely on its truth.'³ For instance only after seeing the effect of wine or poison which brings unconsciousness swoon, disturbance of mind or death we come to regard it as wine or poison.⁴ So falsity is intrinsic and truth is extrinsic to knowledge. The theory of intrinsic truth of knowledge fails to distinguish between truth and falsity. On the basis of this theory illusions and other erroneous cognitions become true because their truth is intrinsic or inherent in them—a fact which is obviously not the case. Knowledge cannot be regarded as true unless it succeeds on the test of uncontradicted experience and efficiency of producing effect. Its truth is not determined by itself. It is determined by non-contradiction and practical efficiency. This conclusively shows that its truth is extraneous to it. Fourthly, the Mīmāṃsakas and the Vedāntins maintain that all our experiences are intrinsically true. There is no ground for suspicion that knowledge is false, because knowledge is knowledge, not error. Knowledge is rendered illusory and erroneous only when the apprehender suffers from some disease or when some hindrance meddles with knowledge. For instance a man who suffers from jaundice sees every thing yellow, and a piece of nacre appears to be a piece of silver. But these experiences are sublated by subsequent ones. Sublation proves the former false. Thus the Mīmāṃsakas and the Vedāntins regard that while truth is intrinsic to knowledge, falsity is extraneous to it.⁵

Criticism of the Theories of Truth

The theory that 'both validity and invalidity' are inherent involves contradiction. Validity and invalidity are contradictory.⁶ The existence of one

1 paratogrāhya.

2 jñānam pramā saphalapravṛttijanakatvāt.

Quoted in the Introduction to the Vibhrama-Viveka of Maṇḍana Miśra by Shri Kuppū Swāmi.

3 aprāmāṇyam svataḥ prāmāṇyam parataḥ.

4 Tattva-Saṅgraha, verses 2837-2838.

5 Tattva-Saṅgraha-Pañjikā, p. 745.

6 Ibid., p. 745.

denotes the absence of the other. Hence we are not in a position to hold that both validity and invalidity belong to one and the same cognition.¹ If we maintain that they belong to two different individual cognitions, we will have to face the difficulty of their relationship. What is their relation? What is the criterion to judge that one cognition is valid and the other invalid? In absence of such criterion it would be difficult to differentiate between valid and invalid cognitions.²

The theory that 'both validity and non-validity are extrinsic' is also untenable. If the cognition is devoid of both validity and non-validity then it is featureless and has no character at all. A characterless cognition can serve no purpose. If it has no character at all, how any character can be infused into it later?³ For instance, we perceive a moving tree from a distance and try to apprehend it. In order to ascertain our cognition we approach the tree and come to the conclusion that our cognition is not valid. In fact it is not moving. But if we do not accept any character in the knowledge of tree, no ascertainment can take place. Again validity and invalidity are mutually exclusive, so both cannot be extrinsic together.⁴ One of the two must be present in cognition. For instance we see a patch of blue colour. There are only two alternatives. Either our cognition of the blue patch is wrong or right. If it is wrong, by subsequent experience it can be apprehended in its exact nature and this wrongness can be annulled. On the other hand if it appears to be right in the first moment, the later illusion may be removed by the initially valid cognition. But when both 'rightness' and 'wrongness' are external to cognition, cognition becomes inexplicable and indeterminate.

The theory of extrinsic validity and inherent invalidity is also not possible. What is by itself intrinsically invalid can never be expected to be valid, because it is itself invalid. If validity comes to a particular cognition from outside, an infinite regress is inevitable.⁵ In order to ascertain a single cognition innumerable other cognitions will be needed and they in their own turn will go on needing other cognition to be valid. Obviously this process is endless. Hence the ascertainment of every cognition becomes impossible.

The criticism of the previous theories of validity shows that self sufficiency or independence is the only basis for the validity of knowledge. If 'dependence' upon other factors be admitted then the validity of every act of cognition would be destroyed. It can be preserved in fact if knowledge is regarded inherently valid.⁶

1 Ibid., p. 745.

2 Ibid., p. 745.

3 Ibid., p. 745.

4 Śloka-Vārtika, Codanāsūtra, verses 35-37.

5 Tattva-Saṅgraha-Pañjikā, p. 745.

6 Tattva-Saṅgraha, verse 2814.

Mīmāṃsakas, therefore, propose the theory that cognition is valid by nature and it becomes invalid only when it is contradicted by a subsequent cognition.

Kamalaśīla says that there are only two alternative meanings of inherence of validity. It is inherent either in the sense that 'being eternal it has no cause' or it means that even though it is not-eternal, it appears at the same time that cognition has its essence (existence) brought about by its causes, and its validity is not imposed subsequently by other causes. Now if the 'pramāṇa' is regarded to be eternal, its effect should also be regarded as eternal. But such an assertion will go against common experience. We see that the effect of anything is occasional and not permanently existent. So the validity of Pramāṇas cannot be inherent in the first sense, because, it goes against perception and inference.¹ If the second meaning of 'inherence of validity' is accepted, there is no difference between the Buddhist and the Mīmāṃsaka view. Because both regard that the capacity is produced by the causes of the cognitions (Pramāṇas) themselves, and it (capacity) cannot be imposed upon them by other causes.² But despite this unanimity a difference divides the Buddhists and the Mīmāṃsakas. The latter maintain that knowledge is itself valid and there is no need of extraneous conformity, while the former hold that knowledge is intrinsically invalid and needs an extraneous factor regarding its certainty.

The Buddhists urge that though the capacity to produce effect cannot be infused into a thing from outside, it is not possible to regard an apprehension as certain and valid unless it is confirmed by our later experiences. For instance in the apprehension of double moon all the factors of true apprehension are present—the same sense organs, the same object, and the same apprehender, still it is illusory. If apprehension is intrinsically valid, it would be impossible to differentiate the valid cognitions from the invalid once. Hence in order to ascertain whether an apprehension is valid, we have to confirm whether it is capable of producing the expected result. The validity of cognition lies in its conformity to produce the desired result known to the mankind from time immemorial.³ The argument of the Mīmāṃsakas that the validity itself would be destroyed, if it were dependent on something else, does not hold good. How can 'validity' be destroyed, which is indivisible by its nature and which is brought about by its own cause. The 'dependence' on extraneous factors is necessary only for bringing about certainty regarding its validity and not for its origin.⁴ The process of validation is different from the genesis of valid knowledge.

1 Ibid., verses 2821-2822.

2 Ibid., verse 2827.

3 Ibid., verse 2836.

4 Ibid., verses 2841-2842.

Kamalaśīla says that all the arguments which have been put forward in support of the intrinsic validity of knowledge may equally be applied to the theory of extrinsic validity. It may be said with equal force that 'invalidity' is inherent because if it did not exist itself, it could not be brought about by anything else. Self-sufficiency is thus the basis for invalidity as it is the basis of validity. As for the Mīmāṃsakas 'the capacity for non-conformity' (with the real state of things) and 'certain cognition' is due to other causes, so far the Buddhists the capacity for conformity and certain cognition is due to other causes. Hence both the doctrines of 'intrinsic validity' and 'extrinsic validity' stand on the same footing. There should not be love for the one and hatred for the other.¹

The Mīmāṃsaka insists that we have to admit the self-validity of knowledge, because if we stick to the position that validity comes from outside there will be an infinite regress. The objection that the annulment of illusory cognition is extraneous and hence the source of validity is also extraneous does not hold good, because even though the discarding of validity will depend on extraneous causes, it would not involve infinite regress. The reason is that after all it is dependent upon validity which is inherent in cognition.² The argument of the Buddhists that the first cognition is validated by the subsequent cognitions when there is conformity between the result of the first and the subsequent ones is futile. Because subsequent cognitions are themselves invalid 'owing to the fact that they apprehend what has already been apprehended.'³ If corroboration by subsequent cognitions were the ground for the validity of our cognitions how can we explain the validity of the cognition of those things which are born and immediately destroyed or those auditory cognitions which once heard are never heard again. In such cases no corroboration by the eyes or by other means of cognition is possible.⁴

The Buddhist urges that 'if the cognitions are themselves valid, there should be no doubt, no suspicion, no misconception at all'. Had every cognition been valid in itself there would have been no wrong conceptions which we experience. If the principle of corroboration by subsequent cognitions is not maintained there would be no definite knowledge, we will not be able to differentiate between right and wrong cognitions.⁵

Further if all cognitions are inherently valid there should be no difference of opinion regarding the same thing among the various persons. But experience

1 Ibid., verses 2843-2846.

2 Ibid., verses 2861-2863.

3 Ibid., verse 2898.

4 Ibid., verse 2900.

5 Ibid., verse 2941.

shows contrary. According to one person the validity of cognitions is always inherent, self-sufficient in themselves. According to another person the validity of cognitions is inherent in some cases and extraneous in other cases.¹ Further there is difference of opinion regarding the same thing among the followers of the same school. For instance there is difference of opinion even in the Mīmāṃsakas. After refuting the theory of 'inherent-validity of knowledge,' the Buddhist establishes his own theory of 'extraneous validity of knowledge.'

He maintains that the 'validity' consists in conformity with the real state of things and this conformity is known when the cognition is capable of producing effective action.² For instance when the fire is seen capable of burning, cooking and lighting, we come to the conclusion that it is the real fire.³ Kamalaśīla substantiates his position by quoting words of Dharmakīrti to the effect that 'Pramāṇa or valid cognition is that cognition which is in conformity with things.' No infinite regress infects the Buddhist theory of extrinsic validity of cognition because there is no need for further investigation regarding the validity of a cognition. The activity accruing from it is sufficient to validate or invalidate it.⁴ As long as a cognition does not appear in its effective form, there is always doubt about its validity. When it is in an effective form or when it leads to an activity, its truth or falsity is certain. The objection from the Mīmāṃsaka to the effect that the initial cognition apprehends the same object which is apprehended by the subsequent cognition. Hence both cognitions are subject to suspicion of invalidity is superfluous! Because there are many grounds of suspecting the validity of initial cognition, for example, non-cognition of the effect resulting from it, similarity with another object which is not the object of it, and defect in the sense-organs and the like.⁵ But in the subsequent cognition there are no causes of misapprehension. So its validity is self-sufficient.⁶

Kamalaśīla says that validity does not mean simply conformity with the real state of things. It stands for what actually figures in it.⁷ The Mīmāṃsaka further alleges that if effective action is the criterion for the validity of cognitions, dreams will also be veridical, for effective action is present in dreams also.⁸ The Buddhist waives aside this allegation on the ground that dream

1 Ibid., verses 2944-2945.

2 Ibid., verse 2959.

3 Tattva-Saṅgraha-Pañjikā, p. 778.

4 Ibid., p. 778.

5 Tattva-Saṅgraha, verses 2967-2968.

6 Ibid., verse 2973.

7 Tattva-Saṅgraha-Pañjikā, p. 782.

8 Tattva-Saṅgraha, verse 2980.

has no locus standi in the external objects and hence is invalid.¹ He further says that for the validity of a cognition there must be three factors—(1) absence of defects of sense-organs and intellect, (2) absence of invalid cognitions and (3) presence of excellence.²

The final Buddhist position is that the validity of knowledge cannot be explained by any or all the above mentioned four theories. The validity may be sometimes inherent as in the case of mystic intuition, repeated experience, and effective action etc. Sometimes it may be extraneous as in the case when the sense-organ is defective or when the thing is at a distance or when the mind is disturbed. Kamalaśīla therefore propounds a fifth theory to the effect that there can be no hard and fast rule which may be applicable to all the cases of valid cognition.³

1 Tattva-Saṅgraha-Pañjikā, p. 784.

2 Tattva-Saṅgraha, verse 3051.

3 Tattva-Saṅgraha-Pañjikā, p. 811.

THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE AMARU-ŚATAKA

By

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1. There is no gainsaying the fact that the *Amaru-śataka*, a century of stanzas by the poet Amaru, also known as Amarū, Amaruka, Amara, Amaraka and Amraka,¹ is one of the most beautiful and highly esteemed love-lyrics in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. The verses of Amaru are much more frequently cited by writers on poetics than those of any other lyricist of the post-Kālidāsa period. As a collection of songs giving charming pictures, within the limited space of a stanza, of various emotions and situations of love it holds the same distinguished position in Sanskrit as does the *Gāthā-sapta-śatī* in Prakrit. There can be no better testimony to the great esteem in which Amaru was held by the connoisseurs than Ānandavardhana who avers that each stanza of Amaruka is so full of erotic sentiments that it appears like a large independent work in miniature.² Another critic observes that a single verse of Amaruka is equal to a hundred larger poems.³

2. Unfortunately we know next to nothing about the life and times of Amaruka. And in the absence of correct biographical information, legends have gathered round him as is the case with many other literatures of yore. Thus, Mādhava, the author of the *Śaṅkara-digvijaya*, narrates an anecdote according to which the great Śaṅkarācārya, in order to be able to reply the erotic questions put to him by Bhārati, the wife of Maṇḍana Miśra, entered the dead body of king Amaru which was about to be put aflame, enjoyed the company of the young ladies of the royal harem and composed a unique treatise on the art of love after mastering the work of Vātsyāyana and the commentary thereon.⁴ This is obviously the basis of the legend related by Ravicandra and another anonymous commentator which makes out Śaṅkarācārya, disguised as king Amaruka of Kashmir, as the author of the *Amaru-śataka*.⁵ This legend belongs to the same category as numerous other myths which cluster round great personalities and may be rejected as of no historical value whatsoever.

1 *Amaru-śataka* with Vemabhūpāla's Śṛṅgāra-dīpikā commentary edited by C. R. Devadhar (Poona, 1959), Introduction, p. 9.

2 मुक्तकेषु प्रबन्धेष्विव रसबन्धमिनिवेशिनः ।

यथाहमरुकस्य कवेर्मुक्तकाः शृङ्गाररसस्यन्दिनः प्रबन्धायमानाः प्रसिद्धा एव ।

Vṛtti on *Dhvanyāloka*, iii.7.

3 अमरुककवेरेकः श्लोकः प्रबन्धशतायते ।

4 *Śaṅkara-digvijaya*.

5 C. R. Devadhar, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. 11-12,

3. We have no information about the province of India to which our poet belonged. It has been suggested on very inadequate grounds that he was a southerner, possibly a resident of the Early Cālukyan capital Vātāpi (modern Badami, Bijapur District, Mysore).¹ Arguments leading to this suggestion are based on the mention by the poet of the application of thick sandal paste and the Malaya breeze which is commonplace in Sanskrit literature composed in any part of the country and on the statements of scholiasts who lived several centuries later and, therefore, not much value can be attached to them.

On the contrary, the ring of the name Amaruka which resembles names like Śaṅkuka and the fact that the earliest critics to mention him by name and cite his verses hailed from Kashmir very strongly suggest that Amaruka, too, was a Kashmirian. However, in the absence of definite evidence no certainty attaches to this as to any other suggestion on this point.

4. According to a stanza from a commentary on the *Amaru-sataka* quoted by P. Peterson, Amaruka was a goldsmith by caste.² While there is nothing improbable in this statement one cannot be sure about it as the scholiast, who lived several centuries after Amaruka, may or may not have had reliable biographical information about the poet.³

5. Amaruka invokes the favour of goddess Ambikā in the inaugural verse (1) followed by a prayer offered to god Śambhu in the next stanza (2). We may, therefore, reasonably conclude that the poet was a Śaiva.

6. Ānandavardhana (circa 850 A.D.) is the earliest writer to mention Amaruka by name.⁴ The impression that we get about the great renown of Amaruka in his time would lead one to the conclusion that the poet must have flourished considerably prior to Ānandavardhana. Earlier, three stanzas from the *Amaru-sataka* are cited, though without naming the author or the poem, by Vāmana (circa 800 A.D.).⁵ This would indicate for Amaruka a date not later than the middle of the eighth century A.D. He may have lived much earlier.

7. The *Amaru-sataka* has come down to us in more than one recension. R. Simon, who studied the problem in detail, has noted the following four recensions which differ from each other as regards the number of stanzas and the order of their occurrence : (i) South Indian recension represented by the

1 C. R. Devadhar, *Amaru-sataka*, Marathi translation, Introduction, p. 5.

2 विश्वप्रख्यातनाडिन्धमकुलतिलको विश्वकर्मा द्वितीयः ।

Subhāṣitāvali, Introduction,

3 Devadhar (Marathi tr. of the *Amaru-sataka*, Introduction, p. 5) finds support for this statement in the mention by Amaruka of *viśikhā* = goldsmiths' lane (Vemabhūpāla's verse no. 87) and *sandamśaka* = a pair of tongs (Arjuna's verse no. 74).

4 Vṛtti on *Dhvanyāloka*, iii.7.

5 *Kāvya-lankārasūtravṛtti*, iii. 2.4; iv. 3.12; v. 2.8.

commentators Vemabhūpāla¹ and Rāmānandanātha, (ii) Bengal recension with the gloss of Ravicandra,² (iii) West Indian recension with the commentaries of Arjunavarmadeva³ and Kokasambhava,⁴ and (iv) a Miscellaneous recension represented by the scholia of Rudramadeva,⁵ Rāmarudra, etc. Only fifty-one stanzas are common to all the four recensions. If, as suggested on strong grounds by S. K. De,⁶ we eliminate the fourth recension of Simon as merely a strange miscellaneous grouping of manuscripts, the number of stanzas common to the three recensions rises to seventy-two. C. R. Devadhar points out that if the corrupt and mutilated text of Ravicandra is left out of account, as appears quite reasonable, the number of verses common to Arjunavarmadeva, Vemabhūpāla and Rudramadeva would rise to eighty-four.⁷ The whole question is a very complicated one, and it is not our object to enter into a detailed discussion on this subject here. It would suffice to state here that for obvious reasons⁸ we accept the view of Bühler,⁹ H. Weller,¹⁰ Keith¹¹ and C. R. Devadhar¹² that the so-called Western recension with the scholium Rasikasañjivani by the Paramāra king Arjunavarmadeva, son of Subhāṭavarman, appears to be closest to the original text.

However, as we have no definite knowledge about the original text, for the purpose of the present study we have taken into account verses found in all the recensions of the poem. We have adopted the Kāvya-mālā edition with Arjunavarmadeva's commentary as the basic one. Additional stanzas found in the southern recension represented by the text of Vemabhūpāla are given in the same edition as verses 117-130. The verses included exclusively in the Bengal recension represented by Ravicandra are numbered in the same edition as 132-135, 137-138. Thus all the recensions taken together there are all told 136 verses in the *Amaru-śataka* which have been utilised in the present paper.

1 Edited by C. R. Devadhar, Poona, 1959.

2 Edited by Vaidya Vasudeva Sastri, Bombay, V.S. 1950.

3 Kāvya-mālā, No. 18, edited by Durga Prasad and K. P. Parab, 2nd edition, Bombay, 1929.

4 Edited by C. R. Devadhar, *ABORI*, xxxix, pp. 227-265; xl, pp. 16-55.

5 Edited by S. K. De, *Our Heritage*, vol. ii, part ii (1954).

6 R. Simon, *Das Amaru-śataka*, Kiel, 1893; *ZDMG*, xlix (1895), pp. 577ff.

7 *Our Heritage*, vol. ii, part i, pp. 9-75.

8 Devadhar (ed.), *Amaru-śataka* with Vemabhūpāla's Śṛṅgāra-dīpikā, Introduction, pp. 12-20.

9 Arjunavarman's Rasika-sañjivani is the oldest extant scholium on the poem. He had a critical acumen and tried to distinguish between the original text and the later accretions. His text is in closest agreement with S. K. De's reconstituted text.

10 *ZDMG*, xlvii (1893), p. 94.

11 Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol. iii, fascicule 1, Calcutta, p. 110, fn. 4.

12 A. B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, 1920, p. 183.

13 *Amaru-śataka* with Vemabhūpāla's commentary, Introduction, pp. 12-21.

In addition to these, Sanskrit anthologies attribute several other stanzas to Amaruka¹ which are not found in any recension of the poem. As compositions of one author are often attributed to another author and the same stanzas are sometimes found quoted in the names of different authors in different anthologies, one cannot be sure if these stanzas really emanate from the pen of Amaruka and have, therefore, been excluded from the scope of present study.

8. The *Amaru-sataka* is a product of urban culture as most of the classical Sanskrit poems and dramas undoubtedly are. The men and women depicted by Amaruka breathe in an urban atmosphere; they are accustomed to the comforts of the city life; their sentiments and expressions are also characterised by a typically urban sophistication. But there is a fundamental difference between Amaruka's centum of lyrics and other literary products of urbanised culture. While most other works of the classical period represent, in the main, what may be called court culture and consequently are of a stereotyped character, the *Amaru-sataka* depicts erotic sentiments and situations experienced by a common man and woman in their daily life and has naturally much greater appeal.

Secondly, from the ethical standpoint the *Amaru-sataka* stands on a higher plane than many other poems having love for their theme. It dilates the love-life of lawfully wedded men and women. A man may have more than one spouse as permitted by the ancient Hindu Civil Law and may, therefore, not be so very faithful to each one of them; but a woman is nowhere represented as cherishing sensual love for any man other than her lawful male counterpart; for her there is no greater happiness than the loving caresses of her husband and no sorrow greater than separation from him; quarrels, sometimes on trifles, are not unknown to lovers, and a large number of stanzas are devoted to them; but they are generally momentary and are washed away rather easily. There is no room for free and promiscuous love in the eyes of Amaruka.

9. The scope of the poem being very much circumscribed, it furnishes very meagre information about contemporary life. Moreover, the exact time and locale of the poet being unknown, it is difficult to determine the period and part of the country he had in his mind. But as stated above, the poet probably lived in Kashmir sometime prior to the middle of the eighth century A.D., and the poem, therefore, seems to deal with the life in early mediaeval Kashmir. Casual references scattered throughout the poem throw some interesting light on such topics as the dress, ornaments, toilet and hair-styles of the belles, material on other aspects of contemporary life being scanty in the extreme.

10. Amaruka was, as we have seen above, a Śaiva by religion, and there-

1 See verses 139-163 of the *Kāvyamālā* edition.

fore he invokes the god Śiva (2)¹ and the goddess Ambikā (1) in the beginning of the poem. The legend of the destruction by Śiva of the three cities of the demons (*Tripura*) and the wailing of the women of these cities is also alluded to (2). Mention is also made of Harihara (the composite form of Viṣṇu and Śiva²), Skanda (3) and Yama (67) who is described as skilled in counting the days (*divasa-gaṇanādakṣa*) and merciless (*vyapeta-ghṛṇa*). An allusion to the Pauranic legend of the churning of the ocean by gods is found in verse 36. In a work dealing with love-life, references to Kāma, the Indian god of love, are quite natural. He is mentioned by traditional names like Manmatha (115), Makara-dhvaja (116), Manoja (137) and the like. He is described as the great archer of the three worlds (*tribhuvana-mahādhanvin*, 115).

The history of pilgrimage to places regarded as sacred *tīrtha-yātrā* in India goes to an hoary antiquity. The custom of offering handful of water to the dead at sacred spots was quite popular (132).

11. We get some allusions to the pitiable conditions of the poorer section of the society. While at one place there is a reference to a poor woman living in an old decaying house which gave way in the rainy season (118), another stanza speaks of the entry of drops of rain-water through holes in a poor woman's hut damaged by storm in the rainy season (126).

There are references to the nursing mother (*dhātṛī*, 111) and elderly members of the family (16). Husband and wife are, of course, the subject-matter of the whole poem.

12. Clarified butter and honey were important ingredients of food (109). Salt-water, it is said, leads to the doubling of the thirst (130).

Drinking of wine was common. It was drunk from cups (*caṣaka*). Even women had no compunction against this vice (120). At one place we have a reference to a lady under the influence of inebriety caused by drinking wine (55).

13. Chinese silk (*Cīn-āṁśuka*) enjoyed great popularity in India since very ancient time. The earliest known reference to it is found in the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* which speaks of *Cīna-bhūmi* as the source of *Cīna-paṭṭa*.³ This is

1 Figures in brackets refer to the serial number of the verses of the *Amaru-śataka*.

2 It may also refer to Hari and Hara separately. This is also the opinion of the commentators.

3 *Arthaśāstra*, ii.11. 114. This reference is sometimes cited as an evidence of the lateness of the *Arthaśāstra*, for, according to some Sinologists, the name Cīna came to be used for the whole country for the first time during the period of the First T'sin or Chin Dynasty (221-209 B.C.). In order to overcome this difficulty, the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal proposed to identify the *Cīnas* mentioned in Indian literature with a tribe called Shin inhabiting the Gilgit region. Vide his *Hindu Polity*, p. 212, fn. 1. Dr. Motichandra (*Prācīna Bhāratiya Veśabhūṣā* (Hindu), p. 101) identifies it with Kafiristan, Kohistan and Darad region where the Shin dialect is spoken.

the only textile mentioned in the *Amaru-śataka* which indicates its popularity in early mediaeval India, particularly among women (77). The common female dress comprised two garments—a lower garment worn like modern *dhotī* and the *uttariya* (78, 113) which was thrown over the shoulders like a scarf. The lower garment was put on by tying it in a knot on the waist (*nīvī*, 101, 112).

Stitched clothes were also popular. Mention is made of *kañcuka* (11) or *kañculikā* (27) which was like the present-day *colī*. There is an allusion to the breaking of the stitches of the *kañcuka* because of the expanse of the bosoms (11). *Kañculikā* was put on by tying a knot (27). According to Arjunavarmadeva, it denoted the South Indian *colikā* for tying which alone a string (*vīṭikā*) was used.¹ But it need not necessarily be so, for there would be nothing surprising if the custom of wearing the *colī* by tying a knot with the help of a string was current in North India as well. It is even now in vogue in the North.

Kañcuka is depicted in Indian art only after the Gupta period.²

The word *aṁśuka-pallava* is employed to denote the loose portion of a garment, probably *dhotī* (85).

14. Ornaments worn by women to deck different parts of their body are incidentally mentioned by Amaru. Ears were adorned with rings (*kuṇḍala*, 3). Sometimes more than one *kuṇḍala* were worn on the same ear (*kuṇḍala-stabaka*, 108). Verse 16 speaks of rubies adorning ears. *Keyūra* (armlet) is the only ornament of the arm mentioned by our poet (60). Pearl-necklaces (*muktā-hāra*, 138; *tāra-hāra*, 31), which meandered on the bosoms (138), are said to be fuel to set the fire of love ablaze (134). On lower arm was worn the bracelets called *valaya*. In verse 35, we read how *valaya* became loose and fell down from the emaciated hand of a lady when her husband decided to go on a journey. Sanskrit literature is replete with the description of the *valaya*, becoming loose or falling down from the hand because of the emaciation due to separation from one's beloved and it had become something like a poetic convention.³

Zones worn round the waist are referred to as *kāñcī* (21, 31, 109) and *mekhalā* (101). They served the twin purpose of ornamenting the waist and

But it appears more probable that the name was derived from the T'sin Kingdom in the north-west of China which was in existence during the Chun Chin Period (722-481 B.C.) and the Period of the Warring Dynasty (481-221 B.C.). It was through this kingdom that China came into contact with the Western World including India. See *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 644; *ABORI*, XLII (1961), pp. 150-154; R. P. Kangle, *The Kauṣṭhīya Arthaśāstra: A Study*, pp. 74-75.

1 कञ्चुलिका चेयं दाक्षिणात्यचोलिकारूपैव । तस्या एव ग्रथनपदार्थे वीटिकाव्यपदेशः.

2 Vide V. S. Agrawala, *Harṣa-carita : Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyayana*, pl. 27.

3 E.g., *Megha-dūta*, I.2; *Abhijñāna-Śākuntala*; III.10; *Kuṭṣaṇi-mata*, 295.

supporting the lower garment (21, 101). Tinkling bells were often attached to them, and we read of the musical sound produced by them (31, 109). Anklets (*nūpura*) were worn on legs (89, 116, 128).¹ Sometimes bells were suspended from them also which produced tinkling sound with the movement of the wearer (31).

At one place we get a reference to *viśikhā* (111) which, according to Kauṭilya, was² used in the sense of goldsmiths' lane. Mention is also made of *saṁdamśaka* or a pair of tongs which professional goldsmiths may have used in their work. Verse 59 mentions the moonstone (*candrakānta*) and the diamond (*vajra*). The latter was well known for its superlative hardness and therefore a hard-hearted person was often described figuratively as fashioned from it (*vajramaya*).

A variety of flowers and leaves was also worn as ornaments. This practice is often described in classical Sanskrit literature. Our poet has mentioned flower-garlands (90) and ear-ornaments called *karna-pūra* fashioned from leaves with shoots encircled by bees with the greed of fragrance (1).

15. A variety of hair-styles was prevalent in ancient India. Of these, the *Amaru-śataka* refers to *dhammilla* (98, 121) and *alak-āvali* (123). The former denoted a form of coiffure wherein the hair were tied into a big single knot over the head³ and decorated with flowers and pearls. This mode of hair-dressing is frequently referred to in Indian literature⁴ and often represented in art.⁵ Amaruka speaks of the decoration of *dhammilla* with *mallikā* flowers (121).

As indicated by the name, *alak-āvali* consisted in the arrangement of hair in rows of spiral locks on the forehead. It is gracefully represented in some terracotta figurines from Ahicchatrā.⁶ Particular reference in this connection must be made to the artistically superb head of Pārvatī, found in the Śiva temple (between 450 and 650 A.D.), wherein the *dhammilla* and *alak-āvali* styles are beautifully combined.⁷

Another mode of dressing the hair was to arrange them in a long, hanging twisted braid called *kabarī*. It was also adorned with flowers (124).

1 Kokasambhava in his gloss on verse 87 says that *nūpura* is inappropriate for men.

2 *Arthaśāstra*, II. 14, R. P. Karyle, however, renders it by 'market-highway'.

3 Cf. धम्मिल्लः संयताः कचाः *Amara-kośa*, II. 6.97.

4 Vide *Śṛiṅgāra-śataka*, verse 49; *Gīta-Govinda*, verse 2; *Caura-pañcāśikā*, verse 79; *Kuṭṭani-mata*, verse 901. It has been suggested that the word *dhammilla* is probably derived from or connected with Draviḍa, Dramiḍa or Damila, the name of the Tamil country. Vide V. S. Agrawala, *Harṣa-carita: Eka Sāṁkrtika Adhyayana*, p. 96.

5 Paṇṭ Pratinidhi, *Ajūṇhā* (Marathi), Pl. 79; *Ancient India*, No. 4, Pl. 45.

6 *Ibid.*, Terracotta Nos. 170, 267, 274, 275.

7 *Ibid.*, Pl. 45.

During separation from their husbands ladies refrained from arranging the hair which fell in long disorderly locks (88).

16. Ancient Indian belles were much more attached to toilet than their modern counterparts. We would not be exaggerating if we aver that it formed an essential part of their daily routine. Items of female toilet are frequently referred to in the *Amaru-sataka* and naturally so. Pastes prepared from a variety of aromatic articles were applied to the body. Of these ingredients, Amaru makes particular mention of sandalwood (73, 105, 124, 134), saffron (113, 119) and aloe (107). These pastes are referred to as *pañka* (107), *aṅga-rāga* (17) and *vilepana* (26). Our poet often speaks of the application of unguents on breasts.

The practice of chewing betel in India is very ancient¹ and in addition to medical grounds it was particularly appreciated for the charming reddishness it imparted to the chewer's lips which often forms an item of poetic description (18, 60, 107, 124). Collyrium (*añjana*, 105, 124 ; *kajjala*, 6) was applied to the eyes and lac-die for reddening the lips (105). On the cheeks were painted various designs of leafs and flowers with the help of fragrant articles ; these were known as *viśeṣaka* (3) and *patrālī* (81). It was customary to paint the feet with lac-die (*lākṣā*, 60 ; *alaktaka*, 107, 116, 128).

There is a reference to shower-bath also (124).

17. We get practically no information about the means of amusement. There are, however, a few allusions to the taming of parrots whose skill in imitating human voice is often spoken of (7, 16, 117). Parrot's love for pomegranate is also alluded to (16).

Ladies often played with lotus flowers (*līlā-tāmarasa*, 60) with which they sometimes lovingly struck their lovers (72).

18. Houses were decorated with floral arches (*vandana-mālikā*), particularly as a mark of welcome to a respected or beloved person, a custom which is prevalent even to-day. For this purpose lotus flowers were also used (45).

19. Among household articles mention is made of cot (*talpa*, 101), seat (*āsana*, 18-19), bed-sheet (*pracchada-paṭa*, 107), lamp (*pradīpa*, 77, 90), fuel (*indhana*, 134) and jar (*kumbha*, 45 ; *kalaśa*, 119). At one place there is a reference to a pitcher fashioned from gold (*śātakumbha kumbha*, 137).

20. We get allusions to some aspects of contemporary etiquette also. When some beloved person set out on a journey the *puṇyāha* ceremony was observed and good wishes expressed for safe return (61). On the arrival of

1 For the history of the practice of chewing betel, see P. K. Gode, *Journal of the Travancore University Manuscript Library*, VI, pp. 1-14; *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, II, pp. 73-78; *JOI*, I, pp. 270-277.

some beloved guest floral arches were arranged and flower bouquet and water from jar offered to him (45). It was customary to fold hands while making a request (85). The custom of releasing water from the hollow of the palms while making a gift is an ancient one and is frequently referred to in ancient Indian copper-plate charters. Releasing a handful of water is mentioned as indicating the relinquishment of ownership on the part of the donor (54).

21. Verse 31 alludes to the beating of a drum (*ḍiṇḍima*) as a means of making a public proclamation. Verse 51 speaks of the drawing of lines (*rekḥā-nyāsa*) as the basis of painting.

22. There is only a single literary reference in the *Amaru-śātaka*. Verse 32 describes the epic hero Dhanañjaya (Arjuna) as capable of getting back cows. It is undoubtedly an allusion to the *Mahābhārata* story of the protection by the Pāṇḍavas of the cows of Virāṭa.

23. The opening verse of the *Amaru-śātaka*, refers to the attitude (*mudrā*) called *khaṭakā-mukha*, which is described in Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*.

24. Our work furnishes no information whatsoever about contemporary political thoughts and statecraft. Only a few weapons like bow (135) and arrow (2), bow-string (1) and *brahm-āstra* (52) are referred to. We have a reference to a military camp (*skandhāvāra*) also (115). Verse 137 mentions the ceremonial ablution (*abhiṣeka*) of the king seated on a *vedi* flanked by plantain staffs.

25. *Vāsa-gṛha* or bedroom was an important part of a house (82). There used to be a garden in the courtyard of a house (*aṅgaṇa-vāṭikā*) the trees planted wherein included lofty ones like mango (78).

26. The following animals, birds and bees are mentioned incidentally:—cow (32), deer (60, 73, 138), peacock (118) *khañjarīṭu* (135), parrot (7, 16, 117), and bee, both male (1, 96) and female (78). It was a poetic convention to compare the eyes of women to those of the deer, and consequently they were often styled *mṃg-adṛśī*, *hariṇākṣī* and *sāraṅgākṣī*. Peacocks are spoken of as raising their feathers and looking at the drops of water falling from the clouds in the rainy season. Bees are described as moving in the proximity of flowers and humming.

27. The lotus claims the largest number of references to flora. The words *utpala* (2, 29), *tāmarasa* (60, 72), *nalina* (117), *rājīva* (123), *pañkaja* (132) and *śatadālā* (117) are used for it. Lotus-stalk and lotus leaves are referred to *nalinī-nāla* (104) and *-dala* (134) respectively. Verse 45 speaks of the preparation of floral arches with blue lotuses (*indīvara*). *Mallikā* is said to blossom in summer (31) and its flowers were used to decorate coiffure (121). Casual allusions to *Kurāda*, *jāti* (45), mango shoot (78), pomegranate fruits (16), *kahlāra*, *saṃpāccāda* (122), *kandala* (126) and plantain staff (137) are also found.

NOTE ON A HERMAPHRODITE FIGURE ON A SILVER PLATE

By

SAMARESH BANDYOPADHYAY, Calcutta

In appendix VI entitled 'The Hermaphrodite Figure on a Silver Plate'¹ of his learned work *Nanā on Lion*, Calcutta, 1969, B. N. Mukherjee has dealt with an interesting silver dish which was noticed in the *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 1900, Vol. XV, p. 203. Discovered long ago in the region of ancient Lampsacus which at present is within North-Western Turkey, the plate is now preserved in the Istanbul Museum. 'Partly gilt and inland with gold, and partly treated in the niello technique or enamelled', the dish, which is 'stylistically related to the West Asiatic or Alexandrian art in the Roman empire and dated to the first, second or third century A.D., portrays a human figure facing front and sitting on a backless chair, the legs of which are formed by elephant tusks'. Adorned with armlets and sandals, bangles and a necklace, the figure is shown putting on a *sāḍī*, a part of which covers the left shoulder and the left chest. 'The figure, locks of whose hair hang down towards the shoulders, has two horns on the head'. The left hand of the figure is represented holding a bow while the right hand is shown uplifted in the pose of imparting protection. 'On each side of the chair stands a *hanuman* monkey, each distinguished by the long hind limbs and tail (in spite of the slight misrepresentation of the face)'. 'There is a collar around the neck of each'. 'Underneath the chair two keepers hold in check with ropes two animals identifiable probably as leopards or tigers (or lionesses?)'. On the left of the central figure is seen a guinea-hen, and on the right a parrot.

'Most of the species represented on the dish' being considered as having been imported to the West from India in the days of trade between the Roman Empire and India, the figure at the Centre is believed to represent India as a lady.² This presumption gains some support from the fact that in the art of the Roman Empire Rome, Egypt, Africa, etc. have been so personified.³ But, as

1 It was at first published by Mukherjee in the form of a communication in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX, No. 2, 1967, pp. 180-82. The photograph of the dish illustrated here (fig. 1) is from a copy given to me by Mukherjee. I express my gratefulness to him.

2 E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 143. V. S. Agrawala is also of the same opinion (*Nāgarī Pracārīnī Patrikā*, V. S. 2000, pp. 39-42; cf. also his *Studies in Indian Art*, Varanasi, 1965, pp. 194-96).

3 M. Rosolovzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (2nd edition), Vol. I, Pl. XVIII. 2; D. E. Strong, *The Classical World*, fig. 73; *The National Geographical Magazine*, February, 1957, p. 218; cf. also Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 102 and 105, note 14.

Mukherjee points out, the figure is half male and half female and never that of a female merely, and such a combination being common in Indian art in the Ardhanārīśvara form, he observes that 'India could well have been personified as a hermaphrodite figure on a product of an Alexandrine or West Asiatic artist of the Roman Empire, which had brisk commercial transaction with Kuṣāṇa India'. The popularity of the concept of the dual-divinity Ardhanārīśvara with the artists of the Kuṣāṇa period has, however, been shown on the basis of a Mathurā miniature relief, attention to which was drawn by V. S. Agrawala,¹ and a statement of Bardesanes (A.D. 154—c.A.D. 222), quoted by Stobaeus (c.A.D. 500) in his *Physica* and referred to by J. N. Banerjee.² Further, reference has been made to terracotta plaque from Rājghāṭa showing a hermaphrodite figure with prominent breasts and phallus, and accompanied by an animal, which on stylistic grounds has been ascribed to the Kuṣāṇa period.³ In a footnote, Mukherjee has also referred to the reverse of a coin of one Kaniṣka. But, he does not seem to be sure about the identification of the deity and so puts the question: 'Can we discern a female breast on the left half of the chest of Oesho on a coin of Kanishka III, which also displays the figure of a bull?'⁴ The doubt is probably due to the fact that R. B. Whitehead described the reverse device of the said coin as follows:

'Two-armed Śiva standing to front, with noose in right hand and long trident in left; behind him, bull standing to left'.⁵

But, as shown elsewhere,⁶ a careful examination reveals that the figure is the representation of Ardhanārīśvara; for, quite in keeping with the description of the literary texts it has (i) the *stana-parisara* in the left half of the chest like a female, (ii) the *yajñopavīta* in the right half of the chest, (iii) the neck adorned with a necklace and (iv) the left leg covered upto the calf with folds, possibly of a *śāṭikā*.

Regarding the representation of the figure, Mukherjee observes that 'the designer of the dish concerned seems to have followed the Indian tradition,'⁷ and

1 *JISOA*, 1934, p. 124; cf. also his *Studies in Indian Art*, 1965, pp. 191-92, fig. 106.

2 *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta, 1956, pp. 89, 182; cf. also Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-03.

3 S. K. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, p. 116 and Pl. XIX. 86; cf. also Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 and 106, note 27.

4 Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 106, note 27.

5 *PMCC*, Vol. I, Lahore, 1914, p. 211, Pl. XIX. 231. According to Whitehead, who classed this coin along with later Kuṣāṇa gold pieces, the figure on the reverse side of the coin is the same as represented on the reverse of a coin of Vāsudeva (*ibid.*, p. 208. Pl. XIX. 209).

6 D. C. Sircar, ed., *Prācyavidyā-taraṅgiṇī*, University of Calcutta, 1969, pp. 218-21; cf. also *JNSI*, Vol. XXX, pp. 195-98, Pl. I. 7.

7 Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 106, note 28.



Fig. 1

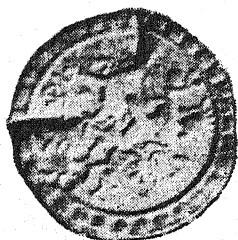


Fig. 2

this, as he points out¹ is also suggested by the similarity of the gesture of the right hand of the figure in question with *abhaya-mudrā* noticeable in numerous sculptures of Kuṣāṇa Mathurā.¹ It is, however, really difficult to be sure on the issue; for, as Mukherjee himself has pointed out, the Greek world knew the concept of hermaphrodite or the androgynous idea of life,² and several images in the gesture of imparting protection belonging to the 1st, 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. have been discovered at Hatra, Palmyra, etc., in West Asia.³ Further difficulty in advancing such a suggestion, we may point out, lies in the fact that while Ardhanārīśvara has been described in literary texts and depicted in Indian art as having, a prominent breast in the left half of the chest, the plate shows that the right chest of the figure has the breast of a female and the left half is covered with a part of the *sāḍī* which also covers the left shoulder, and that the left half of the chest is covered it does not seem possible to be certain regarding the depiction of the breast on this side. Moreover, while all the representations of Ardhanārīśvara of the Kuṣāṇa period, noticed so far, show the deity standing, the dish depicts the figure seated. In fact, seated representation of Ardhanārīśvara is seldom seen. Of the places yielding the image of Ardhanārīśvara enlisted by us in connection with a paper entitled 'Ardhanārīśvara and a coin of Kaniṣka'⁴ we have seen the seated representation of the deity, so far, only at the Kailāsanāthasvāmin temple at Kāñcīpuram, which, according to Gopinath Rao, belongs to the seventeenth century⁵ and on a coin of Vijayamāṇikya of Tripura who belonged to the sixteenth century. The importance of the rarely represented seated figure of Ardhanārīśvara escaped the notice of A. N. Lahiri⁶

1 *Ibid.*, p. 104.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 106, note 28. In Greek and Roman art hermaphrodites were represented essentially as a male (H. Licht, *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece*, p. 126 and Pl. IX).

3 *Ibid.*, p. 106, note 28.

4 Cf. D. C. Sircar, ed. *Prācyavidyā-taraṅgiṇī*, p. 210, note 6. Mathura, Sultanganj in the Bhagalpur District, Bihar, and Sagar may be added to the list. The Sultanganj image (*JBSR*, Vol. LIV, 1968, pp. 222-28), like the Elephanta-Ardhanārīśvara assigned to the 7th century A.D. (*JIH*, Vol. XLIV, Pt. II, August, 1966, p. 234), has four hands. A description of the dual-divinity with four hands is found in the *Liṅga Purāṇa* (ed. Jivananda Vidyasagar, Calcutta, 1885, *pūrvārḍha*, ch. 76, vv. 35-36). Partly mutilated, the life-size Ardhanārīśvara figure found at Sagar belongs to the Gupta period (K. D. Bajpai, *Sagar Through the Ages*, Pl. VI). For different stories accounting for this concept of duality, see S. Bandyopadhyay, 'The Bhakti Cult and Ardhanārīśvara' in *The Bhakti Cult and Ancient Indian Geography*, ed. D. C. Sircar, University of Calcutta, 1970, pp. 127-31. It is interesting to note that Utpala styles Ardhanārīśvara as Ardthagaurīśvara (*Nagpur University Journal*, Vol. XVI, p. 12), while the deity is called Ardhayuvatiśvara in the Khonamukh copper-plate of the Prājyotiṣa king Dharmapāla (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 204-05).

5 *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, p. 331, Pl. XCVIII.

6 *The Śakti Cult and Iconography of Tārā*, University of Calcutta, 1967, pp. 101-103.

I received from Lahiri a copy of the photograph of the coin for illustration (fig. 2). I owe

who, however, pointed out the peculiarity of the image on the coin of Vijaya-māṇikya. Thus, it shows a bull-couchant for the right half of the body which has two hands and a lion-couchant for the left half of the body which has five hands.

him my gratitude. Representation of five hands on the left side shows that the *daśabhujā* conception of Durgā, which is so common in Bengal even in present times, had become so much popular in Tripura during Vijayamāṇikya's time that it finds a place even on a coin. Cf. also *JNSI*, Vol. XXIX, Pt. II, pp. 73-76 and Pl. VI. 1, 1A (enlarged).

A NEW INSCRIPTION FROM MATHURA

By

R. C. SHARMA, Mathura

A red sand stone horizontal slab measuring 93×23 cms. (Museum No. 71.8) was recently purchased from a Delhi dealer on the information of Dr. Anand Krishna. It is said to have been unearthed about four years ago from the Delhi-Agra road side, near Caurāsī in the western outskirts of Mathura city. This has been corroborated from more than one sources. Flanked by two auspicious symbols, viz., *Maṅgalaghata* and *Svastika*, the epigraph consists of two lines. Owing to its mutilation and defective restoration much inconvenience was felt in deciphering some of the letters, otherwise it is nicely engraved.

I propose to read it as follows :—

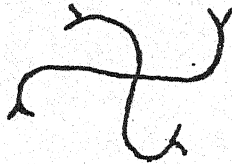
L. 1 गोती पुत्रस राहिलस [पो] त्रस बासि [श्री] पुत्रस [प्र] बास्तस पुत्रस को[त्सी] पुत्रस
(A) ¹मागकस कल² [?] [तोदस]

L. 2 [पीष्कि]³ रि नि⁴ आराम सभा शिला पट्टा देवकुल नि⁵ प्रीयतां भग [वां] [म] हस्वरं⁶ (B)

(A) = *Purnaghata*



(B) = *Svastika*



While it is difficult to give exact meaning of each word I am inclined to translate it as :

“ A water tank, garden, assembly hall, stone tablet (and) temple were erected (by) the son of Gotī, grandson of Rāhila, son of Vāsiṣṭī, son of Prabāsta, son of Kotsī of Magaka (and) of Kalatoṭa ? May god Maheśvara be pleased. ”

1 It can be read as ' Mo '.

2 The purpose of the stroke below the letter ' la ' is not clear.

3 It appears to be a slip for ' Puṣkarinī '.

4 ' Ni ' is shaped like ' La '.

5 ' Ni ' is probably an abbreviation for ' Nirmita '.

6 My colleagues Sri S. D. Trivedi and Sri Shivadhar Misra have helped me in correct identification of some letters.

Palaeography :

The inscription gives no date of installation but on palaeographic grounds this should be assigned to early Kuṣāṇa period c. 1st century A.D. The formation of Brāhmī letters has close resemblance with contemporary records from Mathura region.¹ Although the scribe has tried to make the record quite bold through deep undercuts yet some slips are also noticed (footnote nos. 2 to 5). Letter 'Ni' in line 2 is either a mistake or an abbreviation. The language used is Prākṛit form of Sanskrit.

Symbols :

The slab bears two rather stylised symbols. Starting with a high pitcher (*Maṅgala-kalaśa*) with long neck and a projecting base it ends with a cross (*Svastika*) having large spokes. Such auspicious marks with some variations are occasionally noticed on other inscriptions from Mathura.²

Names :

The record is important from more than one reasons. It mentions several new names besides the common ones 'Gotīputra' and Kotsī(?)putra. Luder's list refers to several Gotīpūtas and Gotīputras frequently finding place in ancient epigraphs.³ The State Museum, Lucknow owns two pieces which bear this name. One is a fragmentary Āyāgapāṭa from Kaṅkāli mound,⁴ and the other is a small piece (J. 425), the findspot of which is not known.⁵ Gotīputra of Āyāgapāṭa must have been a follower of Jainism while the other gentleman was father of Ūtara, a goldsmith. But Gotīputra of the present record appears to be a Śaiva as the gifts were made to please god Maheśvara.

Kosī, Kotsī (as read by Sri V. N. Srivastava) or Kosikīputra in line 1 is also familiar in Mathura epigraphs. The coping of a railing now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (N. S. 4247) bears the name Kauśikīputra Bodhiyaśa.⁶ It occurs on doorjamb inscription of the time of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa, now in the Mathura Museum (No. 13.367). Here Kauśika-putra is a Vasu.⁷ Similar epithets or names have been found on documents from other parts of the country.⁸

Rāhila, Vāsiṣṭhīputra, Prabāsta, Magaka or Mogaka, Kalatoṭa (?) have appeared probably for the first time in an inscription from Mathura and it is not

1 Pt. G. H. Ojha: *Indian Palaeography*, chart No. 5, 6, 7 and 8.

2 Dr. K. L. Janert: 'Mathura Inscriptions', p. 75 fascimile 39, 113 and 125.

3 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X, Index page 188.

4 Bühler: *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 396, No. 33 and V. A. Smith: *Jain Stūpa etc.*, p. 20, Pl. XIII.

5 Janert: 'Mathura Inscriptions', p. 198 fascimile 168.

6 R. P. Chanda: *A.S.I.R.*, 1923-24, 1926, p. 101, Pl. 35 I.

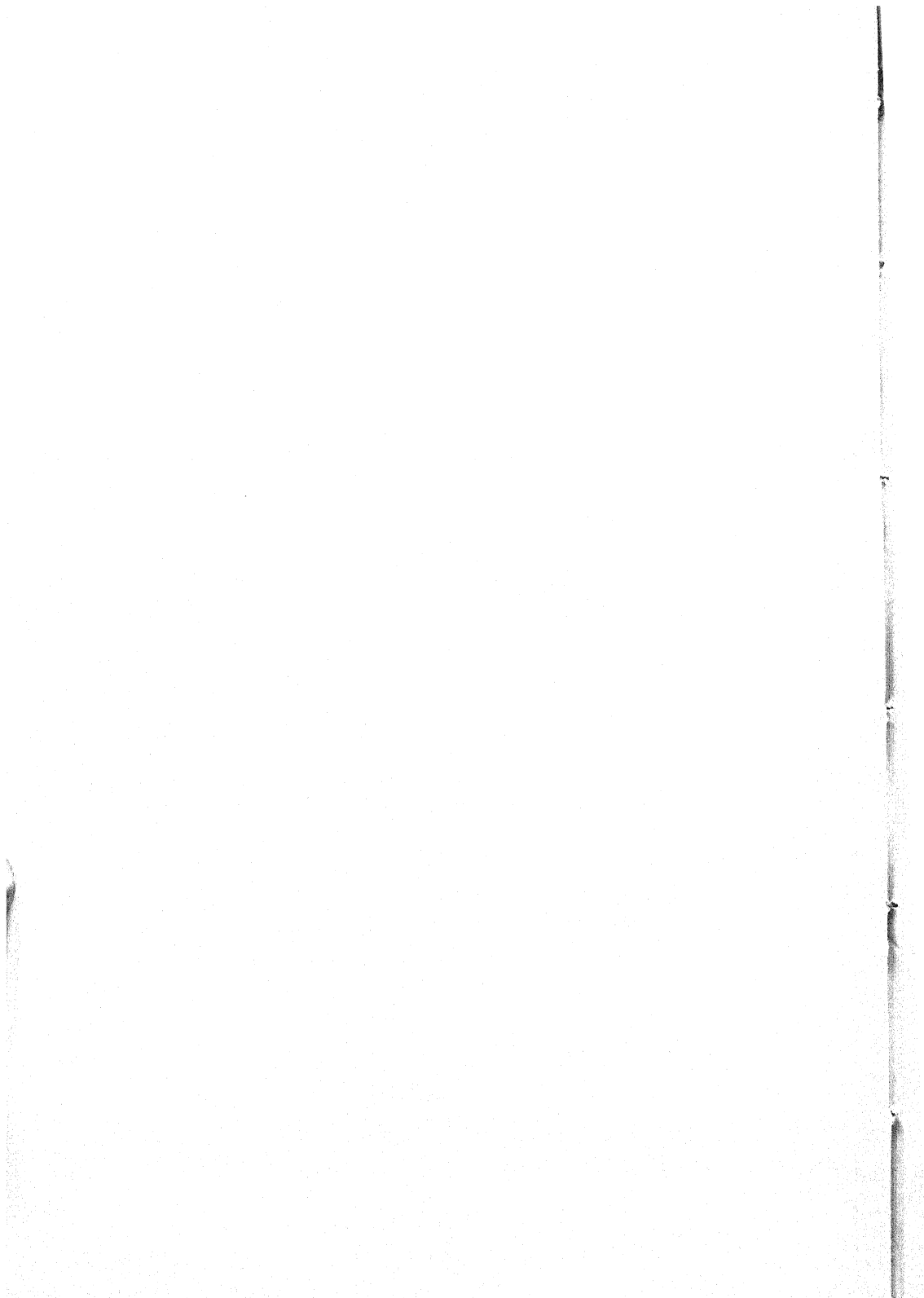
7 *Ep. Ind.* 24, 1937-38, 1942, p. 208-210.

8 *Ep. Ind.*, X, Luder's list, Index, p. 191.



Fig. 1

New inscription from Mathura
(Photo Copyright : Archaeological Museum, Mathura)



possible to identify them in the present state of knowledge. It may, however, be pointed out that Rāhila in the Bhilsa Topes is mentioned as Ārya Rāhila, a monk.¹ There are many Vāsiṣṭhīputras or Vāsiṣṭhīpūtas in early inscriptions from Bharhut, Kauheri, Karle, Nasik, Amaravati, Ajanta etc.² but we are not aware of such names from Mathura. Kalatoṭa(?) has some phonetic resemblance with Kālavāla of the above-mentioned Lucknow Museum Āyāgapāṭa which is used as adjective, meaning a black serpent. But I am not much convinced with my own reading of the word as Kalatoṭa.

Terms :

We gather from this epigraph that a tank (Puṣkariṇī), a garden (Ārāma), an assembly hall (Sabhā), a slab (Śīlāpāṭa) and a temple (Devakula) were erected to please god Maheśvara (Śiva). All these terms have occurred in different inscriptions from Mathura. Ārāma, Puṣkariṇī, Sabhā and Devakula have been mentioned in the inscription found, between the feet of Vema Kadphises (Mathura Museum No. 12.215), a colossal sculpture found at Māt.³ Words Sabhā and Śīlāpāṭa are referred to in the fragmentary Mathura slab now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (N. S. 6482). This belongs to the reign of Mahākṣatrapa Ṣoḍāśa.⁴ We again find the mention of Sabhā and Śīlāpāṭa along with Devikula in an Āyāgapāṭa set up by courtesan Vasu, daughter of Lavaṇasobhikā (Mathura Museum No. Q. 2). Here the word Sabhā has been preceded by Āyāga which would mean an assembly hall for homage. The Sabhā of the inscription under review should, therefore, be interpreted as a hall for mass prayer, Kīrtana or religious discourses.⁵

The significance of the record is considerably enhanced by the occurrence of the word Devakula. Besides the above Āyāgapāṭa referring to Devakula (presumably a Jain shrine), Devakula has been found on two more sculptures, viz. one representing Vema Kadphises (Mathura Museum No. 12.215, discussed above) and another fragmentary pedestal of an image installed during the reign of Huviṣka (Mathura Museum No. 12.215A).⁶ General consensus of the scholars favours to identify the term Devakula as a temple but opinions have also been expressed to explain it as a gallery of portraits or a hall to display the

1 Cunningham: Bhilsa Topes, p. 240, No. 37, Pl. XVI and Bühler: Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p. 99, No. 19.

2 Ep. Ind., Vol. X, Index page 202.

3 Dr. V. S. Agrawala: J.U.P.H.S., 1952, Reprint, pp. 40-42.

4 Hirananda Shastri and R. P. Chanda: A.S.I.R., 1925-26, 1928, p. 148.

5 J.U.P.H.S., 1952, Reprint, pp. 35-36.

6 Dr. J. Ph. Vogel: A.S.I.R., 1911-12, 2, 1915, p. 125 and D. R. Sahni: J.R.A.S., 1924, p. 402.

royal statues.¹ Statues of Vema, Kaniṣka and Caṣṭana from Māt and the epithet of Devaputra used by the Kuṣāṇa king confirm this hypothesis. But on the basis of the new discovery it can be safely assumed that the term Devakula was not a secular type of building like a portrait gallery but a religious shrine. Besides other public facilities such as a water tank, a garden and an assembly hall, the donors have also erected a Devakula to please god Maheśvara, hence it appears to be a Śaiva shrine. It has already been pointed out that Devakula of the Āyāgapata (Q. 2) was a religious place.

The last word Maheśvara as read by me is again very significant and interesting. This is the first record which hints to the erection of a Śaiva temple in the early Kuṣāṇa period and for this the term 'Devakula' has been used instead of other popular names viz. Sthāna, Mahāsthāna or Prāsāda. We are, therefore, tempted to re-examine the word 'Devakula' of the two inscriptions from Māt. (Mathura Museum Nos. 12.125 and 12.215 A), in the light of our new document. The first one found on the statue of Vema Kadphises gives the name of the king (Vema Takṣama), of the donor Bakanapatina and the charity including the construction of a Devakula. The second which belongs to the reign of Huviṣka refers to the repairs of the Devakula which was originally built in the time of Huviṣka's grandfather who in all probabilities has been identified as Vema Kadphises.² The study of his coins reveals that Vema was a staunch Śaiva and bore the epithet 'Māheśvara'. He is also sometimes mentioned as *Satyadharmasthita*³ which points to his devotional nature. It is, therefore, quite natural to believe that Bakanatina and Huviṣka respectively constructed and repaired a Devakula (temple) dedicated to Śiva in the honour of Vema who was a devout Śaiva or Māheśvara. We have already found some sculptures from Māt which cannot be identified as royal figures. Lower part of a male deity with a lion and dwarf may be a yakṣa or a form of Śiva (Mathura Museum No. 12.214). Similarly a female figure standing with a couchant lion has been explained as goddess Pārvatī (Mathura Museum No. 12.214 A). Dr. Agrawala has, therefore, rightly suggested that the Devakula of Māt was a religious temple.⁴ The new inscription of our paper also proves that Devakula was a shrine of religious nature and the term was used for Śaiva temples as well.

1 Dr. K. P. Jayaswal: J.B.O.R.S., 5, 1919, p. 1919; Dr. Janert: Mathura Inscriptions, pp. 144-45; Dr. V. S. Agrawala: 'Hand Book of the sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology', 1939, p. 12.

2 Janert: 'Mathura Inscriptions', p. 141, 144 and other references given by him.

3 R. B. Whitehead: Punjab Museum Catalogue, Vol. I, p. 178, Pl. 17.

4 Dr. Agrawala: J.U.P.H.S., 1951, Reprint, p. 51.

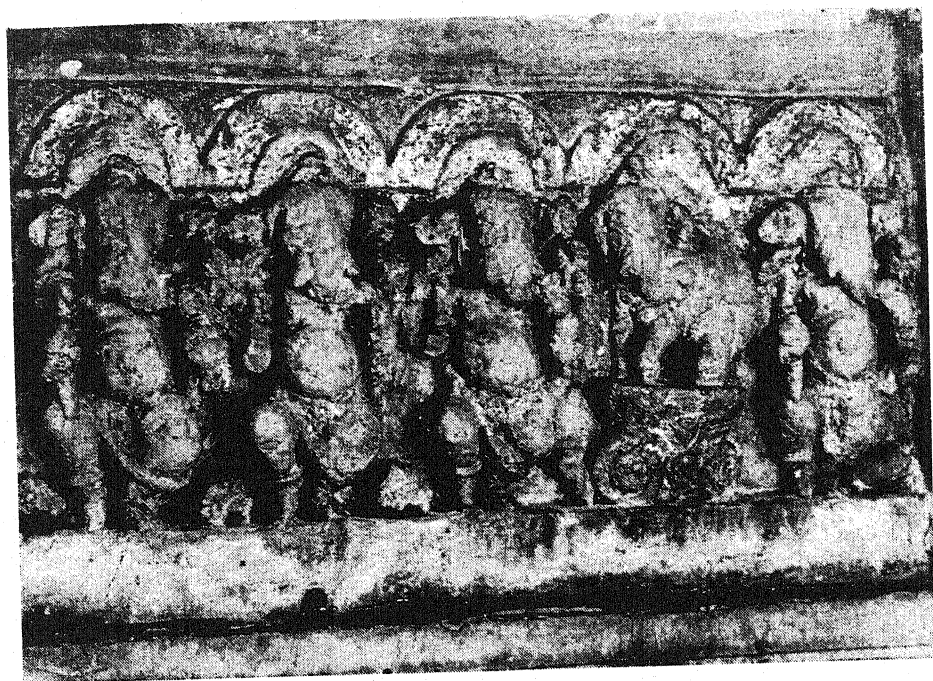


Plate I
Pañca-Gaṇeśa from Śiva temple at Jāmrolī.

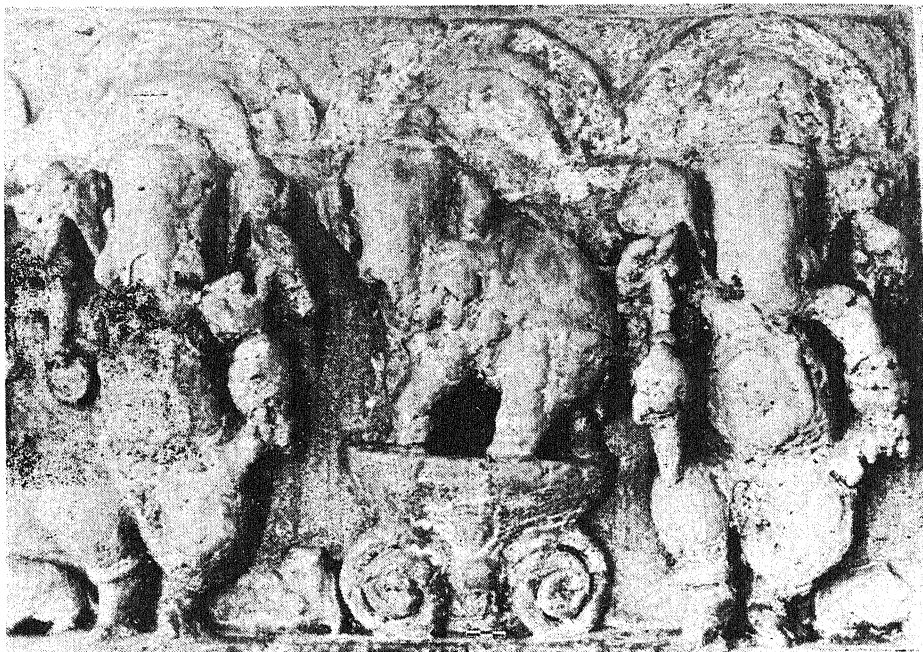


Plate II

Details of Pañca-Gaṇeśa from Jāmarolī.

(Photos : Director, Museums & Archaeology, Jaipur)

NEWLY DISCOVERED PAÑCA-GAÑEŚA FROM JAIPUR, RAJASTHAN

By

R. C. AGRAWALA, Jaipur

A number of Gaṇapati sculptures have been discovered in different parts of Rajasthan. But most important of them are two panels depicting five Gaṇeśas carved in a single row, as in the 11th Century relief on the *rāja senaka* cum *rūpadhārā* of Someśvara temple at Kirāḍu, distant about 120 miles from Jodhpur. The rectangular space on the Kirāḍu panel is covered by female attendants standing on the sides whereas the central portion presents five figures of elephant-headed and four armed Gaṇeśa, each seated likewise in *lalitāsana* (M. A. Dhaky, *Bulletin of American Academy of Benares*, I, 1967, figure 68). They seem to present some form of *Heramba-Gaṇpati*, the latter of course, having all the five elephant-heads together for the single deity.

Still more important is the stone relief recently discovered by me in the Śiva temple at Jāmarolī, about 4 miles from Jaipur city on Galta road. This temple is situated on the upper side of Hanuman Temple. Besmeared with red lead-oxide, it is under regular worship in the *Sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the mediaeval edifice with profusely carved pillars. The Jamroli panel (**Plate I**) is all the more interesting because of the symbolic representation of fourth figure from the left, in the form of an elephant standing on a lotus flower and the rat vehicle of Gaṇapati appearing below. The remaining four figures are those of dancing Gaṇeśa, each accompanied by a rat eating sweets as also below the lotus seat of fifth figure. Besides this, we notice a halo behind all the five figures, including the elephant on lotus and discussed above (**Plate II**). We must look for some literary text in support of such an unusual iconographic trait, specially the carving of an elephant (with a halo) instead of dancing Gaṇeśa. In fact the existing Gaṇapati relief from Jaipur is a very imposing specimen of mediaeval sculptures of Rajasthan, and first of its kind¹ from Jaipur region at the present moment. Datable towards the 10-11th century A.D., it² is far superior to the aforesaid Kirāḍu relief, both from point of view of workmanship and iconographic details. We have yet to come across a somewhat identical carving in the early-mediaeval or still earlier sculptural art of this country, and so also that of Rajasthan.

1 A *Pañca-Gaṇeśa* relief appears to have been discovered at Varanasi also wherein we find an elephant figure. A photograph thereof was kindly shown to me by Shri P. K. Agrawala of Banaras Hindu University.

2 Photographs prepared by Mr. Vijay Kumar and supplied by the Director, Archaeology and Museums, Rajasthan, Jaipur.

ABHIṢEKA IN INDIAN ART

By

B. N. SHARMA, New Delhi

Abhiṣeka (annointing) of Hindu deities and the Kṣatriya conquering kings is an age-old tradition in India. It generally began with the offerings to the divinities like Savitā Satyaprasava, Agni Gṛhapati, Soma Vanaspati, Bṛhaspati Vāk, Indra Jyeṣṭha, Rudra Paśupati, Mitra Satya and Varuṇa Dharmapati. The consecration water (*abhiṣecanīyā āpaḥ*) was prepared from seventeen varieties of liquid consisting of the water from the river Sarasvatī, the sea, a whirlpool, a pond, a well and dew etc. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, two kinds of *abhiṣekas*, namely, the *Punar-abhiṣeka* and *Aindramahābhiṣeka* are mentioned, which consisted of several important ceremonies.¹ Besides the epics, some other literary works have also a few references to the *abhiṣeka* of the deities.

A few sculptures illustrating this lovely theme have been discovered from various parts of India. Among these, the images of Gaja-Lakṣmī have found the earliest and the most plentiful iconographic expression not only in literature but also in art. Vālmiki, while describing the image of Gaja-Lakṣmī carved on the door-lintels of Rāvaṇa's Puṣpaka-palace in Laṅkā, says that in a lotus-pool could be seen (artificial) elephants with shapely trunks and covered with filaments (of lotuses) engaged in offering worship to the Goddess Lakṣmī with lotus-petals held in their trunks, and an image of Lakṣmī too had been fashioned with graceful hands carrying a lotus in her hand :

नियुज्यमानाश्च गजाः सुहस्ताः

सकेसराश्चोत्पलपत्रहस्ताः ।

बभूवुः देवी च कृतासुहस्ता

लक्ष्मीस्तथा पद्मिनि पद्महस्ता ॥

—*Rāmāyaṇa, Sundarakāṇḍa, 7, 14.*

In the early sculptures found at Bharhut and Sanchi, Lakṣmī is shown standing or seated and being bathed by a pair of elephants depicted on her either side. A railing pillar from Bharhut, now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, illustrates the goddess standing on a full blown lotus shown rising with a mass of lotus flowers and leaves from an embellished *pūrṇakumbha*² denoting

1 See for details *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 11-23.

2 V. S. Agrawala: *Pūrṇa Kumbha or the Full Vase, Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, Lucknow, XVII, 1, pp. 1-2; *Pūrṇa Kalaśa, Roopa-Lekhā*, New Delhi, XXII, 1, p. 22; P. K. Agrawala: *The Pūrṇa Kalaśa*, Varanasi, 1965, pp. 1f.



Plate I

Gaja-Lakṣmī, Śuṅga

(Courtesy : Archaeological Survey of India)



Plate II

Skanda-abhiṣeka

(Courtesy : National Museum, New Delhi)



Plate III
Gaṇapati-abhiṣeka, Pratihāra
(Photo : By the author)



Plate IV
Śiva-liṅga-abhiṣeka
(Photo Copy right : National Museum, New Delhi)

the vessel of fulness or abundance (Pl. I). The finely executed figure decked in various ornaments wears a typical head-dress and *sārī*. Her right hand is placed near the breasts and in her left she holds the stalk of a lotus bud. The elephants standing on uprising lotuses perform the *abhiseka* of the goddess, with two inverted jars held in their trunks. The image is one of the finest examples of the Śūṅga art of the 2nd century B.C. Several images of Gaja-Lakṣmī belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period are also known from Mathura.¹

The Gupta art of Mathura presents numerous examples, wherein Gaja-Lakṣmī is shown flanked by the pot-bellied figures of Gaṇeśa and Kuvera.² Early mediaeval sculptures of this type are also known and one such image found at Abaneri is now deposited in the Amber Museum near Jaipur.³ In such icons also, a pair of elephants is shown performing the consecration of the goddess.

Mention may also be made of a rare mediaeval image of the goddess from Amjharra (Rajasthan), where she is shown flanked by four elephants surmounting rising lotuses and emptying *abhiseka-ghaṭas* on her canopied head. A beautiful description of such an image is given in the *Prapañcasāra* :

कान्त्या काञ्चनसन्निभां
हिमगिरिप्रस्थैश्चतुर्भिर्गजैः
हस्तोत्क्षिप्तहिरण्मयामृतघटै-
रासिच्यमानां श्रियम् ।
नानारत्नसमुज्ज्वलां
करलसत्पद्मां किरीटोज्ज्वलां
क्षौमाबद्धनितम्बबिम्बलसितां
वन्देऽरविन्दस्थिताम् ॥

Skanda-abhiseka

Skanda-abhiseka is well-known both from the literature and art. The *Mahābhārata*, which mentions numerous episodes from the life of Skanda, also relates in details the annointment of the god performed by Indra,⁴ Brahmā Kaśyapa, the Ṛṣis⁵ and many other *devatās*.⁶ According to the *Mahābhārata* and several *Purāṇas*, the gods had consecrated Skanda as their Commander-in-Chief (*Deva-senā-pati*) to kill the powerful demon Tārakāsura, who had earlier defeated them in a war.

1 See the *Annual Report of the Mathura Museum*, 1936-37, Pl. I, fig. 2.

2 V. S. Agrawala, *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, Lucknow, XXII, pp. 150-51.

3 R. C. Agrawala, *Lalit Kalā*, New Delhi, 1-2, Pl. 54, fig. 5.

4 *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparva*, 229, 23-24.

5 *Ibid.*, *Śalyaparva*, 45, 22.

6 *Ibid.*, *Anuśāsanaparva*, 86, 28, etc.

A Gupta sculpture depicting this mythological story was found from Mathura and is now housed in the local Museum there.¹ In this sculpture, Skanda is shown in the centre riding on his peacock Paravānī. Four-faced Brahmā (only three of his faces being visible) and Śiva (wearing a *jaṭā-mukuta*) are shown on the right and left sides of Skanda pouring the sacred water on his head to proclaim him as the *Senānī* of the gods. This reminds us of a verse from the *Liṅga-Purāṇa*, which states that Skanda was annointed by these gods :

ग्रहाधिपत्ये भगवान् ब्रह्मणा पद्मयोनिना ।

अभिषिक्तः सहस्रांशु रुद्रेण तु यथा गुहः ॥

Liṅga-Purāṇa, 57, 38.

A beautiful sculpture of Skanda-*abhiṣeka* datable to the early Pratihāra period, c. 7th century A.D., is also known from Kanauj.² In this image too Brahmā stands as usual on the right side of Skanda in the act of performing his *abhiṣeka*. But the figure carved on the left side of Skanda has been wrongly identified by P. K. Agarawal as that of Śiva.³ A minute observation of this figure would clearly reveal that it represents Viṣṇu and not Śiva, who besides wearing a *kiriṭamukuṣa* and *vanamālā* also holds a *cakra* in his rear left hands while his corresponding right hand is not visible. The deity holds a pot in his front hands. This identification is supported by another almost a contemporary sculpture of the deity from Uttar Pradesh, wherein, the left side figure of Viṣṇu, though headless and damaged, is also shown wearing an *ekāvalī* and *vaijayanti-mālā* (pl. II). The statement is further corroborated by the *Śiva-Purāṇa*, which states that the Wise Hari (Viṣṇu) along with other gods had performed the *abhiṣeka* of Kumāra (Skanda) :

तदा हरिस्सुधीर्मन्त्र्या कारयामास मङ्गलम् ।

कार्तिकस्याभिषेकं हि सर्वतीर्थजलैस्सुरैः ॥

Śiva-Purāṇa, *Rudrasaṃhitā*, IV. 5, 63.

Gaṇapati-abhiṣeka

Gaṇeśa is the god of success and the remover of all the obstacles. We learn from the *Gaṇeśa-Stotra* that the deity was worshipped not only by Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā, but also by other Divine Beings for the fulfilment of their aims :

जेतुं यन्त्रिपुरं हरेण हरिणा व्याजाद् बलिं बध्नता

स्रष्टुं बारिभवोद्धवेन भुवनं शेषेण धर्तुं धराम् ।

पार्वत्या महिषासुरप्रमथने सिद्धाधिपैः सिद्धये

ध्यातः पञ्चशरेण विद्वजितये पायात्स नागाननः ॥

1 V. S. Agrawala, *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, Lucknow, XXII, pp. 140-41.

2 K. M. Munshi, *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, Bombay, 1957, pl. 42.

3 P. K. Agrawala, *Skanda-Kārttikeya*, Varanasi, 1967, pp. 81-82, pl. XVI.

Images of Gaṇapati-*abhiṣeka* are extremely rare. One such important icon is carved inside a decorated niche on the famous Sun temple at Osian, near Jodhpur, built during the Pratihāra period c. 10th century A.D. (pl. III). The elephant-headed god is seated in *sukhāsaṇa* on a circular seat holding a broken tusk and a battle-axe and other attributes in his hands. He wears a crown, ornaments and *sarpa-yajñopavīta*. Ṛddhi and Buddhi, the two divine consorts of the pot-bellied deity are shown standing in *tribhaṅga*-pose on his either side, while his *vāhana* the mouse is conspicuous by its absence in this masterpiece. Two devotee figures and a bowl of sweetballs (modakas) are shown near his left leg. Two celestial beings (the figure on the right is headless) are shown performing his *abhiṣeka* with an upturned golden jar held in their hands. Another image of this type, though now badly damaged, can also be seen on the temple No. 5 at Osian.

Śiva-Liṅga abhiṣekha :

Vālmīki, the celebrated author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* tells us that in course of their flight from Laṅkā to Ayodhyā, Śrī Rāma showed to his consort Sītā an island in the heart of the ocean, where the all-pervading Śiva bestowed his grace on him (by appearing in the form of a *Liṅga* and accepting his worship as Lord Rāmeśvara) before the construction of the bridge :

अत्र पूर्वं महादेवः प्रसादमकरोद् विभुः ।

—*Rāmāyaṇa, Yuddhakāṇḍa*, 123, 19.

Similarly, in the *Mahābhārata* Arjuna is known to have worshipped Śiva by making a clay image (probably in form of a *liṅga*) of the Great God :

शरण्यं शरणं गत्वा भगवन्तं पिनाकिनम् ।

मृन्मयं स्थण्डिलं कृत्वा मात्येनापूजयद्भवम् ॥

—*Mahābhārata, Vanaparva*, 39, 65.

Several sculptures illustrating the worship of Śiva-*liṅga* by its devotees are executed on various temples and one such image can be seen on the famous Rājārāṇī temple at Bhubaneśwar in Orissa.¹ An interesting sculpture probably from Central India, where several schools of Śaivism were prevalent during the mediaeval period² has been recently acquired by the National Museum, New Delhi (No. 68.38; Neg. No. 1318.68, Plate IV). This unusual sculpture shows a Śaiva saint performing the *abhiṣekha* of a Śiva-*liṅga* by pouring the sacred water from a inverted jar held in his both hands. Some other ascetics are

1 K. C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneśwar*, Calcutta, 1961, figure 63.

2 V. S. Pathak, *History of Śaiva Cults in Northern India from Inscriptions (700 A.D. to 1200 A.D.)*, Varanasi, 1960, pp. 3ff.

depicted worshipping the phallic form of Śiva,¹ while one recluse standing on one side with his face turned to the proper left is performing severe penance by holding a big rosary in his raised hands.² The sculpture is datable to the Pratihāra period ca. 9th century A.D.

The age-old tradition of Śiva-*līṅga abhiṣekha* is still in vogue in the country. The *abhiṣekha* of the famous *Jyotir-līṅga* in the Viśvanātha temple at Vārāṇasī is performed with milk every day, while in the South Indian temples, coconut water is generally used in performing this religious ceremony.

Viṣṇu-abhiṣeka :

A unique bronze image of Viṣṇu now deposited in the National Museum, New Delhi, shows him seated at ease on a lotus mounted on a decorated rectangular base (pls. V and VI). He holds a *cakra* and *saṅkha* having flames in his upper hands, while his lower hands are held in the front. The lotus-eyed god wears a *kirīṭa-mukūṭa*, necklaces and other ornaments and also bears a triangular *Śrīvatsa*, the symbol of the goddess of fortune, Śrī on the right side of his chest,³ thus recalling to our mind the verse from the *Śrī-Viṣṇu-Sahasra-nāma* which states:

सशङ्खदं सकिरीटकुण्डलं
सपीतवस्त्रं सरसीहृद्दक्षिणम् ।
सहारवक्षःस्थलकौस्तुभश्रियं
नमामि विष्णुं शिरसा चतुर्भुजम् ॥

Viṣṇu's two consorts, Bhūdevī and Śrīdevī, standing in reverential attitude on his right and left sides respectively, are shown pouring out the sacred water on his crowned head. The breasts of Bhūdevī are bare, while Śrīdevī wears a breast-band. The image on the basis of the robust and stiff modelling of the figures decked in heavy ornaments, can be dated on the Vijayanagara period, 16th-17th century A.D.

A stone sculpture of Viṣṇu in the Rāmaswāmī temple at Kumbakonam also illustrates the *abhiṣeka* of the god in somewhat a similar manner.⁴

Veṇugopāla-abhiṣeka :

A bronze image showing Veṇugopāla-*abhiṣeka*, and now in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Harold P. Ullman, U.S.A., is a rare example in the realm of

1 J. N. Banerjea, *Religion in Art and Archaeology (Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism)*, Lucknow 1968, pp. 64ff.

2 A mediaeval sculpture carved on both sides and illustrating similar scenes has been published in the *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Calcutta, vol. X, 1942, pp. 202-206.

3 C. Sivaramamurti, *Geographical and Chronological Factors in Indian Iconography, Ancient India*, New Delhi, No. 6, Jan. 1950, pp. 44-46, fig. 1 d.

4 H. K. Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, Madras, 1916, fig. 38.



Plate V
Viṣṇu-abhiṣeka (front view)
(Courtesy : National Museum, New Delhi)



Plate VI
Viṣṇu-abhiṣeka (Back view)

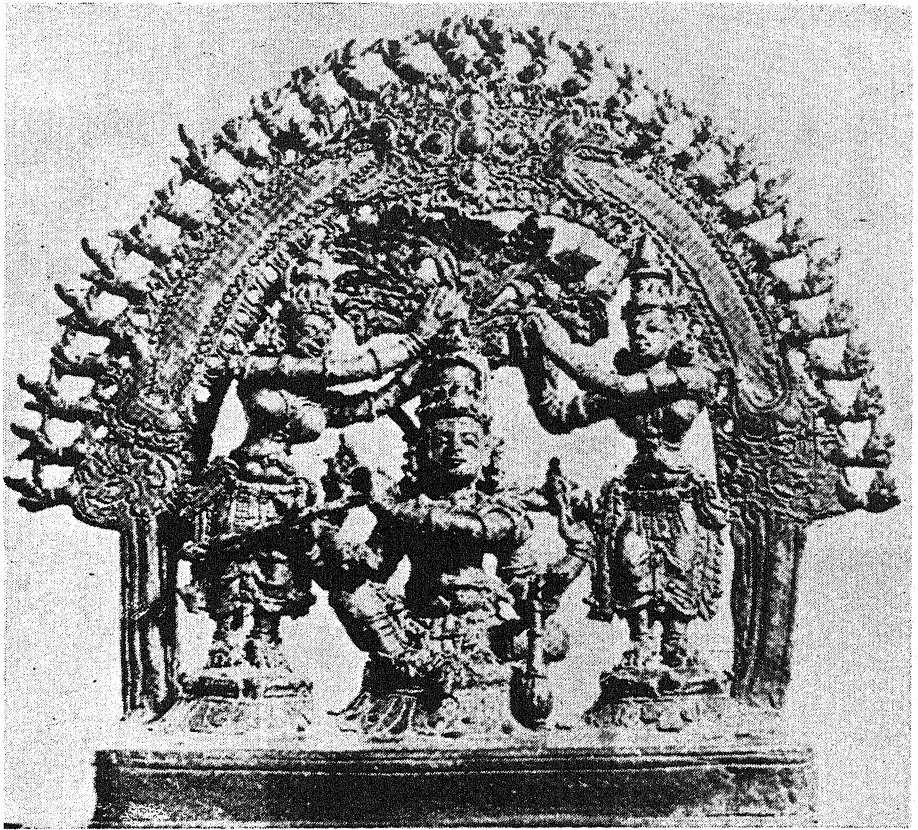


Plate VII
Kṛṣṇa-abhiṣeka
(Photo : Dr. Davidson)

Hindu iconography (pl. VII).¹ Kṛṣṇa having his face like a full-blown blue lotus plays sweetly on the flute and is adorned with divine jewels as also given in in the *Tantrasāra*:

फुल्लेन्द्वीवरकान्तिमिन्दुवदनं बहवित्तंसप्रियं
 श्रीवत्साङ्गमुदारकौस्तुभधरं पीताम्बरं सुन्दरम् ।
 गोपीनां नयनोत्पलाञ्छिततनुं गोगोपसङ्कावृतं
 गोविन्दं कलवेणुनादनपरं दिव्याङ्गभूषं भजे ॥

Kṛṣṇa being one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu also holds a *śaṅkha*, a *cakra*, a *padma* and a *gadā* in his remaining four hands. The deity, who is seated under a tree is being annointed by his consorts, Rukmiṇi and Satyabhāmā, standing on lotuses and carrying the water-jars in their hands. The whole composition is of sublime dignity and calm repose. The beautiful *torāṇa* has flames on its outer rim which are emanating from the *makara*-mouths. Dr. J. Leroy Davidson has assigned this image to the Vijayanagara period, 14th-15th century A.D. But the modelling of the figures and their profuse ornamentation and decoration would suggest its date to 17th-18th century A.D.

In ancient literature, we also get a few more references of the *abhiseka* of the deities like Varuṇa² and others, but their representation in art is not well-known. In India, and particularly in the South, the ceremony of annointing the images of Gaṇapati, Viṣṇu, Skanda, etc., is more popular than in the North. Moreover, we also knew of the *Mahābhiseka* of the famous colossal image of Gomateśvara at Sravanabelagola in the Mysore State, which clearly reveals that like Hindus, the Jains too have a very old tradition of consecrating the icons of their divinities.

1 J. Leroy Davidson, *Art of the Indian Sub-continent from Los Angeles Collections*, Los Angeles, 1968, p. 63, fig. 85. A similar image has also been acquired recently by the National Museum, New Delhi.

2 Cf. *Mahābhārata*, *Sātyaparva*, 45, 22.

Photographs: 1 and 3 have been acquired through the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India; 2, 4, 5 and 6—National Museum, New Delhi; and 7 is after Dr. J. Leroy Davidson.
 Oj15

DRAVIDIAN WORDS IN DEŚINĀMAMĀLĀ

By

SARADA SRINIVASAN, Baroda

It is a well-known fact that the court poets of India often exaggerated the achievements and status of their royal patrons. The bards of Gujarāt and Karṇāṭaka, likewise, extolled the valour and victories of their patrons, though they were some-times just border skirmishes, but were silent on the other processes of contact between these countries. In spite of their silence, the cultural contact went on and its record is preserved in the vocabulary.

The terms Āryan and Dravidian were loosely used, being some-times applied to language, race and culture. To define the term Āryan is quite difficult, since it connotes Indo-European and some-times Indo-Gangetic cultures etc.

Though the word Drāviḍa stands for the people of the South, there is yet another interpretation also. In the *Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa* of Skandapurāṇa, while describing the ten types of Brāhmaṇas, the Brāhmaṇas of Dakṣiṇadeśa, namely Drāviḍa (Tamil), Karṇāṭa, Gurjara, Mahārāṣṭra and Teliṅga are collectively called Pañca Drāviḍas.

द्राविडाश्चैव तैलंगाः कर्नाटा मध्यदेशगाः ।

गुर्जराश्चैव पञ्चैते द्राविडाः पञ्च कथ्यते ॥

Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa, p. 310¹

The verse quoted from *Skandapurāṇa*, specifically states that the people of South of the Vindhyas, including the Gurjaras, are Drāviḍas. Hence, the term Gurjara seems to stand for Southern Gujarat or rather the Lāṭa Pradeśa.

In an inscription of 1425 A.D.², four out of 5 classes of Brāhmaṇas, namely Kannaḍiga, Tāmila, Teluṅga and Lāṭa are mentioned. This Lāṭa corresponds to the Gurjaras, mentioned in *Skandapurāṇa*.

This theory was disputed by Dr. Altekar, in his "A History of Village Communities in Western India". He states, "There is at any rate no evidence whatever to indicate that Gujarat was ever a Drāviḍa settlement, and so far as Mahārāṣṭra is concerned, the whole of it was, at the time of Āryan penetration, a forest country sparsely inhabited by the Nāgas, the Bhils, and other aboriginal tribes."³ Altekar asserts this opinion, while opposing the theory that the Dāsa

1 *The Sahyādrīkhaṇḍa of Skandapurāṇa*—edited by Genson Da Cunha, 1877 A.D., p. 310.

2 "South Indian Inscriptions", Vol. I, pp. 82-84.

3 A. S. Altekar, *A History of Village Communities in Western India*, Introduction (Oxford University Press, 1927).

or Dasyus who attacked the Vedic Āryans were Dravidians. According to him, the Dravidians were a cultured and civilised race. The Dāsa or Dasyus were the aborigines. Whatever may be the worth of such a theory, it could be seen that from the first century B.C. the Dravidian contact of Gujarat or at least of Southern Gujarat could be proved.

The first documentary Dravidian contact with Gujarat was made by the Sātavāhanas in the time of Sātakarṇi II.¹ During his time, the entire Gujarāt and Malwa were under him. A large hoarde of Sātavāhana coins were found in Central Gujarāt, (Kāravaṇ, Kāmarej)² and a few in Āṇand and Siddhapur. As far as political history is concerned, it is just a passing cloud without any permanent result.

The second attempt was made in the times of the Cālukyās of Badāmī, when Maṅgaleśa³ defeated Kalacūri Bhuḍḍharāja. But, it was Pulakeśi II⁴ who established his power firmly. There is a possibility of Pulakeśi's occupation of the entire Gujarāt for a short duration. The southern part named Lāṭa was under the Cālukyās of Badāmī, followed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas⁵ and again by the Cālukyās of Kalyāṇi⁶ from the seventh century to the eleventh century. Once again from the thirteenth century constant wars were going on for the possession of Lāṭa between the Cālukyās Gujarāt and the Yādavas until both were engulfed by the Muslims by the end of the fourteenth century.

In the same way, the occupation of Deccan by the kings from the North can be traced from the time of Aśoka Maurya⁷ though his grandfather Candragupta's advent to Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa⁸, was challenged by some eminent writers as doubtful. Some epigraphic records also refer about Nanda occupation.⁹

All this swiftly changing political phenomenon must have influenced the cultural and social developments. Hence, speech, the medium of communica-

1 E. Senart, *The Inscriptions in the Caves of Nasik*, Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 60.

2 Dr. M. R. Majmudar, *Chronology of Gujarat* (Baroda, 1960), p. 63; Mr. A. S. Gadre, *Some Rare Coins from Gujarat*, J.N.S.I., Vol. XII, p. 26.

3 Fleet, *Sanskrit and old Canarese Inscriptions*, Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 161.

Fleet, "The Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription of the Cālukya king Maṅgaleśa", Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 19.

4 J. F. Fleet, "Sanskrit and old Canarese Inscriptions", *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, p. 237.

5 Hultzsch, "A Rashtrakuta grant of Krishna II" *Epigraphica Indica*, Vol. I, p. 52.

6 L. D. Barnett, "Sogal Inscriptions of the reign of Taila, S. 902", Ep. Ind., Vol. XVI, pp. 1-9.

7 Radha Govinda Basak, "Minor Rock Edicts I and II—Aśokan Inscriptions (Progressive Publishers, Calcutta, 1959).

8 Fleet, "Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa Inscriptions", Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 179.

9 Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions", Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 187.

tion, must have acquired some words from the movements and words might have moved from one region to another. Hence, it is difficult to define any spoken language as pure or not contaminated by other languages.

It is quite possible for an Āryan language to acquire some Dravidian words and this might become a blend of Āryan and Dravidian. This statement applies for Dravidian also. This blend was one of the causes of *deśi* words in Prakrit.

Any language is bound to enlarge its vocabulary in the changing generations. The main purpose for a language is to serve as a medium of communication of the thoughts and emotions between the several members of the society. When this purpose is not served, it becomes dead from the common man's point of view. The writers of literature, when they want to communicate their ideas and emotions to the people, use a language intelligible to the common man, e.g., the English language has accepted words like, Shikar, Kismat, Villa, etc. in their lexicon.¹ This must have been the case with Sanskrit and Prākṛit also.

Rt. Rev. Caldwell,² Dr. Kittel³ and Dr. Gundert⁴ had given a large list of Dravidian words in Sanskrit.

What is Prākṛit ?

Before going to the topic of Hemacandra's Deśināmamālā, it is better to note the observation on Prakrit by some authors. The earliest reference to Prākṛit is in Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra. According to Bharata, Prākṛit is a corrupt form of language devoid of refinement and having so many forms. Though a strict definition was not given by Bharata, his classification under three heads, namely, (1) Samānaśabda (*Tatsama*), (2) Vibhraṣṭa (*Tadbhava*) and (3) *Deśimāla* (*Deśiya*),⁵ itself shows that Prākṛit is an ordinary day-to-day speech unlike the refined and systematised Sanskrit. Many commentators on poetics and grammar express the view that Sanskrit is the origin of Prākṛit.

According to Hemacandra, "Sanskrit is the basis, what originated from or what is derived from it is called Prākṛit".⁶ But this view was disputed by some

1 Chamber's *Twentieth Century Dictionary*, edited by William Geddie (Allied Publishers, 1966).

2 Rt. Rev. Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 556 (University of Madras, 1961).

3 Rev. F. Kittel, *A Kannada English Dictionary*, Introduction (Basal Mission Book and Tract Depository, Mangalore, 1894).

4 Gundert, Dravidian elements in Sanskrit, *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, 1869.

5 Bharata, *Nāṭya Śāstra*, XVII 2-3 edited by Ramakrishna Kavi and Pade Sastry (G.O.S. Vol. XXXVI, 1956).

6 Hemacandra, *Siddhahema Sabdānūsāsana*, 8.1.1, edited by P. L. Vaidya (B.S.P., Vol. LX, 1958).

writers. Vākpatirāja (8th century A.D.) states, "All the speeches enter into it (Prākṛit) and come out of it just as all waters fall into the ocean and come out of it".¹ Namisādhū, while commenting on a Śloka of Rudraṭa's Kāvyaḷaṅkāra, writes, "Prākṛit means first produced, it is the speech easily intelligible to children and women and the source of all other speeches.....It is called Sanskrit on account of being refined by Pāṇini and others in the rules of their grammar."²

Deśya according to different authors:

Indian writers on Prākṛit grammar, lexicography and rhetoric adopt a threefold classification, (1) Tatsama (2) Tadbhava and (3) Deśī³. When the Prākṛit words do not undergo any change but are identical in form with Sanskrit, they are called *tatsama* and when they are derived from Sanskrit, they are *tadbhava* and in the third category which does not have any connection with Sanskrit, they are termed *deśī* or *deśya* or *deśaja*.

The terms *deśī*, *deśya* and *deśaja* have been used by the earlier Sanskrit and Prākṛit writers in different senses, to some writers *deśī* seems to attribute to local dialects.

According to Vātsyāyana (4th cent. A.D.), knowledge of language and dialects prevailing in different countries was considered essential for one proficient in the art of love.⁴

In the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta (375-413 A.D.) spies who knew different *deśabhāṣās* were appointed.⁵

According to Kuvalayamālā, an eighth century work composed at Jalor (75 miles from Jodhpur) the languages spoken in Dakṣiṇadeśa were also included among *deśa-bhāṣās*. The author, Udyotana Sūri, mentions eighteen *deśa-bhāṣās* spoken among the merchant class in the following regions:—

(1) Magadha (2) Golla (3) Madhya-deśa (4) Āndhra (5) Antarvedi (6) Kośala (7) Lāṭa (8) Mālava (9) Karṇāṭaka (10) Sindhu (11) Gūrjara (12) Maru (13) Mahārāṣṭra (14) Tājika (15)

1 Vākpatirāja, *Gaudavaho*, Introduction, p. 100, edited by Shankar Pandurang Pandit (B.S. No. XXXIV, 1887).

2 Rudraṭa, *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra*, 6-27, Commentary of Namisādhū.

3 Rudraṭa, *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra*, 6-27.

Mārkaṇḍeya, *Prākṛitasarvasva*, I : 1, edited by Krishnachandra Acharya (Prakrit Text Series, No. XI, 1968).

Trivikrama, "Prākṛta Śabdānuśāsana" Introduction 6A.

4 Vātsyāyana, *Kāmasūtra*, p. 76, edited by S. C. Upadhyaya (published by D. B. Taraporevala, 1961).

5 Viśākhadatta, *Mudrā-rākṣasa*, edited by Kashinath Trimbak Telang. (B.S.S. XXVII, 1908).

Dhakka (16) Kīra.¹ The prince Siridatta observed these eighteen (really 16) bhaṣās and the speeches of Khasa, Pārasa and Barbara.

In the Nemināhacariu² of Lakṣmaṇadeva (before V.S. 1510), Nāyakumāracarīu³ of Puṣpadanta (959-972 A.D.), Kāvya-mīmāṃsā of Rājaśekhara⁴ (900 A.D.) and Nāṭya-darpaṇa of Rāmacandra—Guṇacandra (1143-1175 A.D.)⁵ the same opinion is given.

Someśvara (1229 A.D.) in his Mānasollāsa⁶ while describing the Prabandha “Cīnaka”, explains that it was sung in many local dialects, notes, padas, meters and musical measures.

In a gāthā (No. 972) in the Karmakhāṇḍa section of Gommaṭasāra, ‘Eternal (Victory) to that Rāya by whom was composed deśī (a Kannaḍa Vṛtti or commentary) Vīra-Mārtaṇḍī by name, while Gommaṭa-Sūtra (i.e. Gommaṭa-Sāra) was being written’, the author while writing in Prākṛit mentions Kannaḍa as deśī.⁷

Vāgbhaṭa (1123-1156) considers Apabhraṃśa as deśī.⁸ His commentator Siṃhadevagaṇi explains, “That which is spoken in countries like Karṇāṭa, Pañcāla, etc., purely unmixed by other languages, is Apabhraṃśa.”

Jñānadeva (1290 A.D.) rendered Gītā in the local dialect (Marāṭhī) for the ordinary mass who are not much conversant with Sanskrit.⁹ According to these writers the language of the masses depicts deśī.

There is another view among some authors that deśī is a kind of Prākṛit. Daṇḍin (600-680 A.D.) in his Kāvyaḍarśa,¹⁰ Swayambhū (850-890) in Pauma-

1 Udyotana Sūri, *Kuvalayamālā* edited by A. N. Upadhye (Singhi Jaina Granthamala, XXXV, 1951). Siridatta found the merchants speaking in these Deśabhāṣās in Dakṣiṇa deśa. 149:4. 152:25. Vol. II, Introduction, p. 77.

2 Lakṣmaṇadeva, *Nemināhacariu*. (most of the references are from Pāhuḍadohā, Introduction by Hiralal Jain—(Karanja, 1933) and *A Critical Study of Mahāpurāṇa of Puṣpadanta* by Mrs. R. Shriyan (L. D. Series No. 26, 1969).

3 Puṣpadanta, *Nayākumāracarīu*, 1:6 edited by Hiralal Jain (Karanja, 1933).

4 Rājaśekhara, *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, edited by Kedarnath (Patna), p. 124.

5 Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra, *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, edited by Shrigondekar (G.O.S. XLVIII. 1929), p. 209.

6 Someśvara, *Manāsollāsa*, Vol. III, Ch. 16, V. 339, edited by Shrigondekar (G.O.S. no. 138, 1961).

7 Vāgbhaṭa, *Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra*, 2.2.

8 A. N. Upadhye, *Materials for the interpretation of Gommaṭa*, *I.H.Q.*, XVI, p. 819.

9 Jñānadeva, Jñāneśvarī, Chapter XVIII 1699. edited by V. K. Rajwade, (Śaka 1831).

10 Daṇḍin, *Kāvyaḍarśa*, 1:32 (Government Oriental Series. Class A, No. 4, 1938), edited by P. L. Ranja Charya Raddi Sastry.

cariu¹ and Padmadeva (1000 A. D.) in Pāsanāhacariu,² refer to deśī as a type of Prākṛit.

Modern View of Deśī

Modern lexicographers interpret deśī in the following ways :

(1) Monier-Williams, Deśī (bhāṣā), the vulgar dialect of a country (opposed to Sanskrit), *provincialism*. Deśaja—country born.

(2) Apte—Deśī=the dialect of the country, one of the varieties of Prākṛit dialects.

(3) Pāiasaddamahāṇṇavo—a type of language, a type of ancient Prākṛit.

(4) Kittel—Deśī=the language or dialect of a country. Deśī, deśya—local, provincial, native, deśīya-pada—a word belonging to a native dialect or language. deśīya—a provincial or dialectal term.

According to Pischel, “ Indians include under the Deśī or Deśya class very heterogenous elements. They consider all such words to belong to this class as they cannot trace back to Sanskrit either in form or meaning. ”³

A.F.R. Hoernle writes, “ The term Deśya means literally belonging to the country, that is provincial or perhaps aboriginal. They designate by this name all these words which they are unable to derive satisfactorily to themselves from some Sanskrit words and therefore consider to have had their origin in the country (i.e., Rural or provincial). ” He further adds, “ The results of modern research tend towards diminishing the number of these Deśya words, by discovering, through means unknown to native grammarians, their real origin and tracing them back to Prākṛit and Sanskrit. ”⁴

Sir George Grierson expresses the same opinion, “ Deśī words included words which the grammarians were unable to refer to Sanskrit, simply through the ignorance of the writers who catalogued them. ”⁵ Mr. J. Beams gives the following account of Deśyas: “ Deśajas are those words which cannot be derived from any Sanskrit words and are therefore considered to have been borrowed from the aborigines of the country or invented by the Āryans in post-Sanskritic times. ”⁶

1 Swayambhu, *Paumacariu*, ed. H. C. Bhayani (SJS No. 34, Bombay, pt. I and II 1953, pt. III 1960) (1:2:1 to 1:2:4).

2 Padmadeva, *Pāsanāhacariu*.

3 R. Pischel, *Comparative Grammar of the Prakrit Languages* (Motilal Banarasidas, 1957).

4 A. F. R. Hoernle, *A Comparative Grammar of the Gaudion Languages*, Introduction, 1880.

5 Grierson, *The Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. I, pp. 127-128.

6 J. Beams, *A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages*, Vol. I, p. 12.

According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, "Deśyas are such as cannot be derived from Sanskrit and must be referred to another source."¹ But he admits that these words are from the languages of the aborigines, whom the Āryans conquered. Mr. Hiralal Jain equates, "deśi" with Apabhraṃśa, quoting several authorities like Bharata, Rudraṭa etc.²

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee has traced the Dravidian aspect in the Indo-Āryan languages. He calls the indigenous non-Āryan elements as Deśi.³ Dr. H. C. Bhayani has noted that since throughout the history of Gujarat, all sorts of foreigners, "the Greeks, Bactrians, Scythians, Kshatrapas, Gurjaras, Huns, Arabs, Kāthīs, Pārsis, Turks and Moghuls, are some of the strangers that found a temporary or permanent home on the soil of Gujarat. The extent of contributions from each community of these immigrants to the language current in the Gujarat of its times could be externally indicated by such factors, as the comparative numerical strength of the immigrants, their political or cultural importance, length of the period of contact etc."

"Increasing Dravidian influence over the Indo-Āryan languages, in Indo-Āryan vocabulary, growing number of past positions, preference for absolute clause construction and frequency of onomatopoeic words"⁴ were noted by the learned author.

Dr. F. B. J. Kuiper has found nearly 100 Sanskrit and Prākṛit words which are derived from Proto-Munda languages.⁵

Dr. B. J. Sandesara and J. P. Thaker, in their 'Lexicographical Studies in Jaina Sanskrit,' placed some words as Sanskrit, which are also considered as deśi.⁶ The Jaina writers of medieval Gujarat adapted a colloquial Sanskrit with a view to appeal to the masses at large and hence not only regional dialects but their peculiarities and syntax also crept into their way.

Richard Morris traced many Deśi words as belonging to Sanskrit origin.⁷ The boundary line between the Tadbhava and the Deśi words seems to be a shifting one. More and more deśi words can find their origin from Sanskrit with the advancement of knowledge and yet there still remain certain words which show absolute Dravidian origin.

1 R. G. Bhandarkar, *Wilson Philological Lectures* (1914), p. 106.

2 *Op. Cit. Pāhuḍadohā*.

3 Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, *Polyglottism in Indo-Aryan, Proceedings and Transactions of the 7th All India Oriental Conference*, p. 177.

4 H. C. Bhayani, *Languages of Gujarat from earliest times to C. 1300 A.D.*, *Bharatiya Vidya*, VIII, p. 289-318.

5 F. B. J. Kuiper, *Proto Munda Languages*, (Amsterdam, 1948), Introduction.

6 B. J. Sandesara and J. P. Thaker, *Lexicographical Studies in Jaina Sanskrit*, Introduction.

7 Richard Morris, *Pali, Sanskrit and Prakrit Etymology*, *Transactions of the 9th International Congress of Orientalists*, Vol. I, 1893.

Thus, it could be noted that the opinions about Deśi words indicate two trends. One of them notes that Deśi words are of non-Sanskrit origin and hence, they might belong to the local language, but the other trend improves upon this idea and tries to trace these words to their Dravidian or Munda roots and indicates the sources of these so-called Deśi words.

Deśināmamālā :

It is a lexicon of Deśi words composed by Hemacandra, the polymath who lived in Gujarat between 1088 and 1172 A.D.,¹ in the court of Jayasimha Siddarāja and his successor Kumārapāla. He compiled this work after his grammar, Siddhahema and his work on rhetoric, Kāvyaṇuśāsana; to them he refers in the present work.² Dr. Bühler, who discovered Deśināmamālā, calls it Deśiśabdasaṅgraha.³ Pischel, who is the first to edit this work, prefers to call, "Deśināmamālā".⁴ Hemacandra, in the last Gāthā, calls it Rayaanāvali, i.e., Ratnāvali⁵.

Hemacandra defines Deśi as, "Words that are not derived from Sanskrit in his grammar or which though derived from Sanskrit are not current in the Sanskrit lexicon in the same meaning, but changed their meaning in Prākṛit, the change not due to secondary or metaphorical usage and which are used in standard Prākṛit from time immemorial."⁶

Hemachandra himself has given the meanings, but he frequently differs from the other lexicographers. In many cases, according to him, his predecessors have gone wrong and he has taken great pains to fix the meaning. Besides referring to them, as—

अन्ये, सर्वे, कश्चित्, केचित्, पूर्वाचार्याः,

he quotes several authors by name as Gopāla, Droṇa, Dhanapāla, Pādalipta, Avantisundarī, Devarāja, Rāhulaka, Śamba Śilāṅka, Sātavāhana and Abhimāna-cihna. The works of most of these authors are not available. Hemacandra has stated the opinions of these authors and how he differs from them. But unfortunately, some of the quotations he gives, are not found in the works he has mentioned. As for example, he has quoted from Dhanapāla, once to support him and four times to differ from him.⁷ But none of these verses is found in

1 Bhau Daiji, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX, p. 224.

2 P. V. Ramanujaswamy (Revised edition of Pischel's), *Deśināmamālā of Hemacandra* I. 3 (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1938).

3 Dr. Bühler, *Deśiśabdasaṅgraha*, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p.17.

4 *Op. Cit.*, Introduction.

5 *Ibid*, VIII: 77.

6 *Ibid*, I: 3 and 4.

7 *Ibid*, VIII: 17 support of, VI: 93, VII: 1, VIII, 12, 1: 144, against.

Pāīalacchināmamālā. This may be due to the fact that the complete work of Dhanapāla has not yet come to light.

While writing this work, Hemacandra did not follow his predecessors' view but contradicts them wherever he finds an error and accepts them when it is in accordance with his views.

The text of Deśināmamālā is written in Prākṛit Gāthās of Āryā Metre containing the Deśī words and their meanings in Tadbhava equivalents or sometimes in other Deśī words. The commentary is written in Sanskrit verses by Hemacandra himself. It explains each Deśī word by Sanskrit equivalents and gives reasons, when any word is included in the list of Deśī words against the principles laid down by the author, or is omitted though regarded by previous authors as Deśī. One Prākṛit Gāthā is then inserted to illustrate the use of words having only one meaning i.e., Ekārthaśabda, contained in each Gāthā of the text. It is composed in alphabetical order and is divided into eight Vargas, which classify the words according to their initial letters. The total number of words in the text and the commentary are 3978 and the illustrative Gāthās in the Sanskrit commentary on the text is 782.

Pischel has condemned these Gāthās as, "It was the most disgusting task to make out the sense or rather nonsense of those examples, some of which remained rather obscure to me."¹ Later writers defending Hemacandra have proved that Pischel's reading of the manuscript was not perfect, so he found it difficult to understand the true meaning.² Pischel himself has admitted the textual problems, the editorial difficulties and the absence of any dependable criteria for selecting from among the multiple spelling variance. Because of this ambiguity, Pischel condemned these verses as "Either void of all sense or of an incredible stupidity".³ How far Pischel is correct is not the point under consideration. Yet it is a fact that these Gāthās have no cogency. More than half were of an amorous type, about a quarter in praise of Kumārapāla and the rest of general nature like maxims or in praise of virtues etc.

Of the 3978 words 1500 are Deśī in the strict sense and the rest *Tatsama* and *Tadbhava* in a changed form. Even among the 1500 words, 800 are found in the Indo-Āryan vernacular in a modified form.

Hemacandra has left out several words, the idea being that the book may turn out to be voluminous. He himself has admitted that it would be a difficult task for even Vācaspati to collect the words that were in usage in several places from time immemorial.⁴

1 *Ibid*, Introduction.

2 Muralyadhar Banerjee, *The Deśināmamālā of Hemacandra*, Introduction, Part I (University of Calcutta, 1931).

3 *Op. Cit.*, Introduction.

4 *Ibid*, 1:4.

Method Followed in Preparing The Chart

Rt. Rev. Caldwell has classified the Dravidian language as cultivated and uncultivated.¹ The first category covers (1) Tamil, (2) Telugu, (3) Kannaḍa (4) Malayālam, (5) Tulu, and (6) Kuḍagu. In the second category, (1) Tuḍa, (2) Gonḍ, (3) Kota, (4) Rājamahal and (5) Orea. In the period concerned, i.e., from 7th to the 14th century, Karṇāṭaka region comprised of the places where Kannaḍa and Telugu were spoken. Though the places where Kuḍagu and Tulu were spoken were also under Karṇāṭaka kings, the area and the population were very limited. Since Tamil is the earliest language (Dravidian) and has a copious vocabulary, it has been taken into consideration in the prepared list. All the words are referred from the Dravidian etymological dictionary by Emeneau and Burrow. In the absence of some of the words in that dictionary, Dr. Kittel's Kannaḍa dictionary is consulted.

Some of the words in Deśināmamālā have undergone a slight change from the dravidian words and some of them are as they are. Some have the same meaning, some a slightly different but relevant meaning which is given within brackets. "A critical study of Mahāpurāṇa of Puṣpadanta" by Dr. (Mrs.) Ratna Nagesh Shriyan has been consulted for the Deśi words in Mahāpurāṇa.

Conclusion

Nearly 200 words which belong to the Dravidian group of languages are collected from Deśināmamālā. To a keen observer, still more words may be visible. Most of the words are parts of the body, relatives, animals, birds and words that are in day-to-day usage and not of literary importance. On the whole, the following conclusions can be drawn from the words in Deśināmamālā: (1) Some of the words are *Tadbhavas*² and *Tatsamas*.³ (2) Some of them have undergone a great change.⁴ (3) Some of them are non-Āryan. (4) There are words of Persian and Arabic origin also.⁵

Between the present Kannaḍa and Tamil, 'H' in Kannaḍa is equivalent to 'P' in Tamil. The Tamil words 'Piḍi' (To hold), 'Puli' (Tiger), 'Poge' (smoke), 'Paṇa' (money), 'Pāl' (Milk), 'Paḷli' (name of place), and 'Pene' (To plait) are all in present Kannaḍa, Hiḍi, Huli, Hoge, Haṇa, Hālu, Haḷli and Hene. This change is from about 1000 A.D. Before that in the old Kannaḍa

1 *Op. Cit.*, Comparative Grammar.

2 कुडिछं, कुडिच्चं; पराणी.

3 घट्टा, तुलसी, कुमारी, कोलोइल.

4 मञ्जा (VI : 113) मर्यादा, मादालिजा (VI : 115) मारु.

5 Mr. K. Amrita Row, *Persian and Arabic Words in Deśināmamālā*, In. An., Vol. XIV, p. 33. Bandha—(Servant) Bandhak in Persian Parakkam (river) Parak in Persian. Dattaron (napkin). Duster in Persian. Boddado (goat). Baquar in Persian.

inscriptions and literature, the Tamil words are found in Kannaḍa in the same way. Similarly, the Sanskrit words, 'Paśu' and 'Pragga' (Pragraha) are the same in old Kannaḍa, whereas after 1000 A.D. they are Haśu and Hagga. The emergence of the aspirate 'H' sound in Dravidian vocabulary is unique, since the articulated aspiration is very rare. Even the words Hara and Hanumān, when written in old Kannaḍa were Ara and Anumān as in Tamil. The sound 'H' is more common in Kannaḍa among the Dravidian languages, while 'H' is absent in Tamil.

In modern Gujarāt, the Gujarātī spoken in Surat and below shows the usage of more 'H' than in other places. Sagudi, Sāru, Sāśu, and Suche become Hagudi, Hāru, Hāhu, and Huche in South Gujarāt. This shows that in Western India, the 'H' sound is more prominent. From the river Mahī to the coast of Banavāsī, this 'H' sound is unique. This shows a sort of affinity in the spoken language of the people, which is due to the political and cultural connections for several centuries. Another important thing to note is in the play of Gullī daṇḍa. In the play of Gullī daṇḍa which is common all over India, at present in Southern Gujarāt, the counting is made in Telugu numerals. When the daṇḍa (stick) player hit Gullī or Gillī to a distance and the field party could not strike the daṇḍa in centre with Gullī, the distance of the Gullī from the centre is measured with the daṇḍa. The words used for measuring are..

वकट, रेंड, मूड, नाल, अंकि, बोंगि & जकुर.

They stop with Jakura and start once again with Vakāṭa. These resemble the Telugu numerals¹....

ओकटी, रेंड, मूड, नालगु, रोदु
and Kannaḍa numerals....

ओडुं, एरड, मूडुं, नालु, रोंदु
and the Tamil words Onru, Renḍu, Moonru, Nangu and Aindhu.

The term Deśī seems to have been understood in a very wide sense and did not follow any strict definition.

Dravidian languages widen the Sanskrit vocabulary to a certain extent. It is difficult to state the time from which this assimilation has started. But since Hemacandra has mentioned these words, the Deśī words must have been in current usage at least a few centuries back prior to his time. The Dravidian inroads over Gujarāt must have been the cause for the presence of Dravidian words in Deśīnāmamālā. The presence of these words must have been the cause of Bilhaṇa's ridicule about the speech of Gurjaras.²

1 Jayachandra, *Telugu numerals in the North Indian play of Gullī danda*, *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. VIII, p. 151.

2 Bilhaṇa, *Vikramāṇkadeva Carita*, edited by Vishvanath Sastray Bharadwaj, pt. III, p. 255 (B.H.U., 1958).

Herewith is appended a Table showing Dravidian origins of some of the words from the Deśināmamālā.

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4. Amrita K. Row : *The Dravidian element in Prakrit*, The Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLVI, p. 33.
5. H. C. Bhayani : *Studies in Hemacandra's Deśināmamālā*, Bharatiya Vidya, Vol. 22, p. 51.
6. B. K. Khadabadi : *Kannaḍa words in Deśi stock*, Journal of the Karnātak University, Vol. VII, pp. 265-68, VIII, pp. 80-86.
7. Sastri Paramānvula : *Apabhraṃśa aura Deśi*, Nāgarī Pracārīnī Patrikā, Vol. LXIX, pp. 57-81.

<i>Varga and verse</i>	<i>Deśi words in Deśināmamālā</i>	<i>Hemacandra's meaning</i>	<i>English meaning</i>	<i>Dravidian equivalent</i>	<i>Dravidian languages</i>	<i>Ety. dictionary. P. & No.</i>
Chapter I						
1.6	अक्का (to)	सगिनी	Elder sister	Akkā	Kan. Tam.	4 : 24
2.14	अट्टाञ्जो	दर्पण	mirror	Aḍḍhamu, Aṭṭam	Tel. Tam.	12 : 125
3.6	अम्मा	अम्मा	Mother	Ammā	Kan. Tam.	14 : 154
4.36	अवटंतो	ताम्बूलम्	betels with arcaneut	Aḍappam, Aḍapa	Tam. betel pouch	6 : 57 : 58
5.51	अणिण	देवरभार्गो	wife of husband's brother	Anṇi	Tam. (also elder brother's wife)	11 : 112
6.55	अण्णञ्जो	देवर तरुण	husband's brother Young man	Anna 1. elder brother Aṇṇam 2. addressed to a respectful elder male	Tam. Kan.	11 : 112
7.51	अत्ता	वित्तुवत्ता द्वक्षुरभार्गो	father's sister M'-in-law	Athai	Kan. Tam.	12 : 121
8.57	अम्बो	अम्बा	mother	Ammā, Ammai	Kan. Tam.	20 : 232
9.83	इल्ली	रोईल्ल	a tiger	Puli, Huli	Tam. Ka. Na.	285 : 3532
10.82	इल्लो	दरिद्रः	Poor man	illane (a state of nothing) illai (no)	Kan. Tam.	Kittel p. 199 165 : 2106
11.50	अज्जा	एषा	this	Aṅkanam (in that way, thus)	Tam.	1 : 1
12.83	इळिरम्	गुहद्वारम्	house door	Ilam, Ill (house)	Tam.	37 : 420
13.98	उब्बिदो	माषधान्यम्	black gram	Uḍḍu, Uruḍe, Uruntu	Kan. Tam.	53 : 594

14.89	उमत्तो	घरढमियन्ते	Umathai	Tam.	45 : 502
15.86	उडू	तुणपरिवारणम्	Udu (wrap round the waist)	Kan.	
16.87	उछी	चुछी	culli (small twigs for fuel), Ole (fire place) Ulai	Tam. Kan.	175 : 2230 183 : 2337
17.123	उडुणो	दीधः	Udda, Uddi, Udda (height, length & breadth)	Kan.	47 : 532
18.143	ऊरो	ग्रामः	Ūr	Tam.	57 : 643
19.128	उडुक्कः	संकटम्	Ubusam (difficulty in breathing)	Kan.	48 : 543
20.126	उडुबुरो	विषमोन्नतप्रदेश	Ubbu (small rise in height)	Kan.	52 : 573
21.142	उडुंभिअं	रुद्धगलं रोदनम्	visumbal	Tam.	
22.148	ओप्पा	राणादिना मण्योदेर्मर्जनम्	Oppu (polish)	Kan.	Kittel 310
23.151	ओक्किअं	वान्तभिर्यन्ते	vomitted habitation	Tam.	Kittel 296
24.164	ओल्लो*	सेवकः	Okkisu, Okkal (residence)	Kan. Tel.	76 : 866
25.6	अप्पो	पिता	Olaga (service)	Kan.	Kittel 325
			Appa	Tam. Kan.	13 : 133

Chapter II

1.1	कंची	मुसलमुले	Kaṇcu	Telugu
		लोहवलयम्	the metal ring at the end of a wooden pestle	

<i>Varga and verse</i>	<i>Deśi words in Deśināmālā</i>	<i>Hemacandra's meaning</i>	<i>English meaning</i>	<i>Dravidian equivalent</i>	<i>Dravidian languages</i>	<i>Etym. dictionary. P. & No.</i>
2.2	कस्तो	पङ्क	Mud	Kaṣavu, Kaṣa (rub-bish sweepings)	Kan.	78 : 916
3.26	कारं	कटुं	pungent	Kāram	Tam.	104 : 1227
4.2	बछा	मद्यं	liquor	Kaḷ (Toddy)	Tam. Tel.	97 : 1152
5.20	कंडतरिञ्जं	दारितम्	torn, rent	Kaṇḍal	Tamil	
6.13	कडप्प	निकडः	collection, heap	Kalapu	Kan.	92 : 1092
7.30	कीरो	शुकः	parrot	kili, gilli	Tam.	110 : 1318
8.63	कुरलो	निर्दयः	unkind	Koduma (cruel)	Tam.	140 : 1710
	कुरुडो			Kodūra (unkind)		
9.34	कुंती	मञ्जरी	a cluster of blossom, bouquet	Koṭhu, gutti	Tam.	141 : 1847
				Kuccu (cluster)	Tel.	113 : 1368
10.35	कुडः (tb)	कुम्बः	a pitcher	Kuḍam	Tam.	114 : 1376
11.64	कुडिच्छं	कुडी	cottage	Kuḍisai, Kuḍil (a small hut or cottage)	Kan.	114 : 1379
12.63	कुरलो	कुटिलकेशः	curly hair	Śurul	Tam.	112 : 2211
13.45	कोट्ट*	नगरम्	city	Kottai (fort)	Tam.	147 : 1831
14.43	कूर*	भक्तमिति	boiled rice	Kūḷ (Kuzh) (gruel)	Kan.	130 : 1592
15.40	कोडिछो	विधुनः	wicked person	Kodiyon	Tam.	139 : 1710
16.38	कोसलं	नीवि	the knot of the lower garment	Kośuwam (pleats of lower garment)	Tam.	1130 : 1368
				Koccu (tossel)	Tam.	
17.48	कोयलो	कुशलः	a granary	Koṭṭagai (barn)	Tam.	139 : 1713

18.48	कोडिओ	मेरेन ग्रामभोक्ता	One who creates dis-unity among the villagers and earns his livelihood	Konḍemu (Slanderer) Konḍeya	Tel. Kan.	149 : 1865
19.48	कोलत्ते	उल्लुक्कम्	fireboard	Kolli	Tamil	145 : 1794
20.66	खड्डुं	इमश्रु	beard	gaḍḍa	Kan.	84 : 970
21.66	खण्ण	खातम्	dug	Kannam (hole made by burglars in the wall)	Tam. Kan.	Tel. 100 : 1188
22.53	करडो	व्याघ्रः	tiger	Karaḍi (bear)	Tam.	Kan. 89 : 1058
23.71	खडको	लघुद्धारम्	a small door	Katikai (a sliding catch)	Tamil	81 : 947
24.79	खरडिअं	रुक्कम्	rough	Karaḍu	Tam.	Kan. 89 : 1061
25.95	गोडी गौडी	मंजरी	a cluster of flowers	gonḍe (cluster, usually hair), Kondal	Kan. Tam.	148 : 1733
26.94	गोडं	काननम्	forest	Konḍa (Mountain)	Telugu	127 : 1548
27.95	गौजी गौच्छा	मंजरी	cluster of flowers	Kuñcam, Kuccum	Tam. Kan.	113 : 1368
28.111	वड्डे	नदीतीरम्	the stairs of a landing place in a river	Ghaṭṭa	Kan.	Kitt. 579
29.56	कण्णो	कुसुमावचयः श्रुः	gathering flowers an arrow	Kanni (wreath) an arrow	Tam. Ta. Kan.	85 : 994 84 : 978
Chapter III						
1.2	चंडिको	रोषः	anger	Chandai (quarrel)	Tamil	
2.20	चंडिल्लो	कोपः, भिन्नुनः	anger, villain			
3.10	चिच्चो	हुताशनः	fire	Kiccu	Tam. Kan.	Tel. 106 : 1272
4.10	चिंचा, चिंचिणी	अम्लिका	tamarind	cintam, cinta	Tamil, Telugu	163 : 2086

f Proto Munda origin.

<i>Varga and verse</i>	<i>Deśi words in Deśināmālā</i>	<i>Hemacandra's meaning</i>	<i>English meaning</i>	<i>Dravidian equivalent</i>	<i>Dravidian languages</i>	<i>Ety. dictionary. P. & No.</i>
5.21	चिक	अरपबस्तु	a small thing	ciru, ciruśu (small)	Tamil	110 : 1326
6.15	चुडली	उल्का	fire brand	chuḍalai (burning ground)	Tamil	170 : 2183
7.1	चटट	दारुहस्त	a wooden spoon	caṭṭuvam (ladle)	Tam.	Tel. 131 : 1905
8.15	चुछो	शिला	stone	caṭṭukam	Kan.	165 : 2107
				cillu (a small piece of stone used by children for playing)	Tam.	
9.34	छाणं, छाणी	गोमयं	cow dung	chāṇi	Tam.	150 : 1897
10.35	छिडं	चूडा	the hair on the top of the head	caṭai, Jaḍe, Jaḍi (matted hair)	Tam. Kan.	
11.36	छिपं	पुच्छम्	tail	Cap pai (heps)	Tam.	153 : 1931
				Cappe (hip tone)	Kan.	178 : 2279
12.32	छेत्तरं	जीर्णशुषुण्णकरणम्	worn out or unused utensils	cheththai (rubbah grass)	Tam.	
13.59	छेडुओ	कन्दुकः	a ball	cheṇḍu	Tel.	178 : 2275
14.53	झडी	निरन्तरवृष्टिः	incessant rain	Jadi (flood, stream)	Kan.	Kittel p. 645
15.40	जयणं	हयसंनहः	Caparison	(1) conquering (2) armour	Kan.	Kittel p. 637
Chapter IV						
1.5	पडलं	नीत्रं	thatch	Paḍal	Tam.	260 : 3183
2.44	पेलरो	रबी	sun	Nesaṇu, Nāyiru	Kan. Tam.	187 : 2371

3.46	णमो	ज्येष्ठमाता	elder brother	Anna	Tam.	11 : 112
4.1	दड्डुआ	तिरस्कारिणी	curtain	Datti, tatti (screens of cuscuss-grass)	Tam.	196 : 2464
Chapter V						
1.1	तंडं	पृष्ठम्	the back	Tundi, Kundi	Tel.	215 : 2704
2.22	तुणो	अक्षितः	anointed	tuppa (ghee)	Tam.	117 : 1412
3.38	दारा	कटिसूत्रम्	waist band	Dhara, (cord) Thar (rope)	Kan.	214 : 2585
4.1	तञ्जी	वृत्ति	hedge	ḍatti, tatti (curtain, screen)	Tel.	205 : 2586
5.10	तामरसं (ts)	जलोद्भवपुष्पम्	lotus	ṭamarai, ṭamara	Kan.	196 : 2464
6.14	तुंदं (ts)	उदरम्	belley	tonti	Tam.	205 : 2583
7.16	तुङ्गरो (ts)	रसविशेषः	astrigent taste	Tuvarpu (astrigent taste)	Tam.	231 : 2888
8.2	तण्णायं	आर्द्रम्	wet	Tannir (cold water)	Kan.	219 : 2756
9.3	तलारी*	नगरक्षेकः	Superintendent of a team	Talavara, Talara, Talau (watchman)	Tam.	196 : 2473

Chapter VI

1.10	पसंडी	कनकम्	gold	Paṣidi, Paṣir (yellow golden hue)	Tel.	258 : 3161
2.38	पामो	सफः	snake	Pāvu	Kan.	273 : 2361
3.75	पालो	जीर्णः	old, worn out	(Pāzh) ruin, desolate	Tam.	274 : 3381
4.60	पोट्टं	उदरम्	belly, stomach	pottī	Kan.	297 : 3677
5.31	पडुडुबई	तस्मी	a young woman	paḍucu, paḍati	Tel.	259 : 3177

५. In Jaina Sanskrit it is Police Officer.

<i>Varga and verse</i>	<i>Deśi words in Deśināmamālā</i>	<i>Hemacandra's meaning</i>	<i>English meaning</i>	<i>Dravidian equivalent</i>	<i>Dravidian languages</i>	<i>Ety. dictionary. P. & No.</i>
6.1	पडुी	प्रथमप्रसूता	a cow which is delivered for 1st time	padd, padde (a female buffalo fit for breeding)	Tel. Kan.	261 : 3208
7.46	पिरुह	लघुपक्षिरूपम्	a young bird	piḷlai (young or any arrival child)	Tam. Kan.	279 : 3449
8.37	पिच्छी	चूडा	Hair on the top of head	Uchchi (crown of the head)	Tam. Tel.	44 : 497
9.76	पुल्ली	व्याघ्रः	tiger	Puli, Huli	Tam. Kan.	285 : 3532
10.81	पँड	फण	the hood of serpent	Padam	Tam.	259 : 3180
11.109	सडी	गन्त्री	a car (a cart or any wheeled carriage)	panṭi, vanṭi, bandi	Tam. Tel. Kan.	262 : 3219
12.102	माओ	ज्येष्ठमणिनीपति	elder sister's husband	Bhāva, Bhāma	Tel. Kan.	Kittel 1169 1168
13.60	पोचं	सुकुमारम्	fresh	pocca (clearness, brightness)	Kan.	Kittel 1018
14.118	मणुंते	नकुलः	a mungoose	Mungiri, Mungih, Mungisa	Tel. Kan.	329 : 4914
15.141	मड्डो	अलसः	lazy	Matti, Maṇṭu (fool)	Tam.	307 : 3798
16.141	मम्मी, माप्पी	मातुलानी	maternal aunt	Māmi, Ammāmi	Tam. Kan.	320 : 3945
17.142	मामा	मातुलानी	Mat. uncle's wife	Māmi	Tam. Kan.	320 : 3945
18.144	मलओ	निर्वैकदेशः	part of a hill	Malai, male	Tam. Kan. Tel.	314 : 3882
19.128	माई	रोमशः	hairy	Mayir (Hair)	Tam. Kan.	311 : 3585
20.133	सुडी	नीरबी	Veil	Mundi (outer edge of the cloth)	Tam.	341 : 4119

21.113	सेग	मयदा	boundary	mere	Kan.	Kittel 1296
22.114	मल्लो	भूतम्, पैशाचादि	Ancient spirit, Imp.	Maruḷ	Tam.	313 : 3866
23.113	सुदी	नुमितम्	Kiss	Muttam, Muḍḍu	Tam.	334 : 4063
24.139	मोगरो	मुकुलम्	bud	Moggu, Mogge	Tam. Kan.	328 : 4007
25.148	सेटुणिआ	पत्न्या भगिनी, मतुलात्मजा	wife's sister, maternal uncle's daughter	Maithuni	Tam.	348 : 4189
26.128	माडिअं	गृहम्	home	Mādam (storeyed house)	Tam. Kan.	319 : 3930
27.135	मुरिअं	नुटितम्	broken	Muri- (break)	Tam. Tel. Kan.	336 : 4078
28.141	ममणो (tb)	अव्यक्तवचनम्	indistinct speech	Munumunu (to mutter, murmur)	Tam.	325 : 3978
29.99	बोदी	रूपम्, मुखम्	form, face, body	bonḍi (body)	Kan.	Kittel 1151
30.52	पुंढे	गर्तः	hollow, hole	Pontu (hole)	Tam.	294 : 3646
31.22	पडोहरं	गृहपक्षिमाङ्गणम्	the western courtyard of a home	Paḍuva (western quarter)	Kan.	Kittel 931
32.10	पडुत्थी	बहुदुग्धा	a cow which gives plenty of milk	bānati (a woman recently delivered)	Kan.	Kittel 1101
Chapter VII						
1.2	रखी	प्रधानम्	Chief	Reddi (title of a caste of cultivators, baron)	Tel. Kan.	354 : 424
2.17	लंबो (ts)	उत्कोचः	bribe	Lañca	Kan.	Kittel p. 354
3.29	वंग	दुन्दकम्	egg fruit	Vankam, Vangam	Tam. Tel. Kan.	361 : 4339
4.36	वरजो	शालीसेदः	a kind of grain	Varaku (millet)	Tamil	357 : 4300

<i>Varga and verse</i>	<i>Deśī words in Deśināmālā</i>	<i>Hemacandra's meaning</i>	<i>English meaning</i>	<i>Dravidian equivalent</i>	<i>Dravidian languages</i>	<i>Ety. diction- ary. P. & No.</i>
5.88	विह्ले	दल्लम्	clear, pure	Vellai (white), bela	Tamil	379 : 3524
6.40	वह्लिन्	परकायम्	the work of others	Veṭṭi (worthless or useless)	Tam.	378 : 4506
7.41	वदुणि	ज्येष्ठमाथा	the elder brother's wife.	Vadina, Vadiniya, Matani, Matini)	Tel. Tam.	310 : 3838 348 : 4189
Chapter VIII						
1.28	सिबौर	सिप	straw, husk	Cippa (fragrant grass), Cippu (outer cover- ing of cocoanut)	Kan.	Kittel 611 164 : 2089
2.41	सुला	वेरसा	harlot	Śūlā	Kan.	177 : 2262

- (1) Words black typed are found in Puṣpadanta's Mahāpurāṇa,
 (2) Words which are considered Deśyas by others, but Tatsamas and Tadbhavas by Hemacandra are marked within brackets.
 (3) Words considered as Sanskrit by Jaina writers are marked *.
 (4) Very few words of Proto-Munda origin are duly marked.

The writer is indebted to Dr. R. N. Mehta for being her guide and Dr. U. P. Shah for his valuable suggestion and Dr. H. C. Bhayani for kindly going through the article and for his critical direction.

SELECT CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

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REVIEWS

Eye and Gaze in the Veda: By J. GONDA, North-Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam, pp. 88, 1969; Hfl 15-.

In this small volume, the prolific Professor Gonda has offered us another in his valuable series of monographs on particular concepts and problems in Indian religious texts. Here, as in his other works, he has provided a survey of Vedic beliefs and practices regarding the eye and its powers. The treatment is both succinct and comprehensive.

Students of the Vedic literature, particularly the *Sūtra*, *Brāhmaṇa* and *Upaniṣad*-ic texts cannot fail to be impressed by the great interest shown by their compilers, in the sense-organs of the living, particularly human, organism. Many of the passages of these texts involve discussion and speculation based on the functions of these organs. In such passages, the eye often occupies a prominent place.

Aside from speculation and identification based on the perceptual function of the eye, as first among the organs of perception, the Vedic tradition devoted a good deal of attention to specially charged functions associated with the visual faculty. Indeed, evidence of belief in the power of gaze, or, rather, of certain gazes in certain circumstances, to exert a benign or malignant influence is to be found almost everywhere in the literature from the *Samhitā* texts onwards.

A comprehensive and insightful survey of these references has long been a desideratum for fuller comprehension of Vedic religion, philosophy and folklore. It is fortunate, indeed, then that this need has been met by no less an authority in the field than Professor Gonda who brings to the study a profound knowledge of both Vedic and post-Vedic civilization in India.

Professor Gonda has scoured the literature for references which bear on the eye and its functions; especially passages which assert or are predicated upon the existence of some extraordinary power inherent in the organ.

Aside from the fact that he has gathered together a large number of Vedic passages pertaining to the eye, providing a handy reference guide to those, specialist or comparativist interested in pursuing this study farther, the chief value of Professor Gonda's work is, I think, to be found in its treatment of the less frequently studied of the two potential kinds of eye-power: the benign.

There have been a number of studies concerned with the seemingly ubiquitous folkloric tradition of the evil eye. Several scholars, moreover, have examin-

ed the motif as it occurs in India, particularly with reference to *nāga*-lore, tribal practices, etc. It is in the other, less explored area of ocular power that Professor Gonda's observations are the most important. He has cited many examples of cases in which acts and processes of the highest ritual significance are furthered, if not actually effected, through the power of a special, or charged gaze. The way in which this seems to come about has, I think, not been properly observed before. It is not that the gaze on the part of an officiant completely supplants, or even surpasses in importance that basic significant operative and effective force in the realm of Vedic thought: the word, or sacred speech. Rather, it appears in many of the cases adduced by Professor Gonda, the eye, or its gaze works in conjunction with *mantra* or ritually significant speech to effect the ritual goal. In a sense it appears to act almost in the role of a catalyst or even a channel whereby the power inherent in the ritual act and word is directed or focussed upon its object.

Thus the author states (p. 21), "A look wilfully directed in definite ritual circumstances may be productive and bring about an effect in the ritual sphere." This follows upon his observation of the impregnating effect, or perhaps the facilitative effect towards impregnation, of the *udgātar*'s gaze upon the wives of the participants in a *sattra*. This potent gaze, it should be noted, appears to take effect only when it coincides with the mantraic exclamation "*hiṃ*". In a post-Vedic context, *i.e.*, the subject of initiation as mentioned in the Pāñcarātra *Lakṣmītantra*, Professor Gonda notes (p. 55), "The gaze of the guru is here regarded as being instrumental in the transmission of the beneficent power of the sacred formulas". Again, the function of a specific gaze as a useful adjunct to the *yajña* is indicated in the observation (pp. 42-3) concerning the use of Mitra's eye (*mitrasya cakṣuḥ*) to neutralize or render harmless the dangerously charged appurtenances of the sacrifice.

On the basis of observations such as these, Professor Gonda has been led, and I think quite rightly, to look critically at all references to eye and gaze in Vedic texts, no matter how trivial or commonplace they may at first appear. On pp. 10-12 he notes that such passages as JBr 1. 108 (*taṃ abruvann iṅṣivā...*) involve more than the obvious fact that most people look at those to whom they speak. It is, as he says (p. 10), "evident that in the meticulous ritual texts this look would not be mentioned if it were meaningless". For (pp. 10-11) "... keeping the eyes fixed upon a person may be more than the attendant respectful look belonging to polite address. It may in the ritual sphere serve to transfer the powerful purport of a text to the person who is aimed at by the officiant reciting it."

It is in this perception and elucidation of this hitherto neglected interplay between eyesight and ritual that the central value of this book lies. In focussing

our attention on this relation, Professor Gonda has opened a path for further and more detailed inquiry.

There are, however, a number of points, most of them relatively minor, which, I think, tend to detract from the central impact of the book, or, at any rate, to divert one's attention from its central contribution.

The most pervasive of these is Professor Gonda's failure to resist the temptation to generalize and to attempt to find supportive or illustrative material for his arguments in areas beyond the confines which cogency and his own announced intention have set. Despite the fact that he warns against the untested validity of certain observations that he makes with reference to post-Vedic and non-Indic traditions, Professor Gonda frequently has recourse to these traditions to illustrate or prove various points. Reference particularly to non-Indic cultures is, I think of value largely as it points out "curious coincidences." A few examples will suffice. On p. 24 (note 17) the author, in a reference to Java, remarks, "It may be interesting to notice that even in the twentieth century Java traces of this power of the fixed eye are still found." He goes on to recount one of the practices of the old sultans. Again on p. 35 (note 18) he cites a Dutch idiom which appears to be parallel to one used in a Vedic commentary. Examples such as these and others scattered throughout the text lend little support to the central arguments of the work. The inter-cultural variables involved are simply too great.

The question of the citation of post-Vedic references is rather more complex. Here there is often a genuine issue of traditional continuity. Such instances are not to be overlooked. However, when dealing with the Veda, the citation of post-Vedic parallels is fraught with many difficulties. It is not that these questions are not important, or even that they are insoluble. It is just that to go into them in the depth that they deserve is beyond the scope of the kind of work at hand while to cite them as parallels without doing so is risky.

It is undoubtedly for reasons such as this that Professor Gonda himself remarks on the uncertain value of post-Vedic reference. This, however, does not prevent him from digressing on the subject of *darśana* and other puranic, classical and medieval problems (e.g. pp. 56-58). Such material should perhaps be relegated to the notes.

Aside from these general observations, which, I repeat, do not vitiate the value of the book, there are one or two particular points which I think deserve comment. On pp. 5-6 Professor Gonda discusses the belief, expressed in several Vedic passages, according to which the eyes "shine" that is are actively, rather than passively involved in the act of seeing. The idea is that they reach out to object of perception. This is a position which Professor Gonda ascribes, some-

what vaguely, to the "ancients". To support his understanding of the notion he cites medieval European evidence. I think that there is no need to go beyond India for an understanding of this concept, nor is it one restricted, in India, to the workings of the eye.

It is perhaps one of the most distinctive of Indian conceptions that the *indriya*-s, all the organs of sense (plus *manas*) including eye or sight (*cakṣu*) are active and not simply receptor-functions. This is surely the idea behind the typical notion, as at Kath. Up. 3.3-9 of the analogy of the senses to chariot-horses in need of restraint. The senses are regarded as extensor-functions which the tranquil and wise man retracts from the largely inert objects of sense. The idea is, of course, a cornerstone of yogic praxis.

Failure to comment on this betrays, I suspect, a predilection on the part of the author to exaggerate the primacy of the visual faculty. It is true that many of the passages he cites maintain the notion of just this primacy. But as in so many areas of Vedic scholarship, one may, by being selective, become tendentious. Counter-examples should not be ignored.

Several such examples come to mind. At Ch. Up. 1.2.1-9 the *asura*-s manage to afflict or infuse all the senses, with evil (*pāpman*) upon each of the senses being in turn revered, by the gods, as the *udgītha*. The eye is not exempt: *tad (cakṣuḥ) hāsuraḥ pāpmanā vividhuḥ| tasmāt tenobhayam paśyati darśaniyam cādarśaniyam ca| pāpmanā hyetad viddham|* (Ch. Up.1.2.4) Only the primary life breath (*mukhyaḥ prāṇaḥ*) proves impervious to evil. Even more striking is the famous passage from the same *upaniṣad* (Ch. Up. 5.1.1-15) in which the vital senses (*prāṇa*-s) are represented as actually having fought among themselves over the issue of which was predominant. Again the eye, along with the other "sense" organs (speech, hearing, and smell in this case) proves expendable. For, the passage shows, only the life breath, (*prāṇa*) is indispensable to the living organism. Without it the other "senses" perish (Ch. Up. 5.1.12). The other senses acknowledge the pre-eminence of the breath.

I cite these passages, among many dwelling centrally on the breaths of the body, not to assert its superiority to the eye in the minds of the Vedic savants, and certainly not to dispute Professor Gonda's arguments concerning the role of eye and eye-power in the Veda. Rather I wish only to show that one may over-emphasize the importance of a given idea or thing in the Vedas if one is highly selective in one's passages. I suggest this less as a criticism of Gonda than as a warning which he should perhaps have given to his readers.

Again, along these lines, I might note that despite the general truth behind Professor Gonda's observation that the Vedic ritual texts do not include anything without good (*i. e.* ritually relevant) reason, one need not always throw too much weight upon any given passage simply because it is included and appears to

support a cherished theory. On p. 9 Professor Gonda notes several passages which assert the precedence of eyesight among means of ascertaining truth. The claim for the superior reliability of the eyewitness account over that based on what we might call "hearsay evidence" is made many times, most forcefully at Ś. Br. 1. 3. 1. 27. Without going into the question of the history of the concept of *pramāṇa* in Indian thought, one might observe that such a notion is a common-place in many cultures and may have been for the Vedic authors as well. This would not go against a possible subsequent charging of this whole notion of eye-as-truth in special circumstances. One is reminded, upon reading the Ś. Br. statement that the man who says "I have seen," is to be trusted above him who says "I have heard," of similar "common-sense" observation in the Vedic texts which make no reference to the eye. Consider for example the statement at T. S. 2.5.1 that a secret promise carries more weight than an open one. One need not, I think speculate overlong on the significance of secrecy.

Still, as I say, these are mostly minor points indicative, in the main, perhaps, that with their exception the work stands as a concise and thorough study of an important and neglected area.

The book is provided with a general index and a useful Index of Sanskrit Text-Places. (The Index of Sanskrit Words is surprisingly brief.)

Professor Gonda's work is a valuable contribution to Vedic scholarship.

ROBERT GOLDMAN

Golasāra of Gārgya-Kerala Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji : critically edited with an introduction by K. V. SARMA, Vishveshvaranand Indological Series 47, Vishveshvaranand Institute, Hoshiarpur ; 1970 ; pp. xxvi + 28. Price Rs. 5/-.

K. V. Sarma herewith adds another to the long list of the products of the *Drgganīta* school of astronomy and its predecessors in Kerala that he has, in a masterful fashion, edited and translated. These include works of Haridatta (ca. 683), Mādhava (ca. 1340-1425), Parameśvara (ca. 1380-1460), Sundararāja (ca. 1475), and Acyuta Piṣāraṭi (ca. 1550-7 July 1621). Nīlakaṇṭha of Tṛ-k-kaṇṭiyūr or Kuṇḍapura, one of whose shorter works is edited here was born on Kali ahargaṇa 1660181 or ca. 14 June 1444 (see *JAOS* 87, 1967, 338, *contra* Sarma's Dec. 1443 on p. xxiv of his introduction). He studied under Parameśvara and his son Dāmodara, and composed numerous treatises and commentaries on astronomy ; the details will be found in Sarma's introduction, to which little can be added.

The *Golasāra* is in three *paricchedas* containing a total of but fifty-six verses. Into these are crammed the parameters of his system, a description of the celestial spheres, and a description of the principles of computation used in Indian

mathematical astronomy. The revolutions of the planets are given in an odd fashion (I. 2-5). Though he follows the *Āryabhaṭīya* in giving the number of days in a *Mahāyuga* (1,577,917,500), he expresses them in terms of their number in a tenth of a *Mahāyuga* or 432,000 years; thus he makes a *Kaliyuga* to be 432,000 years instead of Āryabhaṭa's 1,080,000 years. From this it results that his revolutions of the planets in a *Mahāyuga* differ from those in the *Āryabhaṭīya*; in fact, they differ considerably and independently of the choice of the length of a *Kaliyuga*. Nilakaṇṭha gives other figures in his *Tantrasaṅgraha* (I. 15-19) from which those in the *Golasāra* are derived.

	<i>Āryabhaṭīya</i>	<i>Golasāra</i>	<i>Tantrasaṅgraha</i>
Saturn	146,564	146,600	146,612
Jupiter	364,224	364,180	364,180
Mars	2,296,824	2,296,860	2,296,864
Sun	4,320,000	4,320,000	4,320,000
Venus' śighra	7,022,388	7,022,270	7,022,268
Mercury's śighra	17,937,020	17,937,040	17,937,048
Moon	57,753,336	57,753,320	57,753,320
Lunar node	-232,226	-232,300	-232,300
Lunar apogee	488,219	488,120	488,122

Śarma unfortunately says nothing about the derivation of these new parameters, nor did he comment on the odd parameters for a *Kalpa* when he edited Nilakaṇṭha's *Siddhāntadarpaṇa* (I. 2-8) :

Saturn	146,571,016
Jupiter	364,160,611
Mars	2,296,862,137
Sun	4,320,000,000
Venus' śighra	7,022,270,552
Mercury's śighra	17,937,120,175
Moon	57,753,332,321
Lunar node	-232,226,745
Lunar apogee	488,123,318
Civil days	1,577,917,839,500

We cannot pretend to understand the development of astronomy in Kerala in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, until we can discover the generation of these and other parameters. From the point of view of an historian of astronomy, then, Śarma's work is merely a beginning though an essential one. Someone must now work on these texts to discover what was really going on in Parameśvara's school.

The work that Śarma has done in editing the text is, as usual, splendid. He has used four manuscripts from the collection now at the Kerala University

in Trivandrum, one from the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library in Madras, one from the Indian Office Library in London, and one belonging to a private library in Cochin. (Kerala University T. 846 A is, as Śarma notes, a copy of A, I know of no others). He has divided these manuscripts into three classes, whose interrelations are demonstrated on p. xi, and the text that he establishes on the basis of them makes sense, as does his translation—no mean achievement! It is to be hoped that Sarma will continue to edit these important texts, and that also some further use is made of them by historians of astronomy.

DAVID PINGREE

Yogadr̥ṣṭisamuccaya and *Yogavimśikā* of Ācārya Haribhadrāsūri with English translation, Notes and Introduction: by K. K. DIXIT; Pub. by Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidyamandir, Ahmedabad-9, April 1970, pp. 130; Price Rs. 8-00.

Haribhadrāsūri's four works on yoga have been popular not only among devout Jains but also among scholars in general mainly because of their non-sectarian theological content on the whole. Dr. K. K. Dixit edited 'Yogabindu' earlier. Haribhadra's another famous work *Yogadr̥ṣṭisamuccaya* is here translated in English along with his another small work 'Yogavimśikā', with explanatory notes.

Although following the Jain traditional point of view in the main, Haribhadra's *Yogadr̥ṣṭisamuccaya* is more or less a compendium synthesising the yoga positions of the Buddhist, the Brahmanical and the Jain traditions in an able manner, with a simple and flowing style reminiscent of the 'Bhagavadgītā' and the 'Bodhicaryāvatāra'.

Dr. Dixit's introduction discusses the Jain position on Yoga principles. He has tried to emphasise how Haribhadrāsūri has frowned upon the 'Logic-chopping and the theological sectarianism.' The English translation aims at clarifying the point at hand. However, the explanatory rendering of the verses in English at times comes in the way of a clear understanding of Haribhadra's position.

Dr. Dixit has not said anything about the text of *Yogadr̥ṣṭisamuccaya*. Dr. Dixit rejects Dr. Mehta's readings (15) without giving any reason for doing so. For a book like *Yogadr̥ṣṭisamuccaya* the translator has ample scope for finding out the source material, mutual comparisons and the ultimate contribution of the author. Dr. Dixit could have easily found out sources for verses like 116 to 117. He could also have found out suggestions and parallels in the Buddhist and the Brahmanical works as has been rightly pointed out by the editor of the series, Prof. Malavaniya.

However the translation and the detailed explanations of Haribhadra's verses, offered by Dr. Dixit are commendable.

J. M. SHUKLA

Nandisuttam and *Anuogaddarāṃ*: *Jaina-Āgama-Series 1*, Editors: MUNI PUNYAVIJAYA, Pt. DALSUKH MALVANIA, Pt. AMRITALAL MOHANLAL BHOJAK. Published by Shri Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, Bombay 26 (1968). Price Rs. 40.00.

With this very carefully prepared edition of two canonical texts a new Series of Jaina-Āgama publications is started.

So far I have no information whether any further volumes have already followed. It is to be hoped that after so many decades of critical studies, with so many excellent Jaina scholars existent, both Munis and laymen, and with the financial help of pious and rich uvāsagas, a real critical edition of the whole canon will appear. I need not dwell on this subject any further.

The contents of this volume are as follows: A very exhaustive introduction in English is preceded by its original in Gujarati. This introduction dwells on the importance of the Āgama-literature for the religious and literary life of ancient and medieval India, in comparison with the Vedic and the Buddhist canonical writings. The authors (it is not clear to the reviewer which part of the work has been done by whom of the three scholars undersigning) stress one point of considerable interest. While the *Vedas*, viz. the *Samhitās*, are considered as pure Brahmanical, the literature of the *Sūtras* and the *Upaniṣads* are seen as the fore-runners of the *Śramaṇa*-tradition. It is even connected with the pre-historical India of the Indus civilization. The argument for this is, that while the *Samhitās* contain mostly hymns to the Aryan Gods, it is in the following literary stratum that rules for Ācāra are given, and that Ācāra is a major point in both Buddhist and Jaina teaching, while it is not in the Vedic period proper. Now, while the connecting of the *Śramaṇa* tradition with the Indus-civilization would hardly find many subscribers among modern scholars, it should be seen as the outcome of the Jaina statement that the doctrines of Mahāvīra are not only his own discovery, but that so many Jinas in the past, starting with Ṛṣabha, who all of them lived on Jambudvīpa, that is, in India, have done exactly the same teaching. So some allowance should be made for this view, orthodox or not, as you like. Contrary to the Buddhist scriptures which by tradition are attributed to the Buddha himself and so do not only contain his teachings but are themselves the Buddhavacana, the Jaina Āgamas are mostly "written down by the Gaṇadharas" (p. 11 foll.) The very long time passed between the life of Mahāvīra and the Council of Valabhī (980 or 993 after Mahāvīra) when scriptures were put into their present shape (we are speaking, of course, of the

Śvetāmbara tradition), allows for many changes in the tradition. This also accounts for the fact that some texts bear the name of individual authors, as Devavācaka for the *Nandī*¹. There are, formally, some parallels to the Buddhist *Tipiṭaka*. The canonical *Vinaya-piṭaka* contains an ancient commentary and the development between the *Suttapiṭaka* and the *Kathāvatthu* is so considerable that even tradition attributes this latter work of the Abhidhamma piṭaka to Tissa Moggaliputta.

Other problems discussed concern the sources, the geographical region, the language, number, classification and the age of the Āgamas. Then the authors discuss the two texts edited in this volume, viz. the *Nandī-suttam* and the *Aṇugaddāraṇi*. It baffles me why the title of the first text in the introduction is constantly written with the short *i*, while in the text the regular form with the long *ī* is printed correctly at the colophons of the different chapters (pp. 48, 53, 55); so are the titles given at pp. 49 and 54, but not on p. 3 and on the left page—captures 4–48. All other books consulted by me spell the word with the long *ī*.

The reason why the whole series is opened by the *Nandī* (as I continue to spell the word) is given on p. [31]: "So, we too give it the first place in our scheme of publishing the Āgamas considering it to be of the nature of a *Maṅgalā-carāṇa* (auspicious introductory prayer)". P. [31] to [76] treat of many particulars regarding the contents of both the texts. Then follows the "Editor's Note," giving the description of the mss (upto p. 88²) and chapters on "Our Critical Method of Editing the Jaina-Āgamas (pp. 88-95) and "About the Present Edition" (pp. 95-126).

The text is constituted 1. by means of 8 mss for the *Nandī* and of 10 mss for the *Aṇugaddāra*, and 2. with the help of (a) quotations from other Āgama-texts and (b) of the ancient commentaries, both in Prākṛit and in Sanskrit. The evaluation of the importance of the available mss and especially that of the readings commented upon by the commentaries is done very prudently and carefully. Quite a number of the readings adopted in the main text, or rejected and then incorporated in the critical apparatus, are discussed in detail. So the reader gains full confidence in the principles adopted and in the treatment how these principles are practised. There are several appendices giving the *Gāthās* (in the principal text and the foot-notes, a complete word-list, an index of proper names and lastly a list of "the Sūtra-readings which the commentators have recognised as representing different recensions" (p. 88 of the introduction, and p. 461 of the main body of the volume). A "Suddhipattaya" is found (pp. 462-467)—a pity it had to be so long, and still to the credit of the authors' care.

1 As the author of the *Aṇugaddāra* s. esp. p. 69 foll.

2 There are no square brackets with the pagination from p. 77 foll.

Summing up : This 1st volume of the new series is a very praiseworthy work in every respect. We beg to congratulate the editors (but also the printing house which has done work of an uncommon high standard), and earnestly wish to encourage them to further progress in their difficult and important task.

F. R. HAMM

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(Published by Faculty of Education and Psychology
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Vol. XXI : No. 3
March 1972

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE PARAŚU OF PARAŚURĀMA

By

ROBERT GOLDMAN, Berkeley (Cal.), U.S.A.

There are few major figures in the vast and various corpus of legendary¹ material presented to us in the Sanskrit epics and *purāṇa*-s, to rival in complexity, fascination, and contradiction the pervasive presence of the great Bhārgava Rāma. *Brāhmaṇa* and warrior; contemplative ascetic and bloodthirsty killer; fond son of his father and murderer of his mother; adviser and slaughterer of the *kṣatriya*-s; devotee of Śiva and *avatāra* of Viṣṇu; the enigmatic Rāma is inferior only to his great *kṣatriya* namesake and the incomparable Śrīkṛṣṇa in interest and viability as a dramatic figure in the texts². While lacking the popularity and emotive appeal of these two latter figures, the frequency of references to the great Bhārgava hero, and the variety of contexts in which his career is recorded in whole or in part, entitle him, especially in the *Mahābhārata* and certain of the *purāṇa*-s, to, at very least, some intermediate rank between them and the many minor characters with which the texts are peopled.

It is little wonder, then, that the Bhārgava Rāma has been the subject of a considerable amount of scholarly interest.³ Despite the large number of papers

1 By legendary I do not intend any technical term here. Neither do I intend to become embroiled in the issue of the definition of myth, legend, etc. I refer in general to the mass of epic material loosely classified as *ākhyāna*, *upākhyāna*, *itihāsa* etc.

2 By viability I mean the ability of a figure to disassociate himself from one given narrative environment, one "myth" and to appear with relative freedom in several.

3 Cf. for example : Anujan Achan: "The Paraśurāma Legend and its Significance" Proc. Eighth Session All India Oriental Conference, Mysore, 1935; M. Biardeau, "La Dē-

devoted to the various aspects of the career and figure of Rāma, it is clear that he and his story have not been fully understood. Historical, mythological, and psychological interpretations have so far, I think, failed to shed more than peripheral light on this perplexing hero and his anomalous career. To do more than this, it will be necessary to undertake an intensive and detailed study of the entire Bhārgava corpus, particularly as it appears in its prime locus, the *Mahābhārata*. I have, in fact, completed such a study.¹ I do not, however, intend here to attempt even a sketchy outline of the conclusions to which it led me.

So, rather than try to present here a treatment of the complex and intricate, almost polyphonically interwoven themes bearing on the issue of the Bhārgava Rāma's reversal of role; the fact of his being a *kṣatrayittir brāhmaṇa*² which is central to any understanding of the figure, I will restrict myself, in this paper, to a specific issue which came to light in the course of my study. This issue will, I hope, illustrate the approach which I propose to use in connection with epic myth and legend and, more specifically point out the dangers of a synoptic treatment of any mythic figure³.

The issue that I shall discuss here is the seemingly self-evident one of why the Bhārgava Rāma is generally referred to, in the *purāṇa-s* and by modern Vaiṣṇava-s and scholars, by the familiar epithet "paraśurāma"⁴ "Axe-Rāma" or Rāma with an axe. More important, I shall discuss the origin, history and provenance of this familiar, indeed taken-for-granted designation for the great *brāhmaṇa-warrior*.

Perhaps the most striking fact about this epithet is that it is totally unknown to the *Mahābhārata* which is unquestionably the central repository of

capitulation de Reṇukā dans Le Mythe de Paraśurāma" *Pratidānam: Studies presented to F. B. J. Kuiper, Mouton, The Hague, 1969*; S. S. Janaki, "Paraśurāma" *Purāṇam* vol. 7 no. 1 (1966); I. Karve, "The Paraśurāma Myth" *JUB* vol. 1 (1932); Jarl Charpentier, "Paraśurāma: The Main Outlines of his Legend" *Kuppuswami Shastri Commemoration volume*, etc. The name Rāma as used in this paper is, unless otherwise specified, to indicate the Bhārgava Rāma, son of Jamadagni.

1 *Myth and Meta-Myth: A Critical Study of the Evolution and Manipulation of the Bhārgava Corpus in the Mahābhārata*, by Robert P. Goldman. Unpublished Thesis. Available: University Microfilms, Ann Arbor. All references to the *Mahābhārata* are, unless otherwise specified, to the critical edition produced by the BORI, Poona.

2 Mbh. III. 115. 25

3 A formal example of such a synoptic treatment would be that provided by Claude Lévi-Strauss. See, for example, his "The Structural Study of Myth" in *Myth: A Symposium*, T. Sebeok ed. University of Indiana Press, 1965. A less formal example would be Mrs. Karve's "version" of the Paraśurāma myth consisting elements from many textual versions. See Karve op. cit.

4 The name would appear to be a *madhyamapadalopī* compound standing for something like *paraśudhararāma*.

material dealing with the Bhārgava, and, specifically, the Bhārgava Rāma. In the great epic he is called many names: Rāma, Bhārgava, Jāmadagnya, Bhṛgu-nandana, Bhṛguśārdūla etc.; yet nowhere in the endless references to this figure which find their way into the most remote corners of this most massive and comprehensive of epics is he called by a name which refers to what is generally thought to be his most characteristic attribute; the mighty and fearful *paraśu*, the dreaded battle-axe.¹

The question, then, is how to account for the development of the almost inseparable association of the figure with this particular weapon. To answer it, it is necessary to examine closely any passages or references which may be seen as bearing upon it in the *locus classicus* of the Rāma myth: the *Mahābhārata*. An analysis of the variants of the central Rāma legend and the secondary appearances of the mighty Bhārgava with an eye towards understanding the precise nature of the hero's weaponry in so far as each passage permits of it.

Let me first examine the central and definitive thematic element in the entire Rāma mythology: the vengeful and violent extermination of the entire lineage of the prince Arjuna Kārtavīrya, and, following that, the genocidal slaughter of the whole *kṣatriya* race.²

What distinguishes the Bhārgava Rāma from numerous other Brahmanical sages is not his violent temper, nor even the murderous exercise of it.³ What sets him apart is the fact that, virtually alone among the great sages of his *varṇa* he resorts to the skills and means of the warrior class: that is the science and practice of arms. So regular is his use of weaponry, and so skillful is this use that a good deal of secondary legend has arisen both explaining his acquisition of this unorthodox (for a brāhmaṇa) science. There is even an epic tradition of Rāma as a teacher of the *Dhanurveda*. So firm is this tradition in the minds of the redactors, Bhārgava and other,⁴ of the great epic, that the hero is very commonly referred to by the epithet *śāstrabhṛtāṃ vara* (or-*śreṣṭha*).

This much is clear. The question now is whether, in the many passages in which the martial skills of Rāma are discussed or enumerated, there are any which associate him with one weapon in particular, and whether that weapon is the *paraśu*.

The two principal epic accounts of Rāma's bloody vendetta against the *kṣatriya*-s, at *Āraṇyakaparvan* 116-117, and *Sāntiparvan* 49, which differ between

1 The axe is his invariable attribute in sculptural representations.

2 Mbh. I. 98; III. 116-117; XII. 49 etc.

3 Many sages are, of course, credited in the epic, with violence, even genocidal violence. Aurva, Parāśara, and Kaśyapa are but a few.

4 See V. S. Sukthankar, "The Bhṛgu and the Bhārata: A Text-Historical Study" ABORI, vol. XX, pp. 1-76 for further comments on Rāma's martial skill.

themselves on a number of points¹ are wholly in agreement in so far as, with respect to their accounts of Rāma's slaughter of the *kṣatriya*-s, neither mentions any use of an axe. On the contrary, in these passages, where a specific weapon is said to have been used by the Bhārgava hero, the weapon is that typical of the *kṣatriya* heroes of the epic; the bow and arrow. Thus in the *Āraṇyakaparvan* version which is the most complete single rendering of the Rāma story in the epic, when Rāma encounters the villainous Kārtavīrya who had despoiled Jamadagni's *āśrama*, we read :

ciccheda niśitair bhallair bāhūn parighasaṃnibhān/
sahasrasaṃmitān rājan pragṛhya ruciraṃ dhanuḥ//²

Thus the Bhārgava Rāma, like his *kṣatriya* namesake and the great majority of the warrior-heroes of the epic, reaches, in battle, instinctively for his "shining bow". Again, in the *Ādiparvan*, when Bhīṣma cites the career of Rāma as the background to his account of the regeneration of the slaughtered warrior race, he says simply that the Bhārgava took up his bow and let fly "great missiles" (*mahāstrāṇi*) to accomplish the slaughter.³

Further than this, the *Āraṇyaka* version is vague with regard to Rāma's weapon. Despite the fact that the bow and arrows are twice specified as the instruments of Jamadagni's death⁴, the text is not specific when it comes to the instrument of his son's revenge. It simply says that he "armed himself" or, literally, "took up his weapon" and killed his foes : "śastraṃ ādāya..."⁵. Nevertheless, in light of the preceding reference, and no information to the contrary, it seems clear that once more the bow is indicated.

The *Śāntiparvan* version of the great Bhārgava's bloody campaigns against the warrior class sheds no further light on the question of the specific identity of his weapon. The version lacks even the specific reference to the bow that is found in the *Āraṇyaka* variant. At XII. 49. 14 we find a repetition of the motif of Rāma cutting off the arms of Kārtavīrya. Here, however, the means whereby this was accomplished is not specified. Again, finding Jamadagni dead⁶ seized his "weapon" (*śastraṃ agrhṇata*) to clear the earth of *kṣatriya*-s. In a second

1 I have elsewhere done a treatment of these two versions with special reference to their significant differences. R. P. Goldman, "Akṛtavraṇa vs. Śrīkṛṣṇa as Narrators of the Legend of the Bhārgava Rāma : à propos some observations of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar" (in press).

2 Mbh. III. 116. 24.

3 Mbh. I. 98. 2. The *astra*-s or missiles are said to have been of various types (*uccāvacā*).

4 Mbh. III. 117. 1,3.

5 Ibid. vs. 7.

6 Mbh. XII. 49. 44. It is interesting to note that Jamadagni is said to have been killed with arrows of the *bhalla* variety; the very same type used by Rāma himself in the *Āraṇyaka* version.

round of extermination, a feature peculiar in the epic to the *Śānti* version¹, it is stated that Rāma slaughtered the *kṣatriya*-s down to the very embryos in the womb without a single mention of weaponry. Once again, the lack of specificity and the parallelism with the *Āraṇyaka* version leave us with the assumption that the probable weapon of the Bhārgava is the bow.

So much for the critically established texts of passages dealing with the central feat of the Bhārgava hero. If they do not attribute to him any special weapon other than the bow, the same cannot be said with respect to passages which clearly do not belong to the earliest form of the reconstructed manuscript tradition.

The *Śāntiparvan* episode, discussed above, contains, in several manuscripts and printed editions, two passages which bear centrally upon the issue of Rāma's weapons. The first of these consists of two verses² which run as follows :

toṣayitvā mahādevaṃ parvate gandhamādane/
astrāṇi varayāmāsa paraśuṃ cātitejasam//
sa tenākunṭhadhāreṇa jvalitānalavarcasā/
kuṭhāreṇāprameyeṇa lokeṣv apratimo 'bhavaḥ//

Here, in a sharp departure from the critically established text, it is unequivocally stated that Rāma chose a splendid axe as a boon from Śiva, and, even more significantly, that it was by means of this bright and unfailingly sharp axe that he gained fame among men. Now since Rāma's central claim to fame is his destruction of the *kṣatriya*-s, it would appear to follow that the implication of this passage is that he accomplished this feat by means of this divinely granted battle axe. The second of these passages³ nowhere found in any manuscript containing the first, makes this implication quite explicit. Here, Rāma, informed of his father's death at the hands of the sons of Kārtavīrya, responds by seizing his axe which resembled the crescent moon:

candrabimbārdhasaṃkāśaṃ paraśuṃ grhya bhārgavaḥ//

One whole account of Rāma's campaign against the *kṣatriya*-s belongs to the category of material weeded out of the critically established text. This is the account which occurs as the last episode of the so-called *Ṣoḍaśurājakiya* portion of the *Draṇaparvan*.⁴ In this passage Rāma is shown to have used several

1 Ibid. vss. 48-56.

2 Mbh. (Citraśālā ed.) XII. 49. vss. 33-34. In Critical ed. see critical apparatus for XII. 49, 29.

3 See critical apparatus for Mbh. XII. 49. 43.

4 Mbh. Citraśālā ed. *Draṇaparvan*, *adhyāya* 70. Critical ed. vol. 9, App. I, No. 8, lines 828-872. This tendentious inclusion of the Bhārgava legend in the list of the great kings provided Dr. Sukthankar with one of the clearest proofs of his theory of the "Bhṛguization"

means to accomplish his aim of slaughtering the *kṣatriya-s*. Here the dreaded *paraśu* appears to be the most favored of his death-dealing devices in that he is represented as having killed with it some ten thousand warriors as opposed to a mere thousand each by means of the club, sword, and hangman's noose¹.

Thus far one striking fact emerges. No instance of the great Bhārgava Rāma's use of the *paraśu* or axe as a weapon of war in his campaign against the *kṣatriya-s* can be shown to belong to the best reconstruction of the text of the *Mahābhārata*. On the contrary, all the versions of this campaign which do belong to the critical edition show Rāma as using a bow and arrows against his warrior foes.

What then of the other exploits of Rāma which involve his use, acquisition and transmission of skill at arms? For, despite the fact that the Bhārgava Rāma's central and definitive deed is the extermination of the *kṣatriya-s*, he becomes, in the epic, a figure of sufficient import and popularity to free himself from the restrictions of one myth or legend and to appear in a number of contexts more or less closely connected with the actual principals of the Kaurava-Pāṇḍava saga. Virtually all of these secondary appearances centre around the fact of Rāma's being the *śāstrabhṛtām vara*.

Let me examine the most significant of these, briefly with an eye towards the identification of the actual weapons possessed and employed by the fierce brāhmaṇa-warrior.

A number of epic presentations of the lineage of the Bhārgava Rāma regard his peculiar prowess in the arts of war as something handed down to him by his father, the sage Jamadagni². This latter figure is, at various points in the epic, shown to have been a master of the science of arms. In the *Āraṇyakaparvan* account of the geneology of the Bhārgava Rāma it is said that the entire *Dhanurveda*, along with the four types of magical missiles (*astra-s*) revealed itself to Jamadagni³. The only specific mention of weaponry is that of the *astra-s*, the various magical and divine missiles which are commonly used by the gods, heroes and demons of the epic and purāṇic texts. One thing that virtually all these

of the great epic. He comments on it as follows: "...the propriety of including his exploits in the Śoḍaśarājakiya is more than questionable. In fact it would never strike anybody except an unscrupulous Brahmin redactor—with strong Bhārgava leanings—to perpetrate such a tendentious perversion and father it upon Vyāsa." Sukthankar, op. cit. p. 42.

1 *Droṇaparvan* appendix loc. cit. lines 838-842.

2 Independent of this, but somewhat confused with it at several points in the epic, is the tradition that Rāma acquired his martial nature as a result of a mistake as at Mbh. III. 115. 24 etc.

3 Mbh. III. 115. 30. In another, very involved version, at Mbh. XIII. 56. 7, the *Dhanurveda* is said to have first revealed itself to R̥cika, Jamadagni's father. This, however, does not change the tradition of Rāma's acquisition of the science of arms from Jamadagni.

astra-s have in common is that they are almost always regarded as being shot from bows.

That Jamadagni's martial skill consists centrally in the science of archery is made clear from a legend, wholly unrelated to the Rāma story, in which the sage is depicted at archery practice in the course of which he threatens, convincingly, to shoot down the sun¹ with the arrows and *astra-s*² to be fired from his divine bow.

In the *Śāntiparvan* version of Rāma's career, Jamadagni is, by contrast, depicted as being of a calm and peaceful disposition³ while it is his son, Rāma, who appears, independently, to have acquired mastery of the science of arms⁴. As noted above with regard to this passage, no specific weapon is mentioned.

Transmission from father to son, from master to pupil, is not the only way in which the epic redactors account for Rāma's skill at arms. In the *Kaṇva-parvan* we find a rather curious episode according to which Rāma receives his knowledge of the science of *Dhanurveda* and actual possession of the divine *astra-s* themselves as boons won by pleasing the great Lord Śiva⁵. The story is somewhat curious and as it bears significantly, if idiosyncratically, upon the question of Rāma and his weapons, I will present it in outline.

Lord Śiva, to whom the gods, harassed by the Daitya-s, have had recourse, decides to call upon the Bhārgava Rāma to destroy the demons⁶. Thus the story would seem to presuppose Rāma's famed martial prowess. Surprisingly, this is not the case at all. Rāma, faced with this commission, protests on the grounds that he is unskilled in weaponry and asks how he is then to slay the Dānava-s who are skilled in the use of all the *astra-s*:

akṛtāstrasya deveśa kā śaktir me maheśvara/
nihanuṃ dānavān sarvān kṛtāstrān yuddhadurmadān//⁷

Still, the god persists and Rāma, assured of victory, goes forth to meet the Dānava-s and slays them with blows (presumably of his hand) as forceful as

1 Mbh. XIII. 97-98.

2 Ibid. esp. 97. 17-18.

3 Mbh. XII. 49.27 :

tataḥ satyavatī putraṃ janayāmāsa bhārgavam/
tapasy abhirataṃ śāntaṃ jamadagniṃ śamātmakam//

4 Ibid. vs. 29 :

ārciko janayāmāsa jamadagniḥ sudāruṇam/
s rvaśāntaṃ śreṣṭhaṃ dhanurvede ca pāragam/
rāmaṃ kṣatriyahantāraṃ pradīptam iva pāvakaṃ//

5 Mbh. VIII. 24. 144 ff.

6 Ibid. vs. 144-146.

7 Ibid. vs. 147.

those of Indra's *vajra*¹. Rāma is wounded in the battle but is restored to health instantly by Śiva's touch². Finally, in recompense for his injuries, and because he is pleased with his obedience, Śiva gives Rāma the divine *astra*-s for the sake of which he had previously propitiated the god without success³:

grhāṇāstrāṇi divyāni matsakāśād yathepsitam //
tato 'strāṇi samastāni varāṁś ca manasepsitān/

Once again, this time according to a wholly different context, the great Bhārgava is said to have become the master of all the divine *astra*-s and the science of their use with no mention whatever of the supposedly characteristic *paraśu*. The only actual combat described in this episode, that between Rāma and the superhuman Dānava-s, precedes his acquisition of the divine weapons and is, presumably, carried on by Rāma without any weapons at all, at any rate, with the ordinary armament of the human warrior.

This last story marks, as far as I know, the only occasion in the epic, upon which the Bhārgava Rāma uses his martial skill against superhuman antagonists. There are, however, in the *Mahābhārata*, yet a few instances in which he exercises this skill either against or on behalf of human warriors which are yet separate from the central legend of his genocidal vendetta against the whole *kṣatriya* class.

Perhaps the most noteworthy of these incidents occurs in the closing chapters of the *Udyogaparvan*, the so-called *Ambopākhyāna* in which the great foe of the *kṣatriya*-s, the Bhārgava Rāma, out of friendship for the *kṣatriya* Hotravāhana, takes the part of the princess Ambā in her demand that the great Kaurava Bhīṣma marry her. Rāma demands that Bhīṣma fulfil the marriage agreement or fight with him. The latter, adhering firmly to his terrible vow of chastity opts for battle. There then ensues a dramatically pointless⁴ battle between the two occupying several hundred lines. From the point of view of the present inquiry, it is of interest in that once more it shows the Bhārgava Rāma in a combat situation. In this case he is so hard pressed by the mighty Bhīṣma that he must resort to the use of every weapon known to him. In the end both contestants have simultaneous recourse to the ultimate weapon, the world-shattering *brahmāstra*⁵. Thus, again, Rāma is seen to go through his whole repertoire, as it were, of divine weapons without ever having recourse to the *paraśu* or any axe-like weapon.

1 Ibid. vs. 149-150.

2 Ibid. vs. 151.

3 Ibid. vs. 132.

4 Sukthankar, *op. cit.* pp. 36-37.

5 Mbh. V. 185. 17.

The remainder of *Mahābhārata* passages involving the Bhārgava Rāma's supreme mastery of the martial arts show him in the role of *guru* ; of transmittor of the *Dhanurveda* to several prominent epic figures. One of these, Droṇa, is the master in the science of arms of both the Kaurava-s and the Pāṇḍava-s. Thus the Bhārgava redactors make Rāma the *ādiguru* of all the important epic warriors.¹

The story of Droṇa's pupilship² is twice repeated in the *Mahābhārata*³. The longer version, found at the 121st *adhyāya* of the *Ādiparvan* has Droṇa come to Rāma in the woods and beg from him. The Bhārgava sage replies that he has nothing to give but his body and the various great *astra-s* of which he is the master, since he had given all his wealth, indeed the whole earth, to the brāhmaṇas.⁴ Droṇa, of course, chooses the weapons and Rāma teaches him their use and the whole secret *Dhanurveda*.⁵ Once again, in an episode which is predicated upon the fact of Rāma's being the master of various weapons, the only reference is to the *mahārḥaṇy astrāṇi* and the *vividhāṇi śastrāṇi*⁶. No reference whatever is made to the famous axe or any particular weapon.

Not only is the Bhārgava Rāma the indirect master in the martial arts of all the important epic heroes, through Droṇa's discipleship ; he is, in addition, said to have been the direct master of both Karṇa and Bhīṣma.

Karṇa's discipleship under the great Bhārgava warrior is alluded to no less than three times in the epic. At one point it is regarded as the point of the story, cited above, of Rāma's acquisition of his own skill at arms through his propitiation of Mahādeva and his battle with the enemies of the gods⁷. The other two references regard Karṇa as having falsely disguised himself as a brāhmaṇa in order to be deemed worthy of being a pupil of the great brāhmaṇa warrior.⁸

By the same token, Bhīṣma, unconquerable warrior-chief of the Kaurava hosts, is, on the occasion of his inconclusive battle with Rāma, mentioned above, advised to desist from combat on the grounds that the Bhārgava is his *guru*⁹.

1 Sukthankar, op. cit. p. 13.

2 The typological similarity between the two figures ; i.e. that they are the epics prime examples of brāhmaṇa warriors, may have suggested the notion that Droṇa was Rāma's pupil.

3 Mbh. I. 121 and 154.

4 Ibid. 121. 18-19.

5 Ibid. vss. 20-22.

6 Ibid. vs. 20.

7 Mbh. VIII. 24. 157.

8 Mbh. VIII. 29; XII. 3. See Sukthankar, op. cit. pp. 37, 42-43.

9 Mbh. V. 186. 32.

Needless to say, not one of these passages, so closely concerned with the acquisition and transmission of Rāma's arms and skill at arms, makes so much as passing reference to his being particularly associated with the *paraśu*.

To recapitulate, then, for a moment, it becomes strikingly clear, upon a close examination of the critical text of the many *Mahābhārata* episodes involving the martial skills and exploits of the Bhārgava Rāma, that not one single line belonging to the best reconstruction of the oldest available manuscript tradition makes any mention of his possession or use of an axe. Time and again, as I have shown, the texts either fail to specify the weapons used by the hero or, more significantly, ascribe to him regular recourse to a bow from which he discharges both ordinary arrows and divine *astra*-s.

Yet, in the face of this solid unanimity on the part of the best reconstructed text of what is unquestionably the *locus classicus* of Bhārgava, and most particularly Bhārgava Rāma legends, we find the firm and invariable purāṇic and popular traditions associating Rāma inseparably with his trusty *paraśu*. These traditions are so fixed that the hero comes regularly, in post-epic texts, to be known as Paraśurāma. In addition, we have, in the interpolated passages cited above, a clear indication that the association of Rāma with the axe was strongly felt in the late formative stages of the *Mahābhārata* as it has come down to us.

Is there not, then, a single reference in the critically edited text of the great epic linking the Bhārgava Rāma to the use of an axe; a reference which might serve to explain, in part at least, this curious dichotomy between the epic and post-epic traditions?

There is, of course, one such reference; widely known and perhaps poorly understood. It is the peculiar passage in the *Āraṇyakaparvan* account of the Bhārgava Rāma's career in which he cuts off his mother's head in obedience to his father's command. The instrument which he employs in this terrible task is the *paraśu* or axe. There is, however, no evidence whatever in the passage to indicate that the tool in question is to be regarded as a weapon of war or that it is to be particularly closely associated with the figure of Rāma outside this one incident.

The whole episode of the beheading of Rāma's mother, the *Reṇukāvadha* is very problematic. I believe that there is evidence to indicate that it is itself a secondary development of the elaborated Bhārgava body of Rāma legend¹. Nonetheless, it is clear that it was included in the *Āraṇyakaparvan* version of the Rāma legend by the time of the earliest surviving manuscript tradition. This much is sufficient for the purposes of the present inquiry. For, regardless of the significance or history of the episode, it provides the only explicit reference to an

1 Goldman, op. cit. Ch. I, pp. 1-27. Also Biardeau op. cit.

axe in connection with the Bhārgava Rāma in the best reconstruction of the *Mahābhārata* text.

The episode, which has no direct connection to the central legend of Rāma and the *kṣatriya*-s and which does not even presuppose any particular martial skill on the part of the Bhārgava hero, occurs uniquely in the epic, at *Āraṇyaka-parvan* 116. 5-18. According to this narrative, Jamadagni, angered at what he considers infidelity on the part of his wife Reṇukā, orders, in succession, his five sons to kill their mother¹. They refuse and are cursed by the irascible sage.² Finally Rāma, the youngest³, returns to the hermitage and in response to the same dreadful command takes his axe and cuts off his mother's head :

tata ādāya paraśuṃ rāmo mātuḥ śiro'harat // ⁴.

Here at last is a clear reference to the elusive hatchet. But there is no mention of its being a weapon of war. On the contrary there is as yet no occasion for the brāhmaṇa boy to be engaged in hostilities with anyone. What then is this axe?

Jamadagni's sons are not returning from either battle or military exercises. The text is most specific as to their activities. They have gone off to the forest to gather fruits⁵. Upon returning and receiving his father's terrible command, the obedient son apparently takes the first thing at hand in order to execute it. Under the circumstances is it not likely that a young man out gathering in the forest should have with him an axe: not a weapon of war, but a domestic implement? The remainder of the passage would seem to bear this interpretation out. In the first place, there has been no reference so far in the passage to Rāma as having any interest or ability in the martial skills beyond the prophecy of the preceding *adhyāya*. It is only after he has slain his mother, a feat which requires no great military prowess, that he asks and receives, as a boon from his pleased father, the state of being unrivalled in battle (*yuddhe apratidvandvātā*)⁶. Finally, the following sequence describing the hostility between Rāma and Kārtavīrya, mentioned above makes it quite clear that when Rāma has need of a weapon he does not think of his hatchet. Only ten verses after he has cut off Reṇukā's head with his axe, Rāma, confronted for the first time with a genuine situation of combat, takes up his " shining bow ".

It is clear, then, that the *Mahābhārata* in its earliest accessible form knows nothing of Rāma's use of an axe as a weapon of war or the device which he employs in his campaign to clear the earth of the *kṣatriya* class. On the other

1 Mbh. III. 116. 11.

2 Ibid. vs. 12.

3 Ibid. vs. 4.

4 Ibid. vs. 14.

5 Ibid. vs. 5.

6 Ibid. vs. 18.

hand, interpolated portions of several manuscripts show clearly that such an association came to be made not long after the establishment of the "ur-text". The interpolations in the *Droṇa* and *Śānti-parvan-s* cited above which have Rāma use the axe in his most definitive and characteristic deed, and again, claim that it is through this axe that he became renowned among men, are evidently belated attempts to bring the epic into line with subsequent tradition.

The reason for this dichotomy between the two traditions is not wholly clear. It would appear, however, that it is in some way related to the development of the notion of the Bhārgava Rāma as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. There is not space here to go into this issue at any length. Suffice it to say that while the *Mahābhārata* suggests the identification of Jāmadagnya as an *avatāra* a number of times these passages are either late, or otherwise suspect¹ and it seems clear that the epic as a whole does not presuppose his *avatāra*-hood.² In the *purāṇa-s*, on the other hand, Rāma is regularly regarded as a divine manifestation whose purpose was to clear the earth of the oppressive *kṣatriya-s* of his day. Thus by a rationalization of the slaughter which is hardly a real issue in the *Mahābhārata*, the context *par excellence* for unassimilated Bhṛguid myth, the *purāṇa-s* have elevated the popular Bhārgava hero into the ranks of some of the most significant figures of classical Hindu mythology. Among these last, the principal *avatāra-s* of the Lord Viṣṇu, two stand like giants above all the others: Śrīkṛṣṇa and the mighty and beloved Rāma, son of Daśaratha. This last figure, the *kṣatriya* Rāma, has as his chief attribute the bow; for he is the mighty archer *par excellence*. Is it not likely, then, that with the assimilation to *avatāra*-hood of the less significant, but equally adept archer, Rāma Jāmadagnya, a certain awkwardness or confusion would present itself to the redactors of the *purāṇic* myths?³

I propose then, that it was largely to avoid such confusion between the two Rāma-s that the authors of the *purāṇic* versions grasped at the *Āraṇyakaparvan* passage in which Jāmadagnya kills Reṇukā with his *paraśu*, most likely a domestic tool, and abstracted from it the notion that the axe was the principal and distinctive weapon of the great brāhmaṇa-warrior.

1 Sukthankar, op. cit. pp. 48-49.

2 The passage preceding III. 115, with its tale of Kārtavīrya's oppression of the gods and their mission to Viṣṇu for help, suggests that Rāma is to be considered as an *avatāra*. The episode, however, is fragmentary and evidently inserted just for this purpose.

3 It is this awkwardness that doubtless is behind the famous and rather grotesque encounter of the two Rāma-s as at Rāmāyaṇa I. 73-75. The episode is also crudely inserted into the Mbh. See Citraśālā ed. III. 99. 34 ff. and Crit. ed. *Āraṇyakaparvan*, Appendix I, no. 14. Sukthankar condemned the latter passage as spurious in the strongest possible terms (op. cit. p. 21).

It is due then to his own elevation to the lofty rank of an *avatāra*, along with that of his great *kṣatriya* namesake; and not to any real association in the *Mahābhārata* the *locus classicus* of the Rāma legend, that the *śastrabhṛtāṃ vara* of the epic, the master and teacher of the science of divine archery, became stereotyped as the *Paraśurāma* of the later tradition.

SANSKRIT AS A SPOKEN LANGUAGE*

By

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The question for discussion is was Sanskrit at any time a spoken language ? And if so, what was and is the extent of its operation ?

There is a two-fold preliminary objection which merits consideration before we enter upon the discussion whether Sanskrit was a spoken language or not. In the first place, it is contended that Sanskrit never existed as a language at all and that it is a forgery of the Brahmins. Secondly, it is urged that Sanskrit is an artificial literary language created by the Grammarians.

In the 18th Century it was questioned in Europe if there was in reality any such language as Sanskrit. Dougald Stewart (1753 to 1824), an English philosopher in one of his papers described Sanskrit as a forgery of the Brahmins. Nobody would take this accusation seriously now in view of the enormous *Catalogues Catalogorum* of Sanskrit works and authors prepared by Aufrecht together with other Catalogues and the mass of manuscripts available. Forgery on such a gigantic scale through ages is highly improbable.

Secondly, scholars like Weber and Grierson urge that Sanskrit is an artificial language created by the Grammarians. Wackernagal calls classical Sanskrit a Kunst or Hoch-sprache meaning a fossilized literary language. This allegation cannot stand the test of linguistics or grammar. The existence of so many irregular forms and exceptions in grammar shows that it cannot be a language artificially created in a laboratory. Dr. Gune calls this theory as ridiculous.

From the study of linguistics it is now well established that a language is a living process, it is evolved naturally and cannot be fabricated in a factory. Language has a birth and growth. This is *a fortiori* true of a pristine language like Sanskrit which has existed and functioned throughout the span of not less than six thousand years at least. Language is thus a matter of evolution and not of concoction.¹

Language is a social phenomenon. It is essentially an expression and a means of communication of thoughts, ideas and sentiments. Word is the fundamental building block of the structure of language. The development of the language depends on the society which communicates through that language.

*Paper read at All India Oriental Conference, Varanasi, 1968.

1 P. D. Gune, Introduction to Comparative Philology, p. 135.

This view of Sanskrit language being an artificial language is convincingly refuted by Dr. Bhandarkar in his Wilson Philological Lectures.

Having disposed of the preliminary objections I now propose to examine the main question viz. Sanskrit as a spoken language from (A) Linguistic, (B) Grammatical, (C) Literary and (D) Historical points of view.

Linguistically speaking in the history of language the spoken word precedes the written word. Speech is natural to man, while writing is a matter of cultivation. Art of writing is a product of civilisation. Sanskrit existed and was preserved by word of mouth for about 3500 years till Pāṇini wrote his grammar by about 4th Century B. C. According to Burrow the art of writing was late in making its appearance in the Aryan India and that so far as preserved records go, it is attested from the third cen. B. C. when the two alphabets Kharosthi and Brahmi appear fully developed in the Ashokan inscriptions.¹ Thus Sanskrit as a spoken language has a longer innings than Sanskrit as a written language.

No living language can remain in a static condition. It is ever changing by a process of dynamism. Change is the *sine qua non* of growth. There is admittedly a difference in the language of the first Nine Books of the *Rgveda* which is homogeneous, while that of the Tenth Maṇḍala shows signs of change.² These changes were, in absence of the art of writing, obviously, changes effected in the spoken word.

Accent is a peculiarity of a spoken language. Accent of the stress is generally noticed in a personal talk when one person is talking with another. Accent cannot be learnt by reading books. Accent on a word may be syllabic, metrical or musical. The Udātta, Anudātta and Swarita accents of the Vedas are possible only if Sanskrit was a spoken language and not otherwise. Further the circumstances that accent changes the semantics is very significant and proves conclusively that Sanskrit was a spoken language. Accent played a vital part in controlling the meaning of the Vedic hymns. The question that one word well employed and well pronounced is fruitful both in heaven and earth is significant.³ Similarly, take the Mīmāṃsā Rule that a word once uttered is to be constructed in the same sense.⁴ These indicate unquestionably that Sanskrit words were spoken. In a passage in the Brāhmaṇas, it is mentioned that the Asuras suffered defeat at the hands of the Gods because they mispronounced the word Arayaḥ as Alayaḥ.⁵

1 Burrow : Sanskrit Language, p. 64.

2 B. K. Ghosh : Vedic Age, p. 336.

3 एकः शब्दः सम्यक् प्रयुक्तः सम्यक् उक्तः स्वर्गे लोके च कामधुक् भवति ।

4 एकः शब्दः सकृत् लब्धः सकृदेव अर्थं गमयति ।

5 तेऽसुराः हेऽलयो हेऽलय इति पराबभूवुः ।

It is said that a word wrongly pronounced either in accent or syllable is like a verbal thunderbolt which destroys the Yajamāna. ¹ The well-known story of *Indra Śatruḥ Vardhaswa* need hardly be narrated here.

It is equally significant to note that Pāṇini has pointed out a relationship between the recital of the accents and the seven musical notes. ²

As between the R̥gvedic Sanskrit and later Sanskrit it is well known to the linguists that *l* and *lh* take the place of the intervocalic *d* and *dh*. Similarly it is pointed out by Burrow that "There are dialectal differences between the Vedic language of the North-West and the later classical language of Madhyadesh. The most striking of these is that the Vedic language turns *l* into *r* whereas the classical language, to a large extent, preserves the distinction between *r* and *l*. This Vedic feature is characteristic of the whole of Iranian, and furthermore it can be traced in the Aryan words of the North-East and in some Aryan words in Finno-Ugrian ³.

The whole science of Śikṣā or Phonetics is devoted to the accent on Vedic words. The Prātiśākhya also refer to this aspect of accent. It is indeed true as pointed by Dr. Ghatge on the authority of Jespersen that "All innovations first occur in speech, either of one individual or of several independently, and then get introduced into the language. ⁴

There are twelve Indo-European dialects : (1) Sanskrit, (2) Armanian, (3) Irānian, (4) Albanian, (5) Slavic, (6) Baltic, (7) Greek, (8) Italic, (9) Caltic, (10) Germanic to which now must be added, (11) Tocharian and (12) Hitite. Out of these none is accused of being only an artificial literary language. The linguistic rules governing these languages must be applied uniformly. Hence it cannot be argued that Sanskrit was never a spoken language. Batatkrishna Ghosh has observed in his Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit that Indo-European origin of Sanskrit is unmistakable. ⁵

Thus linguistically we can safely say that Sanskrit is a spoken language and not only a literary Vehicle.

This brings us to the consideration of the problem from the point of view of grammar. Sir William Jones remarked that Sanskrit is a language more perfect than Greek and more copious than Latin. Sanskrit grammar is very elaborate

1 दुष्टः शब्दः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्या प्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह । स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति ।
यथेन्द्रशत्रुः ।

2 उदात्तो निषाधगान्धाराबनुदात्तो ऋषभधैवतो । स्वरित प्रभवा ह्येते षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः ॥

3 Burrow : Sanskrit Language, p. 31,

4 A. M. Ghatge : Historical Linguistics and Indo-Aryan Languages, p. 9.

5 Batatkrishna Ghosh : Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit, p. 25.

and exhaustive. It is said that the grammar of Persian can be written out on a sheet of paper. This cannot be true of Sanskrit. Sanskrit has ten Gaṇas and various shades of tenses and moods coupled with the active and the passive voices. Further Sanskrit has as many as seven cases excluding the vocative. Neither Greek nor Latin has so many cases.

The number of exceptions and irregular forms in Sanskrit grammar are obtained because Sanskrit is a spoken language; otherwise it would have been a fossilized mechanical one-track language.

Pāṇini often comments '*Iti Bhāṣyam*'. This has clear reference to the spoken language as distinguished from the literary or written language. He also mentioned *Chandasi* i.e. in the Vedas so as to distinguish the particular verbal usages from his contemporary Sanskrit. Prof. K. V. Abhyankar has in his introduction to the Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* pointed out that no doubt the Ṛgveda was composed by different Seers at different times. However, Pāṇini has written his grammar with reference to the language as prevailing in his times in the Northern or North-Western region of India.¹

In Patañjali we have a reference that word *Śavati* meaning going is spoken differently by the residents of the Kambhoja region and that those of the Aryan region.² Similarly the *Mahābhāṣya*³ has mentioned that the word *Dāti* is used to denote cutting by the Easterners, while the word *Dātram* is used in the same sense by the Northerners. That is why Dr. Winternitz has observed that it is also significant that the old works on phonetics and grammar, even the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali in the second Century B.C. take no notice whatsoever of writing, that they always treat of spoken sounds and never of written characters, and that the whole grammatical terminology always has only the spoken word, and never the written text in view.⁴

In Patañjali there is an astonishing episode wherein a character argues with a grammarian and rejects the latter's etymological derivation of the word for the driver's profession and offers his own alternative interpretation.⁵

This clearly proves that Sanskrit was a matter of spoken language, and not only a written language.

Now turning to the literary evidence we also find that Sanskrit was a spoken language. In the first place the dialogue hymns in the *Ṛgveda* like that

1 Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya, Vol. 7, p-114.

2 शवतिर्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेषु भाष्यते । विकार एनमार्या भाषन्ते शव इति ॥

3 दातिर्लवन्नार्थे प्राच्येषु दात्रमुदीच्येषु ।

4 Winternitz, History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. I, Part L, p. 30.

5 Krishna Chaitanya : New History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 28.

of the Purāṇas and Urvāṣī or the Saramā and Paṇi furnish definite proof that the Sanskrit was then a spoken language. Further the narration of the stories in the Brāhmaṇas and the exposition of the Upaniṣadic philosophy from a sage to the disciple also point out unmistakably to the spoken character of Sanskrit as an instrument of dialogue between persons. The whole of *Bhagvadgītā* is indeed cast in the form of a dialogue. The whole structure of Śāṅkara's philosophical dissertation in the shape of raising of objections and their refutation evince the same bias of the Sanskrit language for the spoken word as a vehicle of dialogue and argumentation.

The great epics the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are also replete with dialogues which show colloquialisms and use the vocative abundantly.

Take the Sanskrit dramatic literature. Dialogue is the vehicle of drama. The major characters speak Sanskrit and it is followed, significantly, without the aid of interpreter, by the ladies, Court-jesters and other lower characters with facility who in their replies resort no doubt to some form of Prākṛit. Even if we speak now in chaste Hindi, Gujarati or Marathi to our servants they can follow it easily though they may answer in their own corrupt dialect and employ colloquialisms. This is our daily experience. Further it must be remembered that the drama was a popular form of art for the entertainment of all and sundry including the educated, the elite and the illiterate folk. Sanskrit drama used to be performed on the occasion of festivals or fairs as may be gathered from the introductory scenes to some of the plays, as in the *Mālatīmādhavam*. Thus we can say reasonably that Sanskrit was clearly a spoken language in the Vedic, Epic as well as the Classical Ages.

There is a reference in the *Caraka* to the effect that Sanskrit was used in carrying on discussion in Medical Schools of the day besides being the language of the scientific texts.¹

Scientific works and text books as on medicine, mathematics, music or archery were written in Sanskrit. This shows that Sanskrit must have been a medium of instruction in those days. It is patent that no language can serve as a medium of instruction unless it is used as a spoken language.

Pāṇini, Patañjali and Kātyāyana hepled in establishing the Sanskrit language by controlling it by rules of grammar.

Panikkar has emphasized in the first determining period of Indian History ranging from 350 B. C. to 250 B. C. that Sanskrit had to struggle hard against the upsurge of Prākṛit language, as it is well known that the Court language of Ashoka was Māgadhī. In the result Sanskrit scored a decisive victory over

1 Krishnachaitanya, A New History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 28.

Prākṛit and held its own fort.¹ It is not necessary to enter into the question as to whether Prākṛit was derived from Sanskrit or whether it was an indiginous language. Both languages have, as calculated by the linguists, about 90% common words. In this behalf Dr. Bhandarkar has observed that it is more natural to suppose that it was the Sanskrit from which the Prākṛit evidently sprang which gave to those letter their peculiar character.²

As a result of the victory of Sanskrit over Prākṛit the Buddhist writers like Aśvaghoṣa and the Jaina writers had to let alone Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī and switch back to Sanskrit. This retrograde step on the part of these authors cannot be explained except by the hypothesis that Sanskrit was the popular language. Even Rudradāman, a foreign officer had to publish his inscription in Sanskrit in the first Century A.D. despite the popularity of Aśokan inscriptions which were in Prākṛit. Sanskrit became popular even in countries outside India like Jawa, Cambodia and Indonesia.

Sanskrit is not a dead language. Dead language is that language which has ceased to produce original literature or which is not spoken by any one. Winternitz observed that Sanskrit is not a dead language, but is rather a fettered language as much as its natural development was checked through the rules of the Grammarians.³

Even today original Sanskrit literature in the form of dramas, essays, poetry and stories is being written and published. Further we have more than 40 Journals in Sanskrit. Universities in Sanskrit at Varanasi and Kurukshetra and centres of Advanced Research studies are functioning actively throughout India. Sanskrit debates are conducted in schools, colleges and elsewhere today on modern subjects like Atom bombs. I know a case wherein one litigant argued his case before the Supreme Court of India, Delhi, in Sanskrit, and he was allowed to do so as Sanskrit is recognized as one of the languages under the Constitution of India. In 1961 Census as many as 2544 persons including 695 ladies have mentioned Sanskrit as their mother tongue. Sanskrit broadcasts on A.I.R. and Radio cologne in West Germany are quite popular. Radio broadcasts is a convincing proof of the spoken nature of Sanskrit. The Sanskrit Dramatic festival held in Bombay in 1961 also lend assurance to the thesis that Sanskrit is a spoken language understood by many.

In this connection it is worthwhile to quote Max Mular who observed as follows :

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- 1 Panikkar : Determining Periods of Indian History, pp. 8-20.
 - 2 Bhandarkar : Wilson Philological Lectures, p. 24.
 - 3 Winternitz : History of Sanskrit Literature Vol. 1, Part 1, p. 38.

“ Even at the present moment, after Century of English rule and English teaching, I believe that Sanskrit is widely understood in India that Latin was in Europe at the time of Dante. ” (India what can it teach us.)

Paul Dussen has noted his experience of Sanskrit as a spoken language in India in the following words :

“ Not only the professional scholars, as especially the native Sanskrit Professors of the Indian Universities speak Sanskrit with great elegance, not only their hearers are able to handle it as well as our students of Classical philology can handle Latin, but the numerous private scholars, saints, ascetics and even wider circles can speak and write Sanskrit with facility ”.¹

Dussen goes on, “ Hence every Hindu understands as much of Sanskrit as an Italian of Latin, especially as, in the real Hindustan the script has remained same; and a smattering of Sanskrit can be traced down to the circles of servants and the lower classes, wherefore a letter to Benares with only a Sanskrit address will without difficulty reach its destination, through every postal messenger ”.¹

Historically speaking Sanskrit shows five distinct stages (1) Vedic Sanskrit (2) Epic Sanskrit (3) Classical Sanskrit (4) Middle Sanskrit (5) Modern Sanskrit. It is rather difficult to ascribe specific accurate dates to these periods, because after all as Whitney has picturesquely remarked “ All dates given in Indian literary history are pins set up to be bowled down. ” However tentatively we can say that the Vedic Sanskrit comes down upto about 500 B. C. Epic Sanskrit may be said to extend from 5th Century B. C. to the age of Kālidāsa. Classical Sanskrit can be dated from Kālidāsa till about 12 Century A. D. when Prākṛit and other Indian Languages began to assert themselves more effectively. From 12 Century A. D. to the last Century we can describe as the period of Middle Age Sanskrit. Lastly, the Modern Sanskrit can be said to commence with the present Century.

According to Winternitz Vedic or Ancient Sanskrit was based on spoken dialect as was spoken by the Aryan immigrants in the North-West of India.² Epic Sanskrit could be said to be more akin to the popular language. Epic Sanskrit differs but little from the Classical Sanskrit, partly in that it has preserved some archisms, but more in that it keeps less strictly to the rules of grammar and approaches more nearly to the language of the people.³

Classical Sanskrit developed into a more literary language which was controlled strictly by the rules of Pāṇini and hence in the Middle Age we find Sanskrit losing touch with the popular usage. In the modern times Sanskrit is again

1 Quoted by Winternitz, History of Indian literature, Vol. I, Part I, p. 39.

2 Winternitz : History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. I, Part-I. p. 35, 36.

3 Winternitz : History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. I, Part-I. p. 38.

becoming popular through the mass media of Radio and Dramas. The Government of India has sanctioned a handsome amount in the 4th Five year plan for the propagation of Sanskrit.

Winternitz has pointed out that in India "from the oldest times till today the spoken word and not writing has been the basis of whole literary and scientific activity".¹ Burrow has observed that "since the Brāhmaṇas as are in prose, their language may be taken as reasonably representative of the spoken language of the upper classes in the later Vedic period".²

Dasgupta and Dey observed "though the Prākṛit speech was current in Ashoka's time and even earlier times among the common people, among the higher classes Sanskrit was used as common speech".³

Finally, it will be reasonable to conclude that Sanskrit was not only a literary language but also a spoken language throughout its origin, growth and development and that it was and it is being spoken by the priestly and educated class in wider circles and understood in still wider circles, and that is why Dr. Basham says that Sanskrit served as a *lingua franca* for the whole of India.⁴ We may ask, why can Sanskrit not furnish the *lingua franca* to the India of today as it will bring about a cultural and national integration?

1 Winternitz : History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. I, Part I. p. 29.

2 Burrow : Sanskrit Language, p. 44.

3 Dasgupta and Dey : History of Sanskrit Literature, p. CXXIV.

4 Basham : Wonder that was India.

ŚĀKALYA'S THEORY OF AVASĀNA-SANDHI

By

V. N. JHA, Poona

Eventhough the rules of external euphonic combination *i.e.*, *padānta*-rules, are, in certain environments, applied to internal *pada* (*avān'arapada*), there are a few distinct peculiarities of internal euphonic combination applicable to a *pada* inside a *pada*. In other words all the *pada-sandhi*-rules applicable to a finished word before pause cannot be always applied to internal *pada*. We shall be discussing here two such rules which are exclusively external, but are allowed to be operated by Śākalya internally also in the *Padapāṭha* of the *RV*.

We know that an unaspirated unvoiced stop followed by a voiced stop changes into its corresponding voiced. This *sandhi* is applied externally as well as internally. Thus *k* of *vāk* in *yadvāgvadanty avacetanāni* (RV 8.100.10) and that of *uśik* in *panantośigbhyo nāmimīta varṇam* (RV 2.4.5) are changed to *g*. Similarly, *ṭ* of *ṣaṭ* in *uto sa mahyam indubhiḥ ṣaḍyuktān* (RV 1.23.15) and in *ā caturbhir ā ṣaḍbhir hūyamānaḥ* (RV 2.18.4); final *t* of *tanukṛt* in *tanukṛd bodhi pramatiśca kārave* (RV 1.31.9) and in *tvam soma tanukṛdbhyo dveṣobhyaḥ* (RV 8.79.3); and *p* of *triṣṭup* in *triṣṭub gāyatrī chandāmsi sarvā tā yama āhitā* (RV 10.14.16). The same principles are applied to compounds also *e.g.* *ṣaḍvidhānāḥ* (RV 7.87.5) / *ṣaṭ-vidhānāḥ* /; *rdhadrayaḥ* (RV 8.46.23) / *rdhat-rayāḥ* /; and *abjām* (RV 7.34.16) / *ap-jām* /.

Again voiced stops are never changed to voiceless sound before a voiced stop or a vowel. But before a *surd* or *pause* they are changed to first of the corresponding series, *e.g.* *padbhyām* (RV 10.90.12; 14), *patsu* (RV 5.54.11), *samidhā* (RV 1.95.11), *samatsu* (RV 1.5.4.) *samit* (RV 5.6.4), *triṣṭubham* (RV 8.7.1), *triṣṭup* (1.121.4), *śvradbhiḥ* (RV 1.86.6) and *śarat* (RV 10.90.6).

We come across about hundred stems in the *RV* which end in voiced consonants. The *padakāra* has converted a few of them into unaspirated surds before a *pada*-forming suffix or before a constituent of a compound beginning with a voiced sound. And, therefore, the problem arises why and how the *padakāra* adopted such a method. In other words why *d* of *ad*-‘food’, *ud*-‘water’, *drṣad*-‘nether millstone’ *pad*-‘foot’, *nad*-‘river’, *śarad*-‘autumn’ and *hrd*-‘heart’ is changed to *t* in analysing *adbhiḥ* (RV 1.95.8;) / *at-bhiḥ* /, *udvataḥ* (3.2.10) / *ut-vataḥ* /, *drṣadvatyām* (RV 3.23.4) / *drṣat-vatyām* /, *naḍbhyaḥ* (RV 10.60.6) / *nat-bhyaḥ* /, *padbhyām* (RV 10.90.12.14) / *pat-bhyaḥ* /, *śaradbhiḥ* (1.86.6) / *śarat-bhiḥ* /, and *hrdbhiḥ* (RV 1.116.17;) / *hṛt-bhiḥ* /? The other problem is about the *visarjanīya* (*ḥ*). In *pausa*, final *s* and *r* of a word are

converted to *h* i. e. *h* stands at the end of a finished word. This is where *visarjaniya* occurs in final position, (e. g., *Indraḥ*, *vadhah* etc.). *S* can also change to *h* internally before a hard consonant of a *pada*-forming suffix, e. g., *rajaḥsu* (RV 7.34.16) etc., but in such positions *r* cannot change to *h* e. g. *gīrṣu* (RV 8.92.7).

But in the *pada*-text we find *s* or *r* of the *Saṁhita* occurring at the end of a stem are changed to *h* before any *pada*-forming suffix or a constituent of a compound just as these are turned into *h* occurring at the end of a finished word. Thus *aharvidah* (RV 1.2.2) has been analysed as *ahah-vidah*. Similarly, *gnāspatiḥ* (RV 2.38.10) as *grāḥ-patiḥ*¹, *jyotirjarāyuh* (RV 10.123.1) as *jyotiḥ-jarāyuh*, *anaśīrdām* (RV 10.27.1) as *anaśiḥ-dām*, *gīrbhiḥ* (RV 1.9.9;) as *gīḥ-bhiḥ*², *caturbhiḥ* (RV 1.155.6) as *catuḥ-bhiḥ*, *pūrbhiḥ* (RV 1.58.8;) as *pūḥ-bhiḥ*, *agneriva* (RV 2.25.3;) as *agneḥ-iva*, *vastorvastoh* (RV 10.40.1) as *vastoh-vastoh*, *daurgahe* (RV 8.42.8) as *dauh-gahe*.

So far the first case is concerned, no ancient commentator of the *RV* has thrown any light on it. *RPr.* does not give direct reference to the case. It has made some general remarks. In *RPr.* 1.15-16, two views are quoted regarding the permitted voiced and unvoiced unaspirated stops *in pausa*. According to the school of Gārgya thirds of the consonantal series can stand at the end of a word *in pausa*, whereas according to the school of Śākaṭāyana, the firsts are allowed³. In this connection, the author of the *RPr.* does not commit himself to any of the views. *RPr.* 12.1, again, gives us the idea with regard to the permitted finals indirectly. He enumerates those phonemes which do not occur at the end of *pada*. The remaining phonemes automatically become permitted finals. He says:

ūṣmānaḥ (*x*, *ś*, *ṣ*, *s*, *q*, *m*, *m̐*, except *h*), *antaḥsthāḥ* (*h*, *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *ṛ*), *soṣmānaḥ* (*kh*, *gh*, *ch*, *jh*, *ṭh*, *dh*, *th*, *dh*, *ph*, *bh*) and *c*-class do not come at the end of a word.⁴ Thus *r*, *k*, *g*, *t*, *d*, *p*, *b* and nasals (except *ṛ*) can occur at the end.

Now, by this enumeration, it becomes clear that he allows both unaspirated voiced as well as unvoiced stops as permitted finals. Moreover, *r* and *ṛ* are also

1 It is to be noted that, here, no *avagraha*- sign has been used. Similarly, *rathaspati-*, *jāspati-* and *ṛaspati-* are also analysed as *rathahpati-*, *jāhpati-* and *ṛahpati-* without *avagraha* after *rathah-*, *jāh* and *ṛah-*. There are certain other compounds with *pati-*, as the second member, which are neither analysed by *avagraha* nor sibilant coming in between the constituents is turned into *h* as in the above cases. They are *bṛhaspati-* and *vanaspati-*.

2 *Tai. Pp.* Of course, does not analyse it, e. g. *gīrbhiḥ* (1.4.15.1;). But *ahobhyām* is analysed as *ahah-bhyām* (1.3.9.2;).

3 *Tasmād anyamavasāne trīyam Gārgyaḥ, prathamam Śākaṭāyanaḥ.*

4 *Ūṣmāntaḥstharsoṣmekārvargā nāntaḥ yānti anyatra visarjaniyāt.*

taken to be final. But in the *Samhitā*-text neither voiced stop nor *r* nor *ṇ* occurs in *pausa*. Uvaṭa in his commentary on this rule has cited examples for each of the finals from the *pada*-text.¹ But no example has been provided by him to show that unaspirated voiced stop occurs at the end of a *pada* in *avasāna*. One more point is worth considering. He has cited *nr-bhiḥ* and *vṛṣaṇ-vān* to show that *r* and *ṇ* occur as permitted final. Now, if *RPr.* 1.12 refers to the *Samhitā* text, how *r* and *ṇ* of *nr-bhiḥ* and *vṛṣaṇ-vān* respectively can be taken as final phonemes in *pausa*? Again, if at all, the final position here refers to the final position of internal *pada*, what was the harm in showing that unaspirated voiced stop occurs at the end of a *pada* in *hr̥dbhiḥ*, *śaradbhyaḥ* etc. where *d* is original? Moreover, if this rule refers to the *pada*-text and if by *pada* he understands both internal and external *pada*—as he usually does—why does Uvaṭa not cite any example to prove that voiced unaspirated stops occur at the end of a *pada*?

The difficulty before Uvaṭa is this that the *pada*-text does not analyse *hr̥dbhiḥ* of the *Samhitā* as *hr̥d-bhiḥ*, but as *hrt-bhiḥ* and although the *pada*-text gives *hrt-bhiḥ* the *Samhitā*-text consistently gives *hr̥dbhiḥ*. So, Uvaṭa did not take the risk of committing himself to a view that unvoiced letter occurs before voiced one by citing the *pada*-text. But according to the *Padakāra* neither at the end of internal *pada* nor at the end of external *pada* there exists any third consonant. If this is so, then why does Śaunaka calls *g*, *ḍ*, *d*, and *b* as permitted finals and includes them in *RPr.* 12.1? This gives rise to the following question: does the author of the *RPr.* refer to the internal *pada* of the *Samhitā*-text here? But in that case the permitted finals before the *pada*-forming suffixes cannot be considered as occurring in *avasāna*. Moreover, the *RPr.* does not define the term *avasāna*.

Other *Pr.s* give a bit better description of the fact. According to *VPr.* 1.85, *firsts* of each consonantal series except *c* stand finally of a word.² The statement concerning the enumeration of thirds does not occur in this *Pr.* The word finally in *VPr.* indicates the final position of external *pada*, because in another rule (*VPr.* 1.88)³ the cases of internal *pada*-finals are taken into account separately according to which *r* and *ṇ* occur at the end of a word only before *avagraha*.

1 They are: *eva*, *tayā*, *nr-bhyaḥ*, *abhi*, *devī*, *vasu*, *bāhū*, *agne*, *vayo*, *vai*, *tau*, *vāk*, *arvān* *vi*, *vṛṣaṇ-vān*, *vai*, *devān*, *triṣṭup*, *indram*.

2 *Prathamottamāḥ padāntiyā a-cañau*.

3 'With the exception of *c* and *ñ* the firsts and the fifths of the class-consonants may occur at the end of words'. Trans. Rastogi Indumatī, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1967.

3 *nakārakārāvagraha*: 'N and r (may occur at the end of words) only in *avagraha*' Rastogi.

APr. agrees with *VPr* on this point. According to this *Pr.*¹ also, firsts and fifths stand at the end of words, except *c*-class.² But *APr.* does not seem to have discriminated the internal and external *pada*-positions because in *APr.* 1.4 it is prescribed that any vowel except *!* can occur at the end of a *pada*.³ But no specific mention of the two *pada*-levels is made. Whereas, *VPr.* clearly states that *r* and *ṇ* as *pada*-final can occur only before *avagraha*. But what is remarkable in the *APr.* is, it takes note of the opinion of Śaunaka's school according to which only thirds of each series can occur at the end of a *pada*-, and discards it on the ground of their not being authorized usage.⁴ Thus, according to *APr.* only unvoiced unaspirated stops can stand at the end of a *pada*. But the question is: does this *pada* include internal *pada* of the *pada*-text also? It is not clear from the statements of this *Pr.* But when it discards voiced consonants from being *pada*-final, it implies that the author of this *Pr.* is talking in terms of external *pada*-level.

TPr. does not take this problem into account. But from its rule viii. 1, it appears that the final mute is an unaspirated surd.⁵ But whether this 'final' includes internal *pada*-final also is not clear here. The *pada*-texts of *AV* and *VS* follow that of the *RV*. But the *pada*-text of *TS* presents many a time improved analysis compared to the *padapāṭha* of the *RV*. But so far this case is concerned namely, the occurrence of first sounds before a *pada*-forming suffix, the *Pp* of *TS* also offers the same analysis. Here also *śaradbhiḥ* (4.3.13.5), *śaradbhyaḥ* (7.1.15.1) etc. are analysed as *śarat-bhiḥ* and *śarat-bhyaḥ*.

Paṇini also does not decide the point whether the first or the third sound occurs in the final position of *pada in pausa*. He simply incorporates in his system both the views of his predecessors. Otherwise, when there is not a single instance of sonant coming *in pausa* why should he insert *vā* in *vāvasāne* (P. 8.4.56)? According to P 8.2.39, sonants stand at the end of a *pada*. But again P 8.4.56 prescribes surd and sonant both at the end of a word *in pausa*. The only differ-

1 *APr.* 1.6 : *sparsāḥ prathamottamāḥ*.

'Of the mutes, the first and the last of each series (are allowed finally)'. Trans. Whitney, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1962.

2 *APr.* 1.7 : *na ca-vargaḥ* : 'C-class consonants do not come at the end of a word'.

3 *Anḱārāḥ svarāḥ padyaḥ* : 'Any vowel excepting *!*, may occur as final. The term *padya* is defined in rule No. 1.3 as *padāntyaḥ padyaḥ* : 'A letter capable of occurring at the end of a word is called *padya*. It is notable in this connection that the word *padya* in this particular sense is used only in this *Pr.* *RPr.* uses it in the sense of 'a member of a compound'. *VPr.* or *P.* does not use this term.

4 *Prathamāntāni tritīyāntānīti Śaunakasya pratijñānam na vṛttiḥ* : 'That the words thus declared to end in firsts mutes end rather in thirds is Śaunaka's precept, but not authorised usage'.

5 *Atha prathamāḥ* : 'Now for changes of first mutes', WHITNEY, *JAOS*, Vol. 9, p. 180.

ence between these two *sūtras* is the difference in conditioning *i. e.* in P 8.2.39 *ante* (= *padānte*)¹ which allows the third even when *pada*-final is followed by another sound, but before pause (*avasāne*) both are allowed. In P 8.4.56 *avasāne* is used to determine the application of the rule. Now, what is the difference between *padānte* and *avasāne*? The term *padānte* stands for both the *padas* external and internal whereas *avasāne* stands only for external *pada*-followed by pause. So, theoretically we get both *hṛt* and *hṛd* before pause in Pāṇinian system, even though we do not come across *hṛd* when pause follows. *P*'s *vāvasāne* is applicable only when pause follows and never before any *pada*-forming suffix.

Coming to non-Pāṇinian schools of Grammar one finds that almost the same views are carried over about the permitted finals. According to *Kātantra*² the first mutes come at the end of a word. It phrases the rule without mentioning the condition *avasāna*. As per *Cāndravyākaraṇa* 6.3.67, sonant mutes are substituted in place of any consonant except semi-vowels and nasals at the end of a word (*padānte*).³ Again, in 6.4.149 (*vā virāme*) both voiced and unvoiced unaspirated consonants are allowed if *virāma* follows. Thus, practically there is no difference between the views held by P and *Cāndra*. *Cāndra* also does not commit himself to either of the two alternatives mentioned by the predecessors' views, namely voiced unaspirated or unvoiced unaspirated. The same is the case with *Jainendra*.⁴ Similarly, latter grammarians like Bopadeva⁵ etc. follow the same principle. *Sārasvata*⁶ does not mention *avasāna*. The same is the case with *visarjanīya*, which comes internally in the *pada*. For instance, *gīrbhiḥ* is analysed as *gīh-bhiḥ*. How can it be possible unless the *Padakāra* considers that *r* of *gīrbhiḥ* and of *gīr* (1/1) occur in final position of a *pada* followed by a pause?

It is observed in the ancient phonetic texts that the grammarians start with *ḥ*. According to *RPr.*, *ḥ* assumes *o*, *r*, and *s/ ś/ ṣ* in different environments.⁷ There appears no different conditioning for the two levels of *pada-sandhi* so far

1 *Jhalāṁ jaśo'nte*: 'A corresponding *j*, *b*, *g*, *ḍ*, or *d* is substituted for all consonants (with the exception of semivowels and nasals) at the end of a word.' S. C. Vasu's *Trans of Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*, Motilal Banarasidass 1962.

2 *Vargaprathamāḥ padāntāḥ*

3 *Jhalo jaś* : *ṛtti* : *jhalo jhali padānte jaś bhavati*.

4 *Jai* 5.4.131 : *virāme vā*.

5 *Mugdhabodhavyākaraṇam* ed. by Śiva Nārāyaṇa Śiromaṇi, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1911, rule No. 65 : *jhap jhasoḥ khasjhaṇo ścapjabānte ca*. While paraphrasing *ante ca*, the *ṛtti* gives *virāme ca*.

6 The author of the *Sārasvata-vyākaraṇa* is Anubhūtiśvarūpācārya.

7 *-(a) ḥ* > *o* cf. *RPr.* 4.25: *o visarjanīya... o-kāraṁ hrasvapūrvaḥ*.

-ḥ > *r* cf. *RPr.* 4.27: *sarvopadhaṣṭu svaraghoṣavatparo tephām...*

-ḥ > *s/ ś* cf. *RPr.* 4.41: *yathādiṣṭam nāmipūrvaḥ śakāram śakāram anyo riphitaḥ kakāre...*

h is concerned. According to this *Pr.*, *h* can be of two types : *riphīta* | *rephī* (i.e., those which are changed to *r* before vowel or a sonant occlusive) and *ariphīta* | *arephī* (i.e., those excluding *riphītas*). But in any case in euphonic combination it is *h* which undergoes a change. The same is the case with other *Pr.* s. They too start any *sandhi*-function with *h* and prescribe different changes or substitutes for it.¹

But there is a marked difference between P and *Prāṭisākhya* regarding *visarjanīya*. The so called *repha-sandhi* of the *RPr* (i.e. *h* *r* before a vowel (except *a*) and a voiced stop)² is not a *visarga-sandhi* according to P, rather it is a combination of final *r* with the following vowel or sonant. Pāṇinian system never prescribes *r* for *h*. In other words, there is no such process that first there is *h* and later on it changes to *r* in Pāṇinian system. Although P says *visarjanīyasya saḥ* (P 8.3.34), it applies in a different environment. This rule is applicable only after *h* is obtained. That is, in any case *h* is to be derived first and then only P 8.3.34 has scope.

Similarly, in *angirobhiḥ* that *o* is an immediate result of *aḥ* is the view of *Pr.*s, but according to P the process is different. According to him the *s* of the stem *aṅgiras* first takes *ru* before *-bhiḥ* by the rule *sasajūṣo ruḥ* (8.2.66) and then *r* takes *u* by *haṣi ca* (P 6.1.114) and afterwards by gunation we get *aṅgiro-bhiḥ*. In Pāṇinian system *s* or *r* can be changed to *h* if a hard consonant or pause follows. Under no circumstance *o* of *aṅgirobhiḥ* can be desolved into *h* if *sanhitā* (i.e., continuous utterance) is maintained. He clearly discriminates between the two levels of *sandhi* which were not kept as under by the authors of the *Pr.*s.

Let us have the survey of non-Pāṇinian as well as later grammarians' views.

1 *VPr.* 3.6 : *visarjanīyaḥ*, 3.7 : *cachayoḥ śam*, 3.8 : *tathayoḥ sam* etc.

APr. 2.40 : *visarjanīyasya parasasthāno 'ghoṣe' visarjanīya* before a surd consonant, becomes of like position with the following sound'.

2.42 : *nāmyupadhasya rephaḥ* 'If preceded by an alterant vowel, it becomes *r* before a vowel'.

2 43 : *ghoṣavati ca* 'As also before a sonant consonant'.

T Pr 8.5 : *Atha visarajanīyaḥ*

8.6 : *rephaḥ eteṣu*; where *eteṣu* = *svara-ghoṣavatuttameṣu pareṣu*

9.7 : *okāramah sarvo'kāraparah*

'*Aḥ*, the whole of it, when followed by *a* becomes *o*'.

9.8 : *ghoṣavat paraśca* 'Also when followed by a sonant consonant'.

2 *Sarvopadhasu svaraghoṣavatparo rephaḥ rephī te punā repha-sandhayaḥ* (*RPr* 4.27)

'A rhotacized *visarjanīya*, however, which is preceded by any (short or long vowel) becomes *r* if followed by a vowel or a sonant consonant; these being called *r-combinations* (*rephasandhayaḥ*).'

Kātantra-school¹ follows the views of *Pr. s. Cāndra*² and *Jainendra*³ follow P. Later grammars like *Mugdhabodha*⁴ and *Sārasvata*⁵ follow the process as given in *Pr.s.* According to them also *o* of *aṅgirobhiḥ* will be considered as immediate result of *aḥ* before *bhiḥ*. Some will prescribe that the whole *aḥ* will be *o* or *ḥ* will take *u* first and then by gunation it will be *o*.

The same principle is followed by MACDONELL,⁶ among modern scholars. He also prescribes *r*, *s*, or zero for *ḥ*.

But in any case we must not forget that all these rules of either permitted finals or of *visarga* are meant for *Samhitā* i.e. for a sequence of continuous utterance only. Whereas, the P.p. offers us a sequence with pauses inserted after each pada-final. So, practically there is no *Samhitā* or continuity between two

1 *Kātantra*, ed. Eggeling, Calcutta, 1876.

1.5.1 *visarjanīyaśce che vā śam*

1.5.14 *raprakṛtīranāmīparo 'pi*

1.5.7 *umakārayor madhye*

2 Cānd 6.3.98 : *sasajūṣorūḥ*

6.4.20 : *virāme visarjanīyaḥ*

6.4.21 : *khari ca*

For 6.4.20-1, P gives only one : *kharavasānāyor visarjanīyaḥ* (8.3.15).

Thus the process of derivation of the word *payaskāmyati* is as under :

payas + *kāmyati*—Stage I

payar + *kāmyasti*—Stage II

[*r* < *ru* (*u* being redundant)]

payas + *kāmyati*—Stage III

And not like that of *Pr.*, i.e.,

payah + *kāmyati*—I

payas + *kāmyati*—II

3 *Jai* 5.3.76 : *sasajūṣo riḥ*

5.4.19 : *virāme visarjanīyaḥ*

4.3.100 : *reraddhasoḥ* = P 6.1.113

5.4.23 : *śari saśca* = P 8.3.36

4 Rule No. 103 : *srorviḥ phe*

: *pha* = *haso'ntaḥ phah* (Rule No. 86)

70 : *ato' ddhavyuḥ* 'If *a* and *hab* follow *ḥ* preceded by *a* is substituted by *u*'.

73 : *rico' be*—*ḥ* preceded by vowels except *a*, *ā* and followed by *ab*, becomes *r*.

74 : *ro' caḥ*—*ḥ* preceded by *a* and followed by *ab* changes to *r*.

5 *Sāras. svarāntapullīṅga-prakaraṇam*,

rule No. 4 : *srorvisargaḥ* = P 8.3.15.

Sandhi-prakaraṇa, 5 : *ato'tyuh*

ḥ preceded by *a* and followed by *at* becomes *u*.

6 : *habe*

ḥ > *u* ← *hab*.

10 : *nāmīno raḥ*

ḥ preceded by vowel other than *a*, *a*, becomes *r* if followed by *ab*.

6 *Vedic Grammar for Students*, Oxford University Press, 1962, p.p. 34-35.

phonemes in the *pada*-text before and after either *daṇḍa* or *avagraha*. *Daṇḍa* and *avagraha* both indicate pauses. Now, what is the function of pauses inserted in the *pada*-text? How to explain our problems?

Before arriving at certain conclusion let us, first of all, raise some apparent doubts. If *-ah* is the original sound for *s*, *o*, or *r*, then should we think that the *Padakāra* gives the original stem and thus he presents a stem-suffix analysis? We cannot hold this view, because had it been so he should have analysed *rājasu* as *rājan-su* and not *rāja-su* as he does. Moreover, the forms *hrdā* (RV 1.61.2;) 3/1, and *hrdi* (RV 1.32.14) 7/1, *śaradi* (RV 2.12.11) 7/1, *nadam* (RV 1.32.8;) 2/1, *padā* (RV 1.22.18) 3/1 and *padi* (RV 4.12.6) 7/1 definitely indicate that the original stems are *hrd-*, *śarad-*, *nad-*, and *pad-*. We do not find any form like *hrtā*, *śarati*, *natam*, or *patā* which would have given us stems ending in *t*. Thus, we cannot think of this possibility.

Again, when all the stems ending in unvoiced unaspirated stop become ending in corresponding voiced stop, does the *Padakāra* take *d* of stems ending in *d* as a result of *t*? That is to say, wherever *d* occurs before a voiced stop of a *pada* forming suffix or of a second constituent of a compound, does he assume *d* coming from original *t*? Thus, just as in *vrhadbhiḥ* (RV 2.11.15;), *d* is, a resultant change of *t*? But before arriving at this hypothesis, we must find out if possible, some consistent and sufficiently explanatory formula to fit in the case under discussion. Moreover, there is no reason for the *Padakāra* to get confused with stems ending in voiced consonant and unvoiced consonants. Because, if the stem is in *t* that would give *-tā* in 3/1 like *mahatā*, but, if it is in *d* it will certainly give *-dā* as we actually get in *hrdā*.

Again, if in *hrdbhyām* $d < t$ and if such a change occurs in case of *pada-sandhi* only then *d* of *hrdā* should also be taken as a phonetic change due to its being at the end of a *pada* and it should have also been analysed by the *Padakāra* as *hrt-ā*. But it is not done. Because, he knows that the stem here is *hrd-* and not *hrt*. So, there is little scope for this type of analogous anomaly in this case.

Similarly, one may say that the *Padakāra* simply desolves the *sandhi* of the *Samhitā-pāṭha* and offers before us just immediately preceding steps. This statement may hold true in the case of *visarjanīya*. Because, if we apply *Prātiśākhya*-process of *visarjanīya-sandhi*, *r*, or *o*, while dissolving them, it may give us *h* as just immediately preceding steps. But still *hrt-bhiḥ*, *śarat-bhyaḥ* etc. will remain unexplained, because in these cases *t* cannot be justified as being the original stem-sound.

Then, what is the way out?

I feel the *Samhitā* text consists of sets of continuous utterances of different corpses which were split up into *padas* in the *pada*-text. Now, when the *Samhitā*

is desolved, pause which was at the end of a hemistich was extended to and after each free item. Then again it was extended to inside the word before a *pada*-marker suffix as before a component of a compound¹—in which case there remained no immediate contact between two phonemes immediately preceding and following the *avagraha* or the *daṇḍa* or *pause*.² The stops which come before the *avagraha* also assumed the status of *pada*-finals.³

Thus, an environment for (stop + pause)-*sandhi*⁴ was created by *avagraha* also. This *sandhi* is nothing but an *avasāna-sandhi*. What happened here is that the *avasāna-sandhi*-rules are extended to be operated in internal *pada*-finals also by just creating pause after those finals.

To explain in linguistic terminology, it is a phenomenon of assimilation between a stop and an immediately following pause. The assimilation of voiced stop with pause always weakens the stop⁵ *i.e.*, the voiced stop first becomes devoiced and then there remains a chance of further weakening, so much so that in course of development of language it is either assimilated to silence *i.e.*, dropped by the law of progressive assimilation or when in verge of dropping it takes some vocal support in order to protect the dropping. In both these cases, the theory of neutralization *i.e.*, keeping of the articulation of sound in neutral position for a particular unit of time, is most operative.

This process of weakening of final stop by regressive and progressive assimilation is well established by the fact that in MIA the entire consonantal stems became vowel stems either by way of extension of stems by a vowel,—but if voiced stop at the end of a stem then first devoicing and then extension,—or by dropping of them.⁶ *e.g.* Skt

śa'ad- > **śarat-* > *śarata-* (*e.g.* *śaratammi* < **śaratasmin*) Skt

1 The *TPr.* 22.13 tells us four kinds of *virāma* *ṛgvirāmaḥ padavirāmo vivṛttivirāmaḥ samānapada-vivṛttivirāmaḥ trimātro dvimātra ekamātro ardhāmātraḥ ityānupūrveṇa*.

RPr. 1.28 prescribes one *mātrā* to *avagraha*: *mātrāhrasvastāvad avagrahāntaram dṛve*. *Short vowel has one more; that much is an interval of an *avagraha*.

VPr. V. 1.—*Samāse avagrahaḥ hrasvamātrākālāḥ padaviccedo saṁhitāḥ*

2 *VPr.* 1.156: *padaviccedo saṁhitāḥ*. *Short vowel has one more; that much is an interval of an *avagraha*.

3 *VPr.* 1.153: *avagrahaḥ padāntavat*.

4 The position of this type of assimilation is in TRUBETZKOY's terminology, a 'position of neutralization' (*Aufhebungsstellung*). cf. p. 97 of W. S. ALLEN's *Sandhi*, Moulton and Co.'s-Gravenhage, 1962. For reference of TRUBETZKOY's work see fn. 3 on the same page.

5 The *RPr.* deals with the question of incomplete articulation of sound and this is named as *Abhinidhāna*, where weakening of the final stop followed by *avasāna* is demonstrated. But this theory has been extended to consonant clusters also. The *APr.* and *Cārayaṇiya Śikṣā* also have discussed this phenomenon. For a detailed study see Siddheswar Varma, *Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, Delhi, 1961.

6 Sukumar Sen, *A Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan*, Deccan College, Poona, 1960, p. 97.

pariṣad- > **parisat* > **parisa* > *parisa* + *ā* = *parisā* (MIA)

sampad- > **sampat* > **sampa* > *sampa* + *ā* = *sampā*

manas > *mana* (MIA) > *man* (NIA)

prātar > *prāta* (MIA) > *prāt*/*parāt*

Kātyāyana¹ refers to the two definitions of *avasāna*: (1) *virāma* 'pause' (2) *abhāva* 'final position of an utterance'. Śākalya and P give us the notion of the first definition. By applying this notion Śākalya applied *avasāna-sandhi*-rules to even internal *pada*-finals. But if we follow the second definition we cannot apply *avasāna-sandhi* to the internal *pada* before *pada*-forming suffix, because *hṛd* in *hṛdbhiḥ* does not occur at the end of the utterance. According to the *Padakāra* the term *avasāna* or *virāma* is also applied, in the case of theoretical or artificial pause, before *avagraha*. This practice of showing *virāma* in the case of internal *pada* is still followed by traditional Vedic recitors: *hṛt-bhiḥ*.

But this type of *avasāna-sandhi* has scope only in the *Padapāṭha-sandhi* and that too because it is recited. This kind of *sandhi* has no chance elsewhere either in the *Sanhitā* or in the spoken form of language. In both these cases we have continuous text without a pause between *pada* and *pada* forming suffix. The main task of *Padakāra* is to separate a stem from a *pada*-forming suffix or from another constituent of a compound. Since there is a separation, the pause is introduced between a stem and a suffix. Since there is a pause, there is *avasāna*. And since there is *avasāna*, *avasāna-sandhi* is applied.

1 Under P 1.4.110.

According to *Kāśikā* on P 1.4.109 even in the *Samhitā*-text, there is a gap of half a *mātrā* between the various phonetic elements, even between two consonants or between a vowel and a consonant, which, however, is quite imperceptible; cf. *paro yaḥ sannikarṣo varṇānām ardhāmātrākālavyavadhānaṁ sa samhitāsamjño bhavati* | *Siddhānta Kau.* On P 1.4.110 : *varṇānām abhāvaḥ avasānasamjñāḥ syāt.*

Ṛktaṇtra. 35 : *virāmo mātrā.*

SOME MINOR CHARACTERS OF THE EPICS

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Indian epic poetry has no dearth of revealing, exciting or serious figures. Characters like Yudhiṣṭhira, Draupadī, Damayantī, Rāma (Dāśarathi), Gāndhārī or Karna, to mention only a few, have a depth and originality, which are not very easy to discern in those of later literature. In vain do we ransack the Greek epic poems to find a consummate and comprehensive character like Draupadī or a romantic figure like Damayantī. There is something in the characters of Arjuna and Dāśarathi Rāma which is lacking even in such august figures like Hector or Priam. Early Classical European poets could successfully paint so-called dedicated ladies but not a sublime and devoted heroine like Sāvitrī. When we compare Andromache (wife of Hector) or Penelope with Sāvitrī or Sitā, only then we can comprehend the essential difference between the poet of the *Iliad* and the author or authors of the *Mahābhārata*.

In the present dissertation we would like to confine ourselves to some relatively unknown yet interesting figures of the epics, who are generally unfamiliar or less known to all save the specialists. It would be seen that all these characters have a touch of individuality which is both striking and pleasing. A great poet can achieve more in five couplets than a mediocre or a dull one in five thousand lines.

The first character we propose to discuss is that of the Brāhmaṇa Trijaṭa of the Ayodhyākāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The poet paints him in only a few verses (II. 32.9 29-44)¹; but in those few lines he has succeeded in presenting before the readers a truly flesh-and-blood human being. The Brāhmaṇa is delineated as a penniless gentleman, burdened with a number of children² but blest with a young wife (*taruṇī bhāryā*). He used to live by gleanings (*uñchavṛtti*). The young spouse of the Brāhmaṇa, who was apparently more practical, one day asked him to see Rāma who was then distributing his treasures before his departure for forest. Trijaṭa then wound his limbs with a ragged cloth (*śāṭimācchāḍya duścchādām*) and went to Rāma's fair palace. What happen-

1 Cr. ed., II. 29. 22 ff.

2 Cf. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, IV. 1. 137-

tataḥ piṅgalikāvādiḍdevi duḥkhāya jāyate |

prajeyam pāpabhūyiṣṭhā daridreṣveva bhūyati ||

See also Tawney and Penzer, *The Ocean of Story*, Vol. II, p. 135. The belief that poor people are usually burdened with a large number of children is, therefore, as old as the days of the composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

ed next is better told in Griffith's chaste metrical translation :

To the fifth court he made his way ;
 Nor met the Brāhmaṇa, check or stay.
 Bhṛgu, Aṅgiras could not be
 Brighter with saintly light than he
 To Rāma's presence on he pressed.
 And thus the noble chief addressed :
 'O Rāma, poor and weak am I,
 And many children round me cry.
 Scant living in the woods I earn,
 On me thine eyes of pity turn'.
 And Rāma bent on sport and jest,
 The suppliant Brāhmaṇa thus addressed :
 'O aged man, one thousand kine,
 Yet undistributed, are mine.
 The cows on thee will I bestow
 As far as thou thy staff can throw.
 The Brāhmaṇa heard. In eager haste
 He bound his cloth around his waist.
 Then round his head his staff he whirled,
 And forth with mightiest effort hurled.
 Cast from his hand it flew, and sank
 To earth on Sarju's farther bank.
 Where herds of kine in thousand fed,
 Near to the well-stocked bullock-shed.
 And all the cows that wandered o'er
 The meadow, far as Sarju's shore,
 At Rāma's word the herdsman drove,
 To Trijaṭa's cottage in the grove.
 He drew the Brāhmaṇa in his breast,
 And thus with calming words addressed :
 'Now be not angry, Sire, I pray,
 This jest of mine was meant in play.
 These thousand kine, but not alone,
 Their herdsman too, are all thine own.
 And wealth beside I give thee : speak,
 Thine shall be all thy heart can seek'.¹

This is not merely a sentimental picture of an impecunious *dvija*. In spite of his poverty, he had wonderful physical and mental stamina. Like so many

¹ *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki* (Chowkhamba), p. 133.

thousands of his caste he lived a life of absolute penury; but unlike most of them, his heart was not poisoned and degraded by poverty. But for his wife he would never have approached Rāma to relieve him of his distress.¹

The *Rāmāyaṇa* offers us another very interesting character in the person of Guha who appears in the second and the sixth Book of this epic. Unlike Trijaṭa he comes from the lowest strata of the society; he was a Niṣāda chief. But what is of great interest to note, is the attitude of Rāma, a Kṣatriya prince towards this non-aryan chief. The former, we are told, regarded him as his most dear and intimate friend (*sa mamātmāsamaḥ sakhā*, VI. 128.4). The Niṣāda chief too, shared his friend's sentiment as we are told that he, on his part, looked upon Rāma as his friend, philosopher and guide.

*bhartā caiva śakhā caiva Rāmo dāśarathirmama*²

Like his friend Guha was also spirited and courageous. He was even prepared to challenge Bharata on behalf of his friend, as he suspected some foul play on the part of the former when he approached him with his vast army in quest of the banished prince. But the moment he realized the magnanimity and godliness of the son of Kaikeyī he became a warm and sincere admirer and friend of that Ikṣvāku prince—

*‘dhanyastvaṁ na tvayā tulyaṁ paśyāmi jagatītale |
ayatnādāgataṁ rājyaṁ yastvaṁ tyaktumihecchasi ||
śāśvatī khalu te kīrtirlokānanucarīṣyati |
yastvaṁ kṛchragataṁ Rāmaṁ pratyānayitumiechasi ||*³

‘Blessed art thou : on earth I see
None who may vie, O Prince, with thee,
Who canst of thy free will resign
The kingdom which unsought is thine.
For this, a name that ne’er shall die,
Thy glory through the worlds shall fly,
Who fain wouldst balm thy brother’s pain
And lead the exile home again.⁴

That Guha was a man of feeling is apparent from the following *Śloka*⁵—

*Bharataṁ mūrcehitāṁ drṣṭvā vivarṇavadano Guhaḥ |
babhūva vyathitastatra bhūmikampe yuthā drumah ||*

1 Cf. a similar story told in Tagore’s *Puraskāra*.

2 II. 84. 6. (Cr. ed., II. 78.5).

3 II. 85. 12-13. (Cr. ed., II. 79. 12-13).

4 Griffith, *op.cit.*, p. 193.

5 II. 87.4 (See Vol. II, p. 469 fn of the Cr. ed.).

It is pleasing to note that in spite of the caste-system Kṣatriya princes like Rāma or Bharata did not hesitate to be friend a non-aryan chief like Guha.¹

The *Mahābhārata* which has been rightly termed as a 'whole literature'² by Winternitz contains a large number of diverse figures. Among its minor characters the magnetic and spirited figure of Vidulā, a Sauvīra princess and mother of king Sañjaya, shines almost alone a star. She has been described in the *Mahābhārata*³ as a high-born lady of great foresight, well-educated and known throughout the length and breadth of India. The story of her instruction of her son, which Kuntī asked Kṛṣṇa to tell Yudhiṣṭhira, has been told in a language and style, that has yet to be surpassed in Sanskrit poetry. Here in this story she appears as a true Kṣatriya princess, fearless, unbending and uncompromising. Her words to her son who, after his defeat by the Sindhu king, lay prostrate with heart depressed with fear (*nirjitaṁ sindhurājena śayānaṁ dīnacetasam*)⁴ still ring in our ears loud and bold --

ānandana mayā jāta dviṣatām haṛṣavardhana |
na mayā tvam na pitrā ca jātaḥ kvābhyāgato hyasi ||
nirmanyuścāpyasamīkheyaḥ puruṣaḥ klībasādhanaḥ |
gāvajjīvaṁ nirāśo'si kalyāṇāya dhuraṁ vaha ||

.....
uttīṣṭha he kāpuruṣa mā śeṣvaivaṁ parājitaḥ |
amitrān nandayan sarvān nirmāno bandhuśokadaḥ ||
supūrā vai kunadikā supūro mūṣikāñjaliḥ |
susamtoṣaḥ kāpuruṣaḥ svalpakenaiva tuṣyati⁵ ||

"Thou art my son, O enhancer of the joys of foes. Begotten thou hast not been by myself and thy father: Whence hast thou come? Without wrath as thou art, thou canst not be counted as a man. Thy features betray thee to be an enunch. Sinkest thou in despair as long as thou livest? If thou art desirous of thy own welfare, bear thou the burthen (of thy affairs on thy shoulder). Rise O Coward. Do not lie down thus, after thy defeat, delighting all thy foes and grieving the friends, and reft of all sense of honour. Little streams are filled with only a quantity of water. The palms of a mouse are filled with only a small quantity. A coward is soon gratified, with acquisitions that are small."⁶

1 In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (12th *lambaka*) we find the Kṣatriya prince Mṛgāṅkadatta entering into an alliance with the Śavara chief *Māyābaṇu*; See also Tawney and Penzer *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 9-ff.

2 *A Hist. of Indian Lit.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 278.

3 V. 133. 2-3 (Cr. ed., V. 131. 2-3).

4 V. 133.4 (Cr. ed., V. 133. 4)

5 V. 133. 5-6, 8-9. (Cr. ed., V. 131. 4-6, 7-8)

6 Roy, P. C. (trans.), Vol. IV., p. 266.

She asks her son rather to perish in plucking the fangs of a snake than die miserable like a dog. She desires that her son should be as brave and reckless as a hawk. He should not lie down like a carcass or like one smitten with thunder (*vajrahato yathā*). "Like a band of *tinduka* wood, blaze up even for a moment, but never smoulder from desire, like a flameless fire of paddy chaff"—

*'alātāṃ tindukasyeva muhūrtamapi vijvala /
mā tuṣāgnirivānarcirbhūmayasva jīviṣuḥ* ¹ //

Then follows that immortal line—

muhūrtāṃ jvalitāṃ śreyo na ca dhūmayitāṃ ciraṃ. ²

Like Julius Caesar Vidulā believes that 'cowards die many times before their death'. It is a tribute to the eternal glory of India that she could produce a lady like Vidulā who could outman men in manly virtues.

The Brāhmaṇa of Ekacakrā ³ is our next target. Here indeed we come across a man who combines in him the best and highest qualities of a true Brāhmaṇa—a man full of the milk of human kindness, helpless yet not pusillanimous, poor but not self-seeking, a man who does not abandon his natural magnanimity even when confronted with the most rude and shattering reality. His wife and daughter too, share his spirit and demeanour, never caring for their own comforts, dedicated, humble and virtuous. The most conspicuous thing about their characters is the total disregard all of them had about their personal safety and comfort. When Kuntī offers one of her sons to be sent to the cannibal Baka, she receives the following spirited reply from the Brāhmaṇa.

*nāhametat kariṣyāmi jīvitārthī kathañcana /
brāhmaṇasyātithēścaiva svārthe prāṇān viyojayan //*

.....

*śreyāṁstu sahadārasya vināśo'dya mama svayam /
brāhmaṇasya vadhaṃ nāhamanumaṁsyē kadācana* ⁴ //

"To save my own life, I shall never suffer this to be done ! I shall never sacrifice, to save myself, the life of a Brāhmaṇa or of a guest It is well for me that I should to-day perish myself with my wife, but I would never sanction the death of a Brāhmaṇa." ⁵ It is apparent from the two *śloka*s, quoted above, that our Brāhmaṇa is not only god-fearing but also a firm believer in the laws of hospitality. He is at the same time, a dutiful and benevolent husband and

1 V. 133. 14. (Cr. ed., V. 131. 13).

2 V. 133. 15. (Cr. ed., V. 131. 13).

3 *Mbh.*, I. chs., 156 ff. (Cr. ed., chs., 145 ff.).

4 I. 160.4, 12 (Cr. ed., I. 149.4, 12).

5 P. C. Roy, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 375.

father. And the whole of the *Mahābhārata* does not contain a more pathetic and moving scene than that in which the father, mother and daughter all weep together in utter distress and agony.¹ The character of the Brāhmaṇa of Ekacakrā is the most triumphant and shining example of a simple-living and high-thinking gentleman.

The fifth character we want to discuss is that of the chaste village-housewife described in the *Vanaparvan* (ch. 206). This simple housewife of a practically insignificant villager, without being a Sītā or Sāvitrī, has all the qualities of those immortal heroines. We are told that the lady used to eat every day the orts of her husband's plate and always conducted herself in obedience to his wishes. She was skilful in her domestic duties and attentive to all her relatives including her mother-in-law.² Now, it so happened, that when a Brāhmaṇa named Kauśika was reciting the Vedas under a tree, a female crane (*balākā*) befouled his body and looked upon with anger by Kauśika, fell to the ground. The Brāhmaṇa, regretting his angry deed, proceeded for alms and reached the house of the above-mentioned lady. At that time her husband also returned to the house, hungry and exhausted. And the lady, instead of first giving alms to the Brāhmaṇa, attended to her tired husband. Afterwards she remembered the Brāhmaṇa and went to give him alms. This delay made the Brāhmaṇa furious and he haughtily demanded explanation for her unusual and unseemly conduct. He reminded her that Brāhmaṇas could even burn the whole earth by their anger as they are like fire (*Agnisadrṣā*). On hearing this, the lady calmly yet firmly replied-

*nāhaṁ balākā viprarṣe tyaja krodhaṁ tapodhana ||
anayā kruddhayaḥ drṣṭayā kruddhaḥ kiṁ mām kariṣyasi³ |*

After giving him this rebuff, she advised him to give up anger which, according to her, is the greatest enemy of a human being (*krodaḥ śatruḥ śarīrasihomanuṣyāṇāṁ dvijottama*).⁴

After giving him further instruction she asked him to meet the holy meat-seller (*dharmavyādha*) of Mithilā. The story illustrates that even in those orthodox and conservative times, a plain housewife could spiritually be superior to a Brāhmaṇa and was capable of instructing a learned *Vedādhyāyī* sage.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 373.

2 The relation between mother-in-laws and the daughter-in-laws was not always very cordial in ancient India ; see the present writer's Note in *JAIH* (ed. Sircar), Vol. III, p. 152 ; see also Tawney and Penzer, *op.cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 54-55.

3 III. 206. 23-24. (This verse is given only in the footnote of the Cr. ed. See Vol. IV, p. 700 fn.)

4 III. 206. 32. (Cr. ed., III. 197.31).

The sixth and the last character, we propose to discuss, is that of Mādrī, the second wife of king Pāṇḍu. It is indeed difficult to conceive of a more unfortunate victim of fate than this lady. She is probably the only woman in the world who lost her spouse during coitus. When Pṛthā accuses her of being responsible for Pāṇḍu's unfortunate demise she gives the following rueful reply

*vilapantyā mayā devī vāryamāṇena cāsakṛt /
ātmā na vārīto'nena satyam diṣṭam cikīrṣuṇā¹ //*

Kuntī thereupon asked Mādrī to allow her to follow Pāṇḍu in the region of the dead. But Mādrī was unyielding. She said to her elder co-wife "I do clasp our lord yet, and have not allowed him to depart; therefore, I shall follow him. My appetite hath not been appeased. Thou art my elder sister. O let me have thy sanction. This foremost of the Bharata princes had approached me, desiring to have intercourse. His appetite unsatiated, shall I not follow him in the region of Yama to gratify him?..... The king in seeking me wishfully, hath gone to the region of spirits; therefore, my body should be burnt with his".² Then after asking Kuntī to look carefully after her two children, she ascended the funeral pyre of her dead consort.

Compared with Kuntī, Mādrī is a less colourful heroine; but she appeals direct to our heart. She appears only for a few brief moments, but she leaves an unforgettable impression on our mind. That her dying words affected Pṛthā deeply, is proved by the fact, that she always bore the same love and affection for Mādrī's children as she had for her own.

1 I. 125.2. (Cr. ed., I. 116.22.)

2 P. C. Roy, *op. cit.*, Vol I, pp 293-94

ANIMALISM IN ANCIENT INDIA

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The primitive men have many ideologies, rituals, superstitions, taboos, etc., in connection with the animal. A great deal of work is done by many modern scholars on the subjects like animal-worship, animal sacrifice, etc. In this paper, I intend to study the "animalism" in the Indian context on the basis of Vedic, Epic, Buddhist, Jainist texts. By the word animalism I mean the tendency to imitate the animals, to behave like animals, having their forms, wearing their hides, horns, etc., in general. This animalism consists also of intercourse in the forms, manners, etc. of the animals. The animalism is found both in spiritual context and ritual context, and sometimes separately also. Thus the ascetics are said to behave like animals as a part of their ascetic way of life. In rituals animal-like behaviour is also observed. There are certain mythological references in which also animalism is found. But in many cases the animalism has some spiritual or ritual significance.

In the Buddhist literature, we meet sometimes with the words like *Kukkuravatika*, *Govatika*, etc. Thus, for example, in the *Majjhimanikāya* there is the sutta named *Kukkuravatika-sutta*. Puṇṇa kassapa who himself was a *Govatika* asks a question about the future of *Acela Seniya* who was practising the vow of behaving like a dog (*Kukkuravatika*). Puṇṇa describes the behaviour of the *Kukkuravatika* that he uses to eat food kept on the earth (*chamānikkhittam bhojanam bhuñjati*). The Buddha says that those who develop the vow of behaving like dogs, develop the thought that they are dogs and behave like dogs, they are born in the world of dogs. It is a false view that he would be God practising thus. If his vow is successful, then he will be born as a dog and will get association with them; but if his vow is unsuccessful, he will go to the hell. In the *Dīghanikāya*, in the *Paṭhikasutta* also there is a reference to a *Kukkuravatika*. There, *acela Korakkhattiya* is said to be a *Kukkuravatika*-practising the vow of behaving like dogs. *Sunakkhatta* describes him that he uses to wander like dogs being four-footed and uses to eat food kept on the earth, by means of his mouth only (*tena kho pana samayena acelo Korakkhattiyo Kukkura-vatiko catukonḍiko chamānikkhiṇṇam Bhakḥhasam mukheneva bhuñjati*—the word *Catukonḍiko* is explained in the commentary as follows—*Catusaṅghaṭṭito dve januni dve ca kappare bhummiyaṃ ṭhapetva vicarati* or *catuhi sariravayavehi kuṇḍanam gamanam catukonḍo so etasmim atthiti catukonḍiko*). At Mbh. II, 4, 17 a sage is mentioned whose name itself is *Kukkura* (dog) (*kukkuro venujaṅghaśca kālāpa-*

kaṭha eva ca. munayo dharmavidvaṁso dhṛtātmāno jīvendriyāḥ). It may be remembered that three sons of Ajigarta, a hungry sage, are named as Śunaḥpuccha, Śunaḥśepa and Śunolāṅgūla (see AB. VII. 5). All these three names mean those having tail like that of a dog or perhaps rather having penis like that of a dog. More references to Kukkuravatika later *passim*.

In that same *Kukkuravatika-sutta* Puṇṇa, son of Koliya, is said to be a Govatika, i.e., he has accepted the vow of behaving like cows¹ or rather bulls. The Buddha, when asked by Acela Seniya about the future of the Govatika, tells him that such persons behaving like bulls and feeling to be the same, are born in the world of bulls and get association with them. If at all he feels that by observing this vow he is going to be a God, that is a false view (*micchaditṭhi*). By holding a false view one either goes to the hell or gets a birth among the beasts. So if the vow of behaving like a bull becomes successful, one gets association with the bulls or if it is unsuccessful, one goes to the hell. The words *Govatika* and *Kukkuravatika* also occur in the *Nettipakaraṇa*,² p. 99. In the Jaina work *Aupapatika Sūtra*,³ paragraph 73, we find *Govaiya* and in *Nāyādhammakahā*⁴ I.15 we meet with the word *Govvaiya*. In *Mahāvibhaṅga*⁵ p. 44, we are told that the contemplation of the Govratikas, Kukkuravratikas etc. leads to the birth of animals—(*tatra katamaṁ karma tiryagyonyu papattisaṁvartanīyam. uccyate. madhyamaṁ kāyavāṇṇanoduṣcaritaṁ vīcārītaṁ rāgasamudīṭṭhiraṁ karma moha-samudīṭṭhitaṁ karma-mātāpītroḥ pravajitānāṁ cākalpikapradānaṁ tiryagyonigatānāṁ sattvānāṁ avahasanaṁ. tathā prañidhānakarma yathā govratikakukkura-vratikaprabhṛtīnāṁ prañidhānaṁ atropadhayaṁ iti*). From *Lalitavistara*⁶ I, p. 248, we know that the Buddha is describing the various ways of purification of body practised by some misled persons and he mentions there the vratas of behaving like a bull, deer, dog, boar, monkey and elephant (*nānāvidhopāyaisātapanaparitūpanaiḥ kāyaśuddhiṁ paryeṣante prajñāpanti ca, saṁmuḍhā govratamṛgaśva-varāḥavānarahastivrataisca*). *Śikṣāsamuccaya*⁷ of Śāntadeva also mentions the vratas of behaving like dog and bull along with the practice of behaving like a deer as a vow (p. 132, line 3—*Sūryanuvartakapañcatapānāṁ Kukkuragovratikā mṛgacāryā. cārikatīrtha daśa tritayānāṁ teṣvapi ācāryā hi bhavanti*). In *Mahāvvyutpatti*,⁸ Section 178, the words like *Gośṛṅgavratī mṛgaśṛṅgavratī, māyūravratī*

1 For the meaning of the word Govatika see T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, W. STEDE, *Pāli-English Dictionary*, London, 1949 (reprint) under this word; cp. also, F. EDGERTON, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, Grammar and Dictionary*, II, New Haven, 1953, under the word Govratika.

2 edited by E. HARDY, London, 1902.

3 ed. E. LÜHMEN, Leipzig, 1883.

4 Āgamodayasamiti, Bombay, 1919.

5 ed. S. LEVI, Paris, 1932.

6 ed. S. LEFMANN, Halle, 1902.

7 ed. C. BENDALL, s'Gravenhag, 1957 (reprint).

8 ed. I. P. MINAEVA, St. Petersburg, 1887.

occur. The Sanskrit dictionary *Vācaspatyam* mentions a sage named Gośṛṅga who used to have a horn of a bull (see under Gośṛṅga). In HASTING's *ERE*, III, p. 13, shamans are mentioned as imitating bulls.

The *Mahābhārata*¹ V. 97.14 describes the Govratikas as follows—*yatrataṭṭra-sayo nityam yenakenacidāśītaḥ yenakenacidācchannaḥ sa govrata ihocyate*—and from this we know that the Govratikas used to lie anywhere, eat anything and wear anything. Earlier in the thirteenth verse it is told in connection with the Govratikas that they were Brāhmaṇas observing the Govrata and were emaciated due to the studies and vedic lore, had won the heaven (*atra govratino viprā svādhyāmnāyakaśītaḥ tyaktaprāṇā jitasvargā nivasanti maharṣayaḥ*). Mbh., I. 86.17 informs us that when an ascetic takes his food by means of his mouth similarly to a bull, then he becomes immortal (*āsyena tu yaddāharam govanmrga-yate muniḥ athāsya lokaḥ pūrvo yaḥ so'mṛtatraya kalpate*). Thus ascetics used to practise the Govrata etc. in order to get heaven etc. or immortality. Bhīṣma while teaching Yudhiṣṭhira the importance and nature of Godāna, speaks that one should observe the Govrata for three nights (i.e. three days and three nights) and should reside along with the cows, for one day (*Gā vai dattvā govratī syāt trīratram niśam caikam saṁvaseteha tābhiḥ*—Mbh., XIII. 75.19). At Mbh., XIII 72.29 f, Brahmā teaches Yudhiṣṭhira that one who is devoted to truth, possessed of a tranquil soul, wise, always observing the Govrata, gives some food to cows before oneself taking food, obtains the merit of giving one thousand cows. Further, mention may be made of the person of serving the Govrata and giving his food of one time to cows. (*yo'graṁ bhaktān kiñcidaprāśya dadyād gobhyo nityam govratī satyavādī. śānto buddho gosahasrayapunyam saṁvatsareṇāpunyāt punyaśīlaḥ. ya ekaṁ bhaktam aśnīyād dadyādekam gavaṁ ca yat daśa varṣāṇyanan-tāni govratī gonumamṣakah*).

The famous Jaina Dictionary *Abhidhānarājendra* gives valuable information about the Govratika based on the *Anuyogadvārasūtra*, *Aupapātikasūtravṛtti* and *Gacchācārapayannāṭikā*. According to the information mentioned there, the word Govratika is used in connection with an ascetic who imitates the behaviour of a cow. Such ascetics feel that they are living among the animals. When the cows get out, they get out : when they stand, these stand. When they sit, they sit; when they eat, they also eat grass, leaves, flowers, fruits, etc. in the same manner as the cows (*te hi vayam api kila tiryakṣu vasāma iti bhāvanām bhāvayante gobhir nirgacchantībhiḥ saha nirgacchanti sthitābhiḥ saha tiṣṭhanti āsīnābhiḥ upa-viśanti bhuñjānābhis tadvadeva tṛṇapatrapuṣpaphalādi bhuñjati tataḥ tahate gavīhi samam niggamapavesanāi pakaranti bhuñjanti yathā gāvī tirakkhavāsam vidhāvantā*).

¹ Critical edition, Poona, 1933 ff.

The *Viṣṇumṛti*¹ gives the information about the Govrata which is partly similar to that given by the Jaina texts. As a part of the expiatory punishment for the murder of a Brāhmaṇa or a pregnant woman or a woman of Atri family etc., one has to observe the Govrata. In this Govrata, one has to follow the cows (*gavānugamana*) for one month. When they sit one has to sit; when she falls down one has to make her stand; one has to protect her from danger; one should not protect oneself from cold etc., before providing the cow with the protection from cold etc.; when the cows stand, one has to stand. One has to bathe with the urine of the cows and one has to live on *Gorasa* (milk of cow etc.) (*Viṣṇumṛti* 50.16 ff; cp. for the word Govrata, 53.3 also). In the *Raghuvamśa* II. 6 the childless king Dilīpa is said to perform similar practice in connection with the cow named Nandini as a vow in order to get a boon from her so that he may have a son. Thus he followed the cow standing still when she stood still; moving forth when she moved; sitting down when she sat; drinking water when she drank water (*sthitāḥ sthitām uccalitaḥ prayātām niṣeduṣīm āsana-bandhadhīraḥ, jalābhilāṣī jalam ādadānaḥ chāyeva tām bhūpatir anvagacchat*). Here, it will be seen that the Govrata has various aspects in different contexts. In the context of Dilīpa's story it has some connection with the obtainment of progeny, fertility, etc. The queer parts of the Govrata which are particularly found to be practised by ascetics are removed from the Govrata by some authorities and the sense of Govrata is limited sometimes only to taking care, serving of the cows etc., "following" them in some details rather than "imitating" them in every detail. Thus there is some euphemistic sophistication and sublimation of the Govrata. We have mentioned above the connection of Govrata with fertility. In order to know some more details of Gosava and likely connection of Govrata with the fertility at least in the ritual sphere, let us study now the Gosava sacrifice. In the Gosava sacrifice also the process of euphemistic sophistication of the Govrata in a different way will be seen.

The Gosava sacrifice is a very curious sacrifice particularly because the sacrificer of the Gosava has to behave, as the rules expect, like a bull and so that he can have sexual relations with his mother or sister. This rule with its details makes the sacrifice somewhat curious. The Brāhmaṇa-texts are not unanimous as far as the result of this sacrifice is concerned. But it is certain that the Brāhmaṇa-texts have adopted here some popular ritual and given it the form of a Śrauta sacrifice and elevated it. Let us see now how this sacrifice has been elevated.

In this Gosava sacrifice² both the Rathantara and Brhat sāmāns are applied (TMB XIX. 13.5; JB II. 113; TB II. 7.6.2). This rite is throughout

1 ed. J. JOLLY, Calcutta, 1881.

2 For Gosava, see J. GONDA, *The Savayajīnas*, Amsterdam, 1965, p. 15.

thirty-six-versed (TMB XIX. 13.10; JB II. 113; TB II. 7.6.1). It is of the Ukthya nature (JB II. 113; TB II. 7.6.1). The sacrificer has to observe following rules (*vrata*): He has to unite himself with his mother, sister and any woman of his own gotra. He drinks water bending himself low. He cuts grass (with his teeth) bending himself low. He has to answer nature's call wherever he feels it (JB II.113. *tasya vratam upa mātaram iyād upa svasāram up sagotrām. upāvahāyodakam acamedupavahāya tṛṇānyācchindyāt yatra yatraṇaṁ viṣṭhā vindet tat tad vitiṣṭheta*. Cp. Āpś. XXII. 13.1-3 where the word *Paśuvrata*—observing the vow of behaving like animal—is used; cp. also Satyāś XVII.5.24ff; Abhidharmakośabhāṣya IV.68. KS. XXXVII. 6 mentions that one who is consecrated by means of Gosava becomes a bull as it were). There are ten thousand (TMB XIX. 13.6) or twelve thousand cows (JB II.113) as dakṣiṇās.

The Gosava sacrifice seems to be originally a popular fertility-rite. The bull is many a time regarded as a symbol of fertility. Wearing the hide of a bull is done in fertility rites.¹ The Brāhmaṇa texts, however, have given it the form of a Soma sacrifice. They have also changed its function. Thus they have established and elevated this popular rite of the masses to the position of Soma sacrifice of classes. Now let us mention in what way the Brāhmaṇa-texts have successfully done this work of elevation of the Gosava sacrifice.

The authors of the Brāhmaṇa-texts must have felt the abnormality of the Vratas or vows to be followed in the Gosava. Any kind of incest creates disturbance in the mind of a man of conscience. The rules in the Gosava sacrifice allow sexual relations with the mother or sister or any woman of one's own gotra. Some of the thoughtful minds must have definitely felt difficulties in performing these Vratas. Thus JB II. 113 tells us a story supporting this surmise—Janaka Vaideha wanted to perform this sacrifice. He asked about this sacrifice to the Brāhmaṇas viz. its dakṣiṇās, its vratas etc. Sudakṣiṇa, the son of Kṣema answered him that he would tell the dakṣiṇās but not the vratas. Then Janaka could not dare to perform this sacrifice. This story tells us how some thinkers were rather reluctant even to tell the vratas of the Gosava and how the performers like Janaka avoided to perform the Gosava. JB I.113 tells another story. Puṇyakeśa Yaudheni performed once this sacrifice. While he was in the gathering of the people, he had the nature's call. He denuding himself said, "This sacrifice was certainly for old persons. An old man should perform this. For an old man alone all this is allowed". And the Brāhmaṇa-text also limits this sacrifice to an old man only. This seems to be a kind of euphemistic sophistication. Thus the Brāhmaṇa-texts understood the difficulties in the performance

¹ J. J. MEYER, *Trilogie, Altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*, Zurich-Leipzig 1937, I. p. 75. For wearing the appearances of various animals, e.g. bulls, geese, etc. see p. 77 f.

of the Gosava. But still, mentioning its limitation to the old man they try to adopt this sacrifice in the śrauta sacrificial system and establish it.

As we have mentioned above, the Brāhmaṇa-texts have given the Gosava the form of a Soma sacrifice. It is of Ukthya-nature (JB II. 113; TB II. 9. 6. 1). Giving the form of a Soma sacrifice is in itself a kind of elevation. So that the popular nature of it has been removed and it becomes a sacrifice of high classes.

The performer of the Gosava-sacrifice is said to obtain high results like obtaining *svārājya* (autocracy) (according to TMB and TB) and *svarga* (heaven). Thus TMB XIX. 13. 1 says that the Gosava sacrifice is "*svārājya*" i.e. for the sake of autocracy. There are both the Bṛhat and Rathantara sāmans; this is for the sake of *svārājya* (TMB XIX. 13. 5; TB II. 7. 6. 2; cp. KS XXVII. 7). Ten thousand cows should be given as dakṣiṇās in this sacrifice. For that is identical with the *svārājya*. To *svārājya* comes he who knows thus (TMB XIX. 13. 6; cp. TB II. 7. 6. 2; KS XXXVII. 7). The sacrificer is consecrated by (pouring) fresh milk (over him). For this is identical with the *svārājya*. To *svārājya* comes he who knows thus (TMB XIX. 13. 7; cp. TB II. 7. 6. 2; KS XXXVII. 7). His consecration takes place at the chanting of the Bṛhat; for that is identical with the *svārājya* (TMB XIX. 13. 8). At the time of consecration the Adhvaryu uses following words, "*Revajjātaḥ sahasā vṛddhah*..." and sends him to *svārājya* (TB II. 7. 6. 3). Thus the TMB and TB mention *svārājya* frequently as the result of the Gosava sacrifice. The JB, however, mentions *svarga* (heaven) again and again as the result of the Gosava. Thus it is said, "One who desires heaven should sacrifice with this (Gosava) (*svargakāmo haitena yajeta*) (JB II. 113). The Gosava is thirty-six-versed. There are thirty-six syllables in Bṛhatī. And Bṛhatī is identical with the heaven.. (JB II. 113). One goes to the heaven by means of the stotra used in the Gosava as one would go anywhere by means of a horse bound four-fold (JB II. 113). There are both the Bṛhat and Rathantara sāmans which are useful for obtaining the heaven (JB II. 113). The Gosava is an Ukthya. The offspring and cattle are identical with the heaven and this Ukthya-nature of the Gosava is useful for obtaining heaven (JB II. 113). There are twelve thousand cows as dakṣiṇās; there are twelve months in a year. The year is identical with the heaven; and this helps for obtaining the heaven (JB II. 113). JB I. 113 also says that by observing the rules one wins the world of the bulls (*anaḍhuo ha lokam jayati*)¹. Thus the

1 W. CALAND, *Das Jaiminiyabrāhmaṇa in Auswahl*, Amsterdam, 1919, p. 157 translates this sentence "Er errigt den Raum des Zugstiers" and on p. 158 in n. 4 to this passage asks "welcher Raum ist gemeint?" and thus seems to be puzzled unnecessarily. Here the meaning is clear—"He wins the world of the bulls" (or oxen). cp. CALAND himself, in another context TMB XVIII. 3. 3: "He who knows reaches the world of ox (*ṛṣa vā anaḍhuo lokam jayati ya evam veda*)" CALAND, *Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 478.

Brāhmaṇa-texts have mentioned high kinds of results of Gosava¹ and elevated it. We shall see further how the *Śrautasūtras* also tried to attach some high results to the Gosava and how they have rarely connected it with fertility. This also is a kind of euphemistic sophistication.

Contributing to the same process of euphemistic sophistication, *Manusmṛti* XI. 74 has prescribed Gosava along with the Aśvamedha, Agniṣṭut and several other sacrifices for removing the sin of murdering a Brāhmaṇa (cp. the *Viṣṇu-smṛti* 50.16 ff which mentions only Govrata and not the Gosava sacrifice in this connection). *Vasiṣṭhasmṛti* 22.7 prescribes the Gosava sacrifice for him against whom black magic has been performed (. . . *abhiśasto gosavena yajeta*). Aṣṭaka, a son of Mādhavī, declares with pride that he has performed hundreds of Puṇḍarika, Gosava and Vājapeya sacrifices (*śataśaḥ puṇḍarikā me gosavāś ca citāḥ prabho. Kratavo vājapeyāś ca teṣāṃ phalam avāpnuhi*. Mbh. V. 120.13) and offers the merit of them for replacing Yayāti in the heaven. Bhartṛhari in his commentary on *Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya* mentions that in the Gosava sacrifice one holds intercourse with those who are not worthy of it, cp. also Kamalaśīla on *Taitvasaṃgraha*, 3612-19). *Garuḍapurāṇa* quoted by Hemādri, *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, *Dānakhaṇḍa*, p. 590 mentions Gosava along with the Aśvamedha, Puruṣamedha etc. as a rite not to be performed in the Kaliyuga (*na kalau kriyate yajno'śvamedho'pi ca gosavaḥ. naramedho'kṣatā narī devarāt putrasantatiḥ*). The *Garuḍapurāṇa* instead of any sophistication prohibits the Gosava.

According to the Sūtra-literature, the Gosava is to be performed by a Vaiśya (*Kātyāṣṣ* XXIII. 11.7 mentions this opinion). Further it is said that a Vaiśya whom the people who choose their own king forward as a king should perform the Gosava sacrifice (*Kātyāṣṣ* XXIII. 11.8 *sarājāno viśo yaṃ puraskurvīran sa etena yajeta*; cp. *Lāṭyāṣṣ* IX. 4.22 which uses the word *sarājānaḥ* meaning those who choose their own king) and the performer should be called *sthapati* (place-lord).² According to *Mānavasrautasūtra* IX. 3.5.21 one who desires to get supremacy and wealth should perform the Gosava. (*Gosavena yajñena pārameṣṭhyakāmaḥ śrīrājyakāmo vā*). *Śaṅkhāyanaśś* XIV. 15.1, however, says that one who desires cattle (*paśukāmaḥ*) should sacrifice with the Gosava and suggests that the Gosava has some connection with the multiple generation of the cattle. The Paramārtha commentary quoted by L. de la VALLÉE POUSSIN in the translation of *Abhidharmakośa*,³ understands Gosava as generation of bulls and cows. The epic god Śiva who even in his ancient forms is closely connected with cattle and who is sometimes called Paśupati is said in a

1 ed. V. SWAMINATHAN, Varanasi, 1964, p. 45.

2 cp. M. MONIER-WILLIAMS, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1899, under *Stthapati*.

3 L. de la VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Abhidharmakośa*, Paris-Louvain, 1923 ff, Vol. IV, p. 147, n. 2.

late text to have performed the Gosava sacrifice and in that ceremony he created sesams (*purā makarasaṁkrāntau śaṅkaro gosave kṛte. tilānutpādayāmāsa tṛpiṇye sarvadehinām. Śrvarahasya*, quoted by Hemādri, *Caturvargacintāmaṇi Kālanirṇaya*¹, p. 415 f). It is also worth noticing that in the *Śivasahasranāmāvali* in the Mbh., Śiva is described as wearing the hide of a bull *gocarmavasaṇḥ* XIII. 17.112). He is said to have among many forms of other animals that of a bull (*gorūpaḥ*) in the Mbh. XIII, App. 4, line 37.

In connection with the fertility, rains etc. the Gosava is seen in the *Harivarṇṣa*. When an old herdsman praised the Indramakha, Kṛṣṇa says that he prefers Goyajña to Indramakha. He praises the cows and declares to perform Goyajña *goyajñam kārayiṣyāmi balādapi na saṁśayaḥ—Harivarṇṣa*² 59.60). When it was performed, heavy rains followed (for the story cf. *Harivarṇṣa* adhya. 59ff).

The sexual behaviour in imitation of a bull is mentioned in the story of Dīrghatamas. He learnt from a bull, who was a son of Kāmadhenu (the cow fulfilling all the desires) the characteristic way of behaviour (*Godharmas*). The bull says that there is no sin, no stealing, no rule of what is worthy to be eaten and not etc... There is no rule of being worthy of intercourse or not. (*nāsmākaṁ vidyate tāta pātakam steyam eva ca. bhakṣyābhakṣyaṁ tathā caiva peyāpeyaṁ tathaiva ca. dvīpadām bahavo hyete dharma eṣa gāvaṁ smṛtaḥ. kāryākāryaṁ na vāgamyāgamaṇaṁ ca tathaiva ca.—Matsyapurāṇa*³ 48.49.20; cp. *Vāyupurāṇa*,⁴ 99.54-55). Dīrghatamas then concentrated his mind on this Godharma. He then tried to approach his younger brother's wife. She rebuked him calling his behaviour to be similar to that of a bull and abandoned him on the water of the Ganges. When he was flowing in the water, the king named Bali took him and having fed him, the king protected him in the harem. He asked him to produce children from his wife named Sudeṣṇā. She seeing this blind and old sage refused him first and sent a foster-sister belonging to Śūdra-class to him for his murder. The sage, however, produced the sons Kākṣivat etc. from the Śūdra woman. When the king Bali saw these children came to know the truth, he rebuked his wife for the mischief and sent her again to him. Then she gave birth to five sons (*Matsyapurāṇa* 48.49ff. cf. verse 43-(*sa dharmān saurabheyāṁstu vṛṣabhāt śuśrūvāms tataḥ . . .*) cp. Mbh. I. 1038 (*godharmam saurabheyācca so'dhītya nikhilam munih*). cp. *Vāyupurāṇa* 99.47; cf. for the story with slight differences Mbh. I. 98.18ff; *Vāyupurāṇa* 99.47ff. etc.)

It will be at least seen that the imitation of a bull in his sexual behaviour is directly connected in the stories of Dīrghatamas with the fertility and the Gosava

1 Calcutta, 1895.

2 Critical edition, Poona, to be published.

3 Calcutta, 1876.

4 Poona, 1905.

which contains the imitation of bull is likely to have been connected originally with the fertility.

Further we may mention a story of the creation of world. In that story *Ātman* is said to have taken among the forms of other animals that of a bull and he is said to have practised intercourse with his own daughter who was in the form of a cow. The story is as follows—"In the beginning this world was soul (*Ātman*) alone in the form of a man (*puruṣa*) ... He had no delight. Therefore, one alone has no delight. He desired a second. He was indeed as large as a woman and a man closely embraced. He caused that self to fall into two pieces. Therefrom arose a husband and a wife... He capulated with her. Therefrom human beings were produced. She thought, "How now does he capulate with me after he has produced me just from himself? Let me hide myself". She became a cow. He became a bull. With her he capulated. Then cattle were born. She became a mare and he a horse. She became a female ass and he a male ass; with her he capulated. Thence were born solid-hoofed animals. She became a she-goat; he a he-goat; she a ewe and he a ram; with her he copulated. Therefrom were born goats and sheep. Thus he created all whatever pairs there are, even down to the ants". (ŚB XIV. 4.2.1 ff). Thus, this story contains father-sister incest, animalism particularly that of a bull and cow and connection of these with creation of the cattle etc.

For studying incest as looked upon by Indian thinkers let us depart from the argument leading to the maintenance of Gosava as an original fertility rite and mention some references to Gosava and observances in it. The Buddhist texts mention the *vratas* in the Gosava as a kind of wrong behaviour due to the passion (*moha*) (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*,¹ IV. 68; cp. also *Abhidharmadīpa* with the *Vibhāṣāprabhāvṛtti*² on it—IV. 3.191. Hiuntsang quoted in French by L. de la VALLÉE POUSSIN³ similarly knows the practices in the Gosava "Les femmes et les hommes prennent le vœu du taureau (*govrata*), ils humment l'eau; ils coupent l'herbe avec les dents; ou bien restent en place ou bien vont; sans distinguer qui est parente ou éloignée suivant la rencontre, ils s'unissent." L. de la VALLÉE POUSSIN⁴ also quotes Paramārtha in French translation "En outre comme dans le sacrifice Gosava, les autres femmes humment l'eau; broutent l'herbe; l'homme va prendre sa parente ou prendre sa fille, tante, aînée, cadette, femme de même sang etc."

In the same context, the *Pārasikas* are mentioned to practise similar practices of incest due to the *Moha*. Thus the *Vibhāṣāprabhā* commentary says

1 ed. P. PRADHAN, Patna, 1967.

2 ed. PADMANABH JAINI, Patna, 1959.

3 L. de la VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Abhidharmakośa*, IV. p. 147, n. 2

4 L. de la VALLÉE POUSSIN, *Abhidharmakośa*, IV. p. 147, n. 3

mohaḥo yathā pārasikānām mātṛādigamanam.—IV. 3. 191; cp. also *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* IV. 68. Thus the Pārasikas are said to be keeping sexual contact with their mother etc. The *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* IV. 68 also quotes an opinion of some according to whom the mothers (i.e. the women in general) are like the mortar, flower, fruit, cooked food, bathing place and road (*ye chāhur udūkhālapuṣpaphalapakvānnatīrthamārgaprakhyo mātṛgrāmaḥ*). We may compare a passage from *Divyāvedāna*¹ p. 257 where a similar idea is found with an explanation : *panthāsaṃ o hi mātṛgrāmaḥ. tena yanaiva hi pitā gacchati putro'pi tenaiva gacchati no cāsau panthā putrasyānugacchato doṣakārako bhavati; . evameva mātṛgrāmaḥ. yatraiva hi tīrthe pitā snāti putro'pi tasmin snāti na ca tīrtham putrasya snāyato doṣakāraṃ bhavati; evameva mātṛgrāmaḥ. api ca pratyanteṣu janapadeṣu dharmataivaīṣa yasyāmeva pitā asaddharṃeṇābhigacchati tameva putro'pyadhigacchati.* Thus the son goes on the same way on which the father goes and no defect of the son is created by the way. Similarly the son bathes in the same bathing place where his father bathes and the son gets no fault. And the same is the case of women. Moreover, in the border countries the son approaches the same woman whom his father has illegally approached and this is considered as legal (cp. to some extent Mbh. III. 251. n. 1202).

*Tattvasaṃgraha*² of Śāntarakṣita verse 2447 mentions that the wicked Pārasikas who are always addicted to the practice do not find anything wrong in the remarriage of their mothers (*tathā mātṛvivāhādaḥ doṣaḥ kaścidadapīkṣyate pārasikādibhir dhūrtaiḥ tadācāraparaiḥ sadā*). The *Smṛticandrikā*³ I. p. 10 and *Smṛtimuktāphala*⁴ (varṇāśrama) p. 130 quote some verses of *Brhaspatismṛti* in which among various strange practices, the practices of the Pārasikas, viz. marriage with the brother or sister or mother is mentioned (*tathā bhrātṛvivāho'pi pārasikeṣu dṛṣyate*—variants—*bhrātṛvivāho'pi* and *mātṛvivāho'pi*). Similarly the *Yāśastilakacampū* II. p. 95f (IV āśvasa⁵ mentions the practice of intercourse with mother common among the Pārasikas (*śrūyate hi vaṅgimaṇḍale nṛpatidoṣād bhūdeveṣvāsavopayogaḥ pārasikeṣu ca svasavitṛisamyogaḥ sīmhalceṣu ca viśvāmitra-sṛṣṭiprayoga iti*). From the HASTING'S *ERE*⁶ VIII. p. 457, I quote the following in support of the passages above—"The most explicit statement is found in the account of a controversy between a Zoroastrian theologian and a Jewish objector recorded in Dinkart III. 82 . 'the mutual connection of the three next-of-kin which are father and daughter, son and she who bore him and brother

1 ed. E. B. COWELL, R. A. NEIL, Cambridge, 1886.

2 *Tattvasaṃgraha*, Vol. II, ed. E. KRṢNAMMACARVA, Baroda, 1926.

3 ed. J. R. GHARPURE, Bombay, 1908.

4 ed. J. R. GHARPURE, Poona, 1937.

5 Bombay, 1903.

6 ed. J. HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, New York, 1955 (reprint).

and sister—is the most complete that I have considered'.¹ Medhātithi commenting on *Manusmṛti* VIII. 41 remarks that it is a duty of a king to remove marriage with mothers etc. (*mātrvivāhādīḥ sārvaḥaumaṇa nivāraṇīyaḥ*). Thus, the attitude of Indian writers in general towards the sexual relations with mothers etc. is that of disgust and it is, therefore, quite understandable that the authorities in ancient India tried to twist and euphemistically sophisticate the nature, significance etc. of the Gosava and even to forbid it.

Coming again to the point, viz. the connection of Gosava with the fertility, obtainment of crop, progeny, cattle, etc. it may be mentioned that in many parts of the world there was a custom of wearing hides, masks, etc., of animals and of dancing or of intercourse in the forms, manners and in imitation of the animals and this was supposed to be in close connection with the fertility.

MEYER, having translated into German, has quoted from the originally Latin descriptions of new years festivals given by THOMAS NAOGEOGUS. From that quotation we know that *in those festivals, people used to eat and drink day and night. All sorts of plays were played, fear and shame one did not know. Every thing was allowed and practised that pleased one's lust. Some persons used to run naked, only wearing the faces of masks. The men used to be clothed as women and the women especially the maidens as men. Many used to wander clothed as monks, others used to show as kings, others used to hatch fools as hens, geese and ducks their eggs. Others used to grope about on their fours wearing the hides and awe-inspiring animal-masks: may be of bears, wolves, lynxes, intractable lions, oxen; storks with long beaks with feather-costume and used to fly*². As MEYER³ has often said, this licentiousness of sexual behaviour is for fertility, growth, production etc.

Obtainment of cattle is connected with wearing a red hide along with the tail, of a cow or of a calf, by the sacrificer of the sacrifice named Viśvajit. Explaining the red colour it is said that this is the favourite colour of the cattle (JB II. 182). According to TMB XVI.6.2 it is red because many of the animals are red. By wearing such a hide one becomes prosperous in connection with the cattle (TMB XVI. 6.1 ; cp. KB XXV. 15). The hide should be with a tail (JB II. 183) and with ears and hoofs (Āpss XVII.26.14 ; Māś IX. 3.1.22). Both the sacrificer and his wife reside in forest under an Udumbara tree for three days,

1 Another queer practice is also said to be common among the Pārasikas—*te hyevam āhur mātāpitaraū jīṇau vā glānu vā hantavyau*—*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* IV. 68 —“When the parents become old or diseased one should kill them.” cp. L. de la VALLEE POUSSIN, *Abhidharmakośa* IV. p. 145, n. 2. cf. also *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (ed. U. WOGIHARA Tokyo, 1932 ff), II. p. 394—*yo'pi hi pārasikaḥ punyabuddhyā mātaraṁ pitaraṁ vā tad akuśalam ānantaryam karma nityaṁ saṁpadyate*.

2 MEYER, *Trilogie*, I. p. 77.

3 e.g. MEYER, *Trilogie*, II. p. 114.

along with the Niṣādas for three days and with the relatives for three days (TMB XIV.6. 3ff ; cp. Āpśś XVI.26.16ff etc.)

In explaining the significance of the hide of the cow, JB II.182 gives a story. In the beginning the skin of the man was really that of the animals and that of the animals was that of the men. The animals were not then, able to bear the sun, rain and gnats etc. The animals then requested men to exchange the skins and for that purpose they agreed to allow themselves to be food of men. ŚB III.1.2.13 has limited this story to a cow only instead of all the animals. JB II.182 further tells that when a man wears the red hide he prospers by his own form (*tad yad rohiṇīm chaviṁ paridhatte svena eva tad rūpeṇa samṛddhyate*). According to Kātyāṣś XXII. 1.20 both the sacrificer and his wife have to wear the hide.

Now it is important to note that the sacrifice Vīśvajit has among other results a result connected with fertility. Thus Prajāpati, when created the beings, created them by means of Vīśvajit (*prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata sa e'enaiva vīśvajitāsrjata* JB II. 184). A Mexican practice (mentioned by HUBERT and MAUSS etc.) in connection with the hide of a victim is related with regeneration. Thus, in order to represent the regeneration of the agricultural genie the sacrificed victim is destined and victim which is going to succeed that dead victim in the following year is dressed by that skin.¹ We have already mentioned an epithet of Śiva who is also Paśupati viz. Gocarmavasana (wearing a hide of a bull) (Mbh. XIII. 17.112).

Thus the wearing hide of the bull or imitating a bull in its sexual behaviour etc. is connected with the fertility, production, multiplication of cattle etc. and the original significance of the Gosava sacrifice also might have been of the same sort.

Imitation of a deer or taking the form of a deer either with the spiritual motive or ritual motive is found many times. Keśī is said to be behaving like mṛgas (*mṛgāṇām carāṇe caran*) (RV X. 136-6). *Lalitavistara*, I. p. 248 mentions the vow of behaving like a deer *mṛgavrata*). *Śikṣāsamuccaya* p. 320 mentions deer-like behaviour as a vow (*mṛgacarya*). The *Uttarādhyayanāsūtra* indirectly refers to *mṛgacarya*—an ascetic way of living like a deer and mentions that as a deer is of wandering nature, alone and at many places, living at many places, stable as wandering, similarly ascetic adopting the vow of Goyariya should be and should neither praise or abuse anybody (*jahā mige ega ānegacārī ānegavāse dhuvagoyare ya evam munī goyariyam pavitṛe no hīlāe no viya khimsaejjā* XIX. 83). Reference to *mṛgacarya*—the deer-like behaviour is found in the *Bhāgavata*—

1 H. HUBERT, M. MAUSS, "Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice", *L'Année Sociologique*, Vol. 2 (1897-98) 1899, p. 113.

purāṇa V. 5. 34—*evam gomṛgakākacaryayā vrajaṁstīṣṭhannāsinaḥ śayānaḥ kāṁamṛgagocaritaḥ pibati khādati avamehati sma*. Here the sage named Rṣabha is told to go, stand, sit, sleep like a bull, deer and crow and he is also told to be drinking, eating and urinating in the manner of those animals. Rṣabha, earlier, is said to have produced rains when Indra who was competing with him did not shower rains. (*tasya hīndraḥ sparḍhamānaḥ bhagavān varṣe na vavarṣa. tadavadhārya bhagavānṛṣabhadevo yogeśvaraḥ prahasyātmayogamāyaya svavarṣamajānābham namābhyavarṣat*.—*Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, V. 3. 3). Bharata, his son, continued his practice of penance even when he was born as a deer (*Bhāgavatapurāṇa* V. 9. 28 ff). In the Mbh. XIII. 14. 39, among other kinds of ascetics the Gocārins and mṛgacārins are mentioned: *gocāriṇo'thāśmakūṭā dantolūkhalinastathā. marīcipā phenapāśca tathaiva mṛgacāriṇaḥ*. In Mbh. V. 114 ff. we read a very queer story of Mādhavī who was a daughter of Yayāti and was mṛgacāriṇī. Gālava was told by Viśvāmitra to give eight hundred horses of Śyāmakarṇa type as a Gurudakṣiṇā. Gālava when consulted by Garuḍa in obtaining those horses demanded those of Yayāti. Yayāti expressed his inability to fulfill Gālava's demand at that time. He, however, offered his own beautiful daughter who was always coveted by Gods, Men and Asuras to Gālava and told him that the kings would give him price of her and that would be sufficient for giving the Gurudakṣiṇā. Yayāti describes her as capable of giving birth to many (*bahuprasavadhāriṇī*) (Mbh. V. 114. 3) and able to produce a sovereign (*cakravartī*). Mādhavī herself tells that she has received a boon from a brahmavādin so that she would become virgin after each delivery (*mama datto varaḥ kaścit kenacid brahmavādina. Prasūtyante prasūtyante kanyaiva tvaṁ bhaviṣyasi*—V. 114.10-11). Then Gālava took her and give her to childless kings one after another and took horses from them as a price of her. The king Haryaśva then produced Vasumanā, Divodāsa produced Pratardana and Auśīnara produced Śibi. Ultimately Viśvāmitra produced Aṣṭaka (Mbh. V. 114. 17ff). Afterwards she was willing to marry nobody and began practising penance. She observed fasts, dīkṣās, rules and became mṛgacāriṇī i. e. behaving like a deer. She ate various kinds of grass and drank water in the forests. She wandered along with deers behaving like a deer in the forests. She practised religions and was celebrate (*nirdīkṣyamāneṣu tu sā vareṣu varavarṇiṇī varānutkramya sarvaṁstān vanān vṛta-vaṭi varam* [5] *avatīrya rathāt kanyā namaskṛtya ca bandhuṣu. upagamya vanān puṇyam tapastepe yayātijā* [6] *upavasaiśca vividhair dīkṣābhir niyamais tathā. ātmano laghutām kṛtvā babhūva mṛgacāriṇī* [7] *vaidūryāṅkurakaipāni mṛdūni haritāni ca carantī śaṣpamukhyāni tiktāni madhurāṇi ca* [8] *sravanīnām ca puṇyānām surasāni śucīni ca pibantī vārimukhyāni śītāni vīmalāni ca* [9] *vaneṣu mṛgarājeṣu Sindhaviproṣeṣu ca.....* [10] *carantī hariṇaiḥ sārḍham mṛgiva mṛgacāriṇī cacāra vipulaṁ dharmaṁ brahmacaryeṇa saṁvṛtā* [11] Mbh V. 118. 5ff). Afterwards she offered her merit (*puṇya*) along with that of her sons in order to replace Yayāti

in the heaven (Mbh. V. 119. 19ff). When Bibhiṣaṇa and Rāvaṇa were practising penance they used to eat grass along with deers (Mbh III.259. n. 1236).

Kṛṣṇājina, i.e. hide of a black antelope, is famous. As is said by WEBER,¹ OLDENBERG² etc., it is a symbol of nourishment, fertility etc. The sacrificer who undergoes the Dikṣā-ceremony has to wear a black antelope-skin and has to carry horn of a deer. If he requires to scratch himself he should scratch with it (see e.g. GB I. 3.21 *kṛṣṇājinaṁ vasita..... mrgaśṛṅgaṁ grhṇīyāt tena kaṣeta*). Now, the Dikṣā-ceremony, as is observed by LÉVI³ and many other scholars, is closely connected with the mystical generation of the sacrificer. The hide of a black antelope is closely connected with the *Brahmavarcas*-brahman-splendours. Thus GB I. 2.2 says that when the Brahmacārī wears the hides of black antelope, he takes hold of Brahmaparcas. *Samayācāraṇa* as quoted by the *Śabdakaṭṭha* under the word Gocarman connects the hide of a deer with salvation (*mrgājinaṁ tu mokṣārtham*). This will explain the significance of the hide of a deer in ascetic practices and also of the general way of imitation of deers in ascetic ways. Kṛṣṇājina is identified with Brahman by KB IV. 11. The sacrifice which is a generative process,⁴ par excellence, is said to be identical with Kṛṣṇājina by ŚB III. 2.1.28 etc. TMB IV. 7.10 describes sacrifice as *mṛgadharma*, i.e., having the characteristics of a deer (*mṛgadharma vai yajñah*). The sacrifice is also to have run away from Gods taking the form of a black antelope (ŚB I.1.4. 1f; cp. TB III. 2.5.6; 6. 1f.).

The *Mahāvīryutpatti* section 178 mentions an ascetic called Mrgaśṛṅgavratī that is one who has adopted the vow of living like a deer and possessing a horn of a deer. Rṣyaśṛṅga had also a horn of a deer on his head (cp. Mbh. III. 110. 17-*tasya rṣyaśṛṅgaṁ śirasi rājannāśinmahātmanah tena rṣyaśṛṅga ityevaṁ tadā sa prathito bhavati*). His story of birth implies the intercourse in the form of the deer. Thus Kāśyapa's semen was dropped in the water after seeing Urvaśī—a female deer drank that water and became pregnant and from her Rṣyaśṛṅga was born. When he entered into the dry region rain came there (Mbh. III. 10. 11ff. cp. III. 10.3: *tapaso yaḥ prabhāveṇa varṣayāmāsa vāsavam. anāvṛṣṭyā bhayādyasya vavarṣa balavṛtrahā*). The horn is, as MEYER has rightly remarked, a symbol of

1 A. WEBER, *Indische Studien*, XIII. p. 285.

2 H. OLDENBERG, *Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, p. 399, 500.

3 cp. S. LEVI, *La doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brāhmaṇas*, Paris, 1898, p. 103. HUBERT, MAUSS. "Sacrifice", *L'Année Sociologique*, Vol. 2, p. 48; A. B. KEITH, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, Cambridge, 1925, p. 461 f; H. LOMMEL, *Wiedergeburt aus embryonalem Zustand in der Symbolik des altindischen Rituals*, in C. HENTZE, *Tod, Auferstehung, Weltordnung*, I. (Zürich, 1955), p. 107 ff; M. ELIADE, *Birth and Rebirth*, New York, 1958, p. 53 ff; the same, *The Sacred and the Profane*, New York, 1961, p. 197 ff.

4 LEVI, *La doctrine du sacrifice*, p. 109 ff.

erect penis¹ and Ṛṣyaśṛṅga who possessed it must be, therefore, closely connected with fertilization. He has an important role in the sacrifice performed by childless king Daśaratha for obtaining progeny (*Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bālakāṇḍa*, 12). I conjecture that this story of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, must be in reality a story of *niyoga* mentioned euphemistically.

Mārica had come in the form of a very beautiful golden deer in front of the hermitage of Rāma in order to attract Sītā (*Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa* III. 42 ff.).² An ascetic named Tṛṇabindu was practising hard, austere penance and Indra was afraid of him. Indra, in order to interrupt his meditation, sent a heavenly damsel who tried to attract him by means of manifesting bewitching graces, but in vain. The ascetic cursed her to take a birth in the mortal world and accordingly she became Indumatī—the queen of King Aja. Now significantly enough the name of that damsel is said to be Hariṇī meaning a female deer (*Raghuvamśa*, VIII. 79 ff.—*tapataḥ kila duścaram tapastṛṇabindoḥ pariśaṅkitāḥ purā. Prajighāya śamādhībhedinīm harirāsmat harīṇīm surāṅganām*). In the *Śivasahasranāmāvalī* occurring in the Mbh., Śiva is called a deer (*Hariṇa*) (XIII. 17.148) and elsewhere he is called having a form of a deer (*mṛgarūpa*) (XIII. 17.45).

A very direct expression of intercourse in the form of a deer³ is found in the story of Kīmdama. The king named Pāṇḍu saw in the forest a leader of deers united with a female deer. He shot five arrows at them. The seer who had united with his wife in the form of a deer spoke in the human voice and condemned this act of the king. He describes that he is a seer named Kīmdama who has been eating roots and fruits, wearing the dress of a deer, living in the forest, etc. Due to some shame that the other men would see, he practised intercourse in the form of a deer, with his wife, who took the form of a female deer. Further, it is told that the sage cursed the king that he would also die while united with his wife (Mbh. I. 109.5 ff.): *rājā pāṇḍur mahārāṇye mṛgavyā'aniṣevite. vane maithunakālasthanī dadarśa mṛgayūthapam |5| tatasām ca mṛgīm tāṁ ca rukmapuṅkhañṣi sapatribhiḥ. nirbibheda śarastīkṣṇaṁ pāṇḍuḥ pañcabhirāśugaiḥ |6| sa ca rājan mahātejā ṛṣiputrastapodhanaḥ. Bhāryayā saha tejasvī mṛgarūpeṇa saṁgataḥ |7| saṁsaktastu tayā mṛgyā mānuṣīmāś'ayan gīram. Kṣaṇena paṭito bhūnau vilalāpendriyākulaḥ |8|...munim mūlaphalāhāraṁ mṛgaveśadharaṁ nṛpa. vasamānamarāṇyeṣu nityaṁ śamaparāyaṇam |24|...ahaṁ hi kīmdama nāma tapasāpratīno munih. Vyāpatraman manuṣyāṇāṁ mṛgyā maithunam ācaram |26| mṛgo bhūtvā mṛgaiḥ sārḍhaṁ carāmi gahane vane...|27| asya tu tvam phalam*

1 MEYER, *Trilogie*, I, p. 42.

2 Bombay, 1888.

3 cf. A. J. KARANDIKAR, "Pāṇḍucaritrācā Purvavicāra" (in Marathi), *Mahārāṣṭra Śāhitya Patrikā*, 157 (April-June 1966), p. 44 ff.

mūḍha prāpsyasīdrśameva hi. priyayā saha saṁvāsaṁ prāpya kāmavimohitaḥ. tvamapyasjāmavasihāyām pretalokaṁ gamiṣyasi [28]. In this story we clearly find that the two points with which we are concerned in this paper are mentioned in connection with the same person. The two points are animalism in the ascetic life and animalism in the intercourse etc.

Similar story of taking the form of a deer and practising intercourse is found as early as in the AB and other Vedic texts also. Thus the story of Prajāpati and his daughter may be mentioned now. "Prajāpati felt love towards his own daughter, the sky some say, Uṣas others. Having become a stag he approached her in the form of a deer...". Rudra then shot arrows at Prajāpati. The seed of Prajāpati outpoured, ran; it became a pond. The Gods said, "Let not this seed of Prajāpati be spoiled" (AB III. 33)... It they surrounded with Agni; it the Maruts blew upon; Agni could not make it move; then Agni Vaiśvānara caused it to move; the first part of the seed that was kindled up became yonder Āditya; the second became Bhṛgu... the third part that was brilliant became Ādityas. The coals became the Aṅgirasas; in that the coals became blazed forth again; Bṛhaspati came into being. The extinguished coals became black cattle; the reddened earth ruddy (cattle). The ash which there was, crept about in diverse forms, the buffalo, the Gayal, the antelope, the camel, the ass and these ruddy animals (AB III. 34; cp. JB III. 264; MS IV. 2. 12. ŚB I. 7. 4. 1 ff gives the story of incest of Prajāpati and his daughter without mentioning the transformation). In this story the two motives, viz., the animalism and generation are present. J. SELUSKI, as mentioned by BUDDHAPRAKASHA¹, informs us that there was a tradition among the Madra Kings that the king used to enter the body of the victimised twelve-horned deer. His counterpart also enters the body of a twelve-horned deer and unites with his wife. ADALBERT KUHN in a letter sent to RAJENDRALAL MITRA mentions a custom in Europe in which the forms of a stag and hind were taken. "...at the close of the old year and at the beginning of the new one... there were mummaries performed by country people in which two persons seem to have been the principal performers, one of whom was disguised as a stag while the other was disguised as a hind. Both represented a scene which must have greatly interested and amused the people, but very much offended the clergy by its sordid and hideous character... we may safely suppose that the chief content of this representation was the connection of a stag and hind (or of an old woman) which was accompanied by the singing of unchaste songs..."²

We described above the animalism chiefly in connection with the dog, bull and deer. But the other animals are also mentioned whose imitation was being

1 *Nāgarīpracārīnīpatrikā*, Vol. 62 (saṁvat 2014), p. 275.

2 RAJENDRALAL MITRA, *Indo-Aryans*, II, London, 1881, p. 300 f.

done or whose forms were taken. We have mentioned above the vows of imitating a crow, bear, monkey, elephant, etc. A. KUHN has already observed long ago: "...die Verwandlung der Götter in die Thiergestalt, gehört sicher in der Regel dem höchsten Altertum an."¹ He has given many examples from different mythologies of different peoples for showing the gods appearing as animals. Thus, e. g., Zeus deceived her own daughter Persephone (whom Demeter had concealed) in the form of a serpent and Persephone then gave birth to Zagreus.² This story is very much similar to our Prajāpati and his daughter uniting in the form of deers (see above). We may mention another story of Zeus which I quote from ROBERT GRAVES, *Greek Myths*—"When he fell in love with Nemesis, she fled from him into the water and became fish, he pursued her as a beaver (?) ploughing up the waves. She leaped a shore and transformed herself into this beast or that but could not shake Zeus off. At last she took the air, as a wild goose; he became a swan and trod her triumphantly at Rhamnus in Attica..."³ According to another opinion mentioned by ROBERT GRAVES Zeus approached Leda in the form of a swan.⁴ In order to illustrate the point, viz. the Gods in the forms of various animals etc., a reference may be made to Mbh. app. I. 4. line 15ff—where we read *yasya rūpāṇyanekāni pravādanti manīṣiṇaḥ* [15]... *kṛtavān yāni rūpāṇi kathitāni divaukasaiḥ* [21] *anugrahārtham viprāṇām śruṇu vatsa samāsataḥ* [22]... *brahmaviṣṇusurendrāṇām rudrādityāśvinām api* [24] *viśveṣām api devānām vapurdhārayate bhavaḥ* [25] *narāṇām devanārīṇām tathā pretapiśācayoh* [26] *kirātaśabarāṇām ca jalajānāmanekaśaḥ* [27] *karoti bhogavān rūpam āṭavyaśabarāṇyapi* [28] *kūrmo matsyas tathā śaṅkhaḥ pravālāṅkurabhūṣaṇaḥ* [29] *yakṣarākṣasasarpāṇām daityadānavayorapi* [30] *vapurdhārayate devo bhūyaśca bilavāsinām* [31] *vyāghrasimhamrgāṇām ca tārksavṛkṣapatatṛiṇām* [32] *ulūkāśvaśṛgālānām rūpāṇi kurute'pi ca* [33] *haṁsakākamayūrāṇām kṛkalāsakasārasām* [34] *rūpāṇi ca balākānām gṛdhṛacakrāṅgayorapi* [35] *karoti vā sa rūpāṇi dhārayatyapi parvatam* [36] *gorūpi ca mahādevo hastyaśvoṣṭrakharākṛtīḥ* [37] *chāgaśārḍūlarūpaśca anekamrgarūpadhṛk* [38] *andajānām ca divyānām vapurdhārayate bhavaḥ* [39]... Thus, God Śiva is said here to have taken numerous forms. In the *Śivasahasranāmāvalī* (Mbh. XIII. 17) there are many names of this god, some implying his animal-like forms and some meaning animals. Thus he is said to be having the form of a jackal (*śṛgālarūpa*) (verse 44), a he-goat (*ajā*) (45), having the form of deer (*mrgarūpa*) (45), those of lion and leopard (*simhaśārḍūlarūpa*) (47), serpent (*uraga*) (65), nakula (107), bull (*vṛṣabha*) (124), elephant (*hasī*) (145), bird and having the form of a bird (*pakṣi* ca

1 A. KUHN, *Herabkunft des Feuers und des Götteriraks*, Berlin, 1859, p. 177.

2 A. KUHN, *Herabkunft*, p. 166. cp. for the story, H. J. ROSE, *A handbook of Greek Mythology*, 1965, p. 51.

3 R. GRAVES, *Greek Myths*, London, 1958, p. 206 (Section 62).

4 R. GRAVES, *Greek Myths*, p. 207 (Section 62).

pakṣirūpaś ca) (167) having horns (*viṣāni*-69 *śṛṅgi*-147) etc. Being afraid of Rāvaṇa Indra took the form of a peacock, Yama that of a crow, Kubera that of a lizard and Varuṇa that of a goose (*indro mayūraḥ saṁvṛttaḥ dharmarājastu vāyasah kṛkalāso dhanāchyakṣaḥ haṁsaśca varuṇo' bhavat*—*Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa* XVIII. 6). Śaṅkara shows Pārvatī the numerous gaṇas of him who were playing on the Himālaya having faces of various animals (*kṛcit kṛśahrasva-dīrghā kecit sikhūlamahodarāḥ. vyāghrebhameṣajamukhā nānāprāṇimahāmukhāḥ* [34] *vyāghracarmaparīdhānā nānā jvālāmukhāḥ pare. gokarṇā gajakarṇāśca bahu-pādamukhaḥkṣṇāḥ* [35]—*Skandapurāṇa*,¹ *Māheśvarakhaṇḍa, Kaumārikākhaṇḍa, Adhyāya* 27). Agni, sent by gods in order to know what Śiva was doing, is said to have taken the form of a dove (*pārāvata*). He went near Śiva who was united with Pārvatī at that time. Śiva rebuked Agni and asked him to receive his semen and Agni did accordingly. (*tato varṣasahasreṣu devāstvaritamānasāḥ, jvalanaṁ nodayāmāsurjñātum śaṅkaraceṣṭitam* [82] *dvāri sthitaṁ pratihāram vañ-cayitvā ca pāvakaḥ. pārāvatasya rūpeṇa praviveśu harāntikam* [83] *dadṛṣe taṁ ca deveśo vinatām prekṣya pārvatīm. tatastaṁ jvalanaṁ prāhu naitadyogyam tvayā kṛtam* [84] *yadidaṁ kṣubhitaṁ sthānānmama tejo'hyantuttamam. grhāṇa tvam sudurbuddhe no vā dhakṣyāmi tvāṁ ruṣā* [85] *bhītaṣṭatosau jagrāha...* *Skandapurāṇa, Māheśvarakhaṇḍa, Kaumārikākhaṇḍa, Adhyāya* 29). Svāhā, the wife of Agni took the form of Śivā—wife of Aṅgiras (Agni was desirous of the wives of saptarṣis—verse 91) and came to Agni and conceived the semen of Śiva which was in Agni. She then took the form of a female-eagle and preserved it... (*Skandapurāṇa, Māheśvara, Kaumārikā. Adhyāya* 29, 102ff). In the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana (II.6.37ff), *Ratirahasya* of Kokkoka (X.20 ff) etc. many forms of intercourse called *citarata* are mentioned which are in imitation of various animals, thus e.g. Śauna, Aineya, Chāgala, Gardabhākrānta, Mārjāralalitaka, Vyāghrāvaskanda, Gajopamardana, Vārāhaghṛṣṭaka, Turagādhirūḍha, Mārkaṭaka, Dhainuka, Sai-ribha, etc.

From the above collected information it will seem that the animalism is very much wide-spread in India and in other parts of the world also. There are vows of behaving like animals practised by ascetics from spiritualistic point of view and even though the Buddhist texts have condemned them they were no doubt used by some ascetics from some spiritualistic point of view. There are many references in connection with the ritual of either behaving like animals or wearing their hides etc. Intercourse in the forms, manners and imitation of the animals is also found and this must have also some ritual significance like fertility, production of progeny, crops and cattle. There was, however, a process of euphemistic sophistication of whatever looked awkward and the animalism in its sophisticated form is found in the *Dikṣā* ceremony of the Soma sacrifice.

The Dikṣā ceremony is full of generation-symbolism as well as of the nature of penance (*tapas*). So I think that the Vedic Dikṣā ceremony is on the border line of the animalism in the ritualism, mythology, etc. and animalism in the spiritualism. From the outward, there appears to be a wide gulf between the ritualism and spiritualism as it appeared to P. MASSON-OURSEL for example in connection with the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads when he wrote "La notion d'Upaniṣad si différente de celle de Brāhmaṇa témoigne d'une gnose tout autre que la technique rituelle, patrimoine de la caste sacerdotale. Il s'agit de révélations transmises en secret, touchant la vérité métaphysique, non plus la porctualité dans le culte ou l'exégèse védique"¹. Actually if we study seriously, many correspondences, similarities, parallelisms, communications, exchanges and close relations between ritualism and spiritualism are found and the study of animalism may provide an example in support of this.

¹ P. MASSON OURSEL, *La Pensée en Orient*, Paris, 1949, p. 134 ; cp. M. ELIADE, *Yoga Immortality and Freedom*, (trans. by W. R. TRASK), London, 1958: "yoga is the reaction against metaphysical speculations and excesses of a fossilized ritualism." p. 360.

IDENTIFICATION OF RĀMĀYAṆA SCENES

By

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In this article an attempt is made by the author in identifying and interpreting the paintings of the Etruscans history from the events of the *Rāmāyaṇa* period of India. From this it is interesting to note that the Etruscans had considerable knowledge of the great Indian Epic, *Rāmāyaṇa*, with the result that they have depicted the colourful scenes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of the by-gone age in their paintings on plaques, and vases, and engravings on mirrors of metal. The Etruscans have been geographically separated from the land of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and therefore it is surprising to note how they could portray scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* that happened in India, which is a distant country. The paintings occurring on the plaques, vases and mirrors date back to 600 B.C. It is also observed that the paintings mentioned below have been very much influenced by the events of the early Indian civilization.

*The Paintings as described in the Etruscan History*¹

Ten paintings have been identified and interpreted by me with the events from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Of these ten paintings, some were recovered from graves, two at Tarquinia and five at Cerveteri and one from a painted vase and two from mirrors.

(1) A painted plaque from Cerveteri, Lucumons in conversation. It is known as the Campana plaque. Two bearded men are seated face to face on folding stools. One has a sceptre. Above, to the right a small winged figure flies towards him. Last quarter of 6th Century B.C. Louvre; Paris. (The Etruscans: Raymond Bloch. Plate 21).

(2) A painted plaque from Cerveteri known as the Boccanera plaque. About 550 B.C. Now in the British Museum, London. It reads thus ' Procession of young women. ' (The Etruscans: Raymond and Bloch, Plate 20).

(3) A painted plaque from Cerveteri. The transport of a deceased woman. A bearded man wearing a short tunic armed with bow and arrow precedes a young winged figure similarly clad and carrying a young woman in his arms. More likely to be a mythological scene than a piece of funerary symbolism. It dates to the last quarter of the 6th century B.C. The influence of archaic Greek Art may be seen in this painting. (The Etruscans: Raymond Bloch, Plate 22).

(4) A painted plaque from Cerveteri of the same date; a funeral procession. Three figures moving towards the right. A woman holds a branch between two warriors (The Etruscans: Raymond Bloch, Plate 23).

(5) A painting from the tomb of orcus at Tarquinia. About 530 B.C. An umpire hastens towards the game and looks back to a young servant asking him to hurry up. A second little slave in a hood is crouching on the ground. (The Etruscans: Raymond Bloch, Plate 26).

(6) Painting from the Tomb of the Funeral couch at Tarquinia. About 460 B.C. Ephebe training a horse (The Etruscans: Raymond Bloch, Plate 27).

(7) Nobleman seated before the statue of a goddess standing on an altar with snake. This painting found at Cerveteri and now at the Louvre, has been much restored. (The Etruscans: Pallottino. M., Plate 20).

(8) A painted vase of (5th) fifth century B.C. (The Buried People: Voncles-Reden, Plate 66).

(9) Juno's chains Broken is engraved on a bronze mirror the story is that of Juno fixed immovably on her own throne, the said throne being nothing but a trap, devised, patented, constructed and sent to the Goddess by her own son Sethlans, the Etruscans Vulcan. The smith-god was mollified only with the help of wine. The picture shows him in the act of setting his mother free. He is being helped in this task by a brawny assistant, a mechanic who is hammering off the chains without meddling with family affairs which are no concern of his (The Etruscans begin to speak: S. A. Mayane fig. 38).

(10) The smith God appears on another mirror, the scene engraved this time is eclectic, or to put it bluntly a muddle (fig. 38). The God is on the left, with his name in a caption : Sethlans. In the middle is a horse, here again the name is given. Peese, Pegasus, the courser of poets and heroes, born of Medusa's blood. In the right hand of the engraving is an individual wielding a hammer ; like his colleague in a similar pose in the preceding example, he is unnamed. Corssen decided that the picture showed the construction of the Trojan horse by Epeos under the supervision of Sethians. (The Etruscans Begin to speak S. A. Mayane. fig. 37).

In Etruscan context the painted plaques and paintings have been recovered, (some of them from the graves) at Cerveteri and Tarquinia, one from a painted vase and two engraved on Bronze mirrors. The frescoes at Tarquinia and Cerveteri provide collection of exceptional interest and value. In the 6th Century, Tarquinian painting has the "Simplicity and naivety of archaic art." "The palette employed is relatively poor and is limited to the essential colours." The choice of themes is wide and varied and scenes of daily life are mixed with religious and mythological episodes."

The paintings and painted plaques recovered from the tombs of Tarquinia and Cerveteri range from 6th century B.C. to 5th century B.C. In the same manner, the paintings on the vase and mirrors too date back to the same period,

Identification and interpretation of the Etruscan painted Plaques and Paintings with those of the Scenes in the Rāmāyaṇa :

Painting No. 1²

The painted plaque gives us an idea about the two bearded men who are seen under deep meditation. They are seen facing each other sitting on chairs (asanas). One holds a sceptre in his left hand which indicates his Regal position and the other seems to be his friend. The person holding the sceptre may be identified with King Daśaratha and the other identified with his Minister and Charioteer Sumantra.

The painting realistically shows that one is in deep meditation by having his right hand under his chin and the other is seen listening with rapt attention. The possible explanation can be adduced as here-under. Sumantra plays a mysterious and noteworthy part in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He was the guide, philosopher and friend of king Daśaratha. He was both a Minister and Charioteer. It was he who informed Daśaratha about the prophecy by Sanatkumāra that Ṛṣyaśṛṅga's performance of the *Putrakāmēṣṭi* would bring about the birth of children to him.

Painting No. 2³

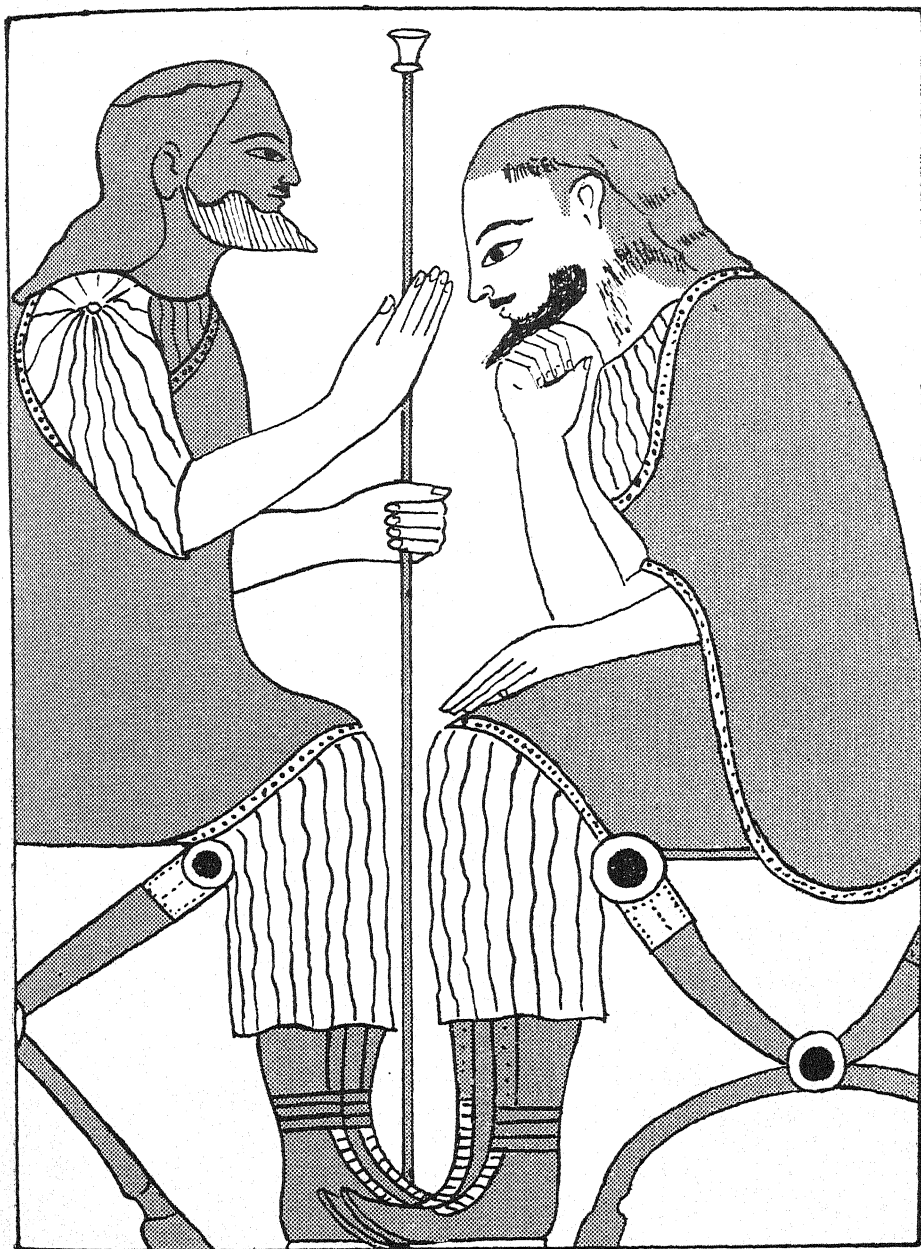
This painted plaque reminds the pāyasa episode from the *Bālakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in connection with the performance of the *Putrakāmēṣṭi* by king Daśaratha in order to beget children. In his deep desire to beget children to perpetuate his race, the king performed *Putrakāmēṣṭi*, by the merit of which he was granted four sons from his three wives, viz. Kauśalyā, Sumitrā and Kaikeyī.

Three women are seen standing with veils. Two of them are seen holding bottles. The first woman standing is seen holding an empty bottle in her hands and the second woman holding a bottle with some liquid. They appear to be none but the three wives of king Daśaratha namely Kauśalyā standing in the centre and Sumitrā to her right and to her left Kaikeyī.

King Daśaratha, after performing *Putrakāmēṣṭi*, acquired Divine Pāyasa. He gave the payasa to his principal Queen Kauśalyā to share the same with her other two sisters.⁴ At the request to Kauśalyā, Sumitrā brought an empty vessel, here in this case an empty bottle for giving the liquid. Kaikeyī being the youngest of the three, is seen standing with pride and vanity since she is the most beloved of Daśaratha. This proud look of Kaikeyī could be seen in the painting.

Painting No. 5⁸

This painted Plaque (from *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*) gives us an idea of Bharata's mission to Citrakūṭa to meet his brother Rāma and request him to come back to Ayodhyā and accept the kingship.



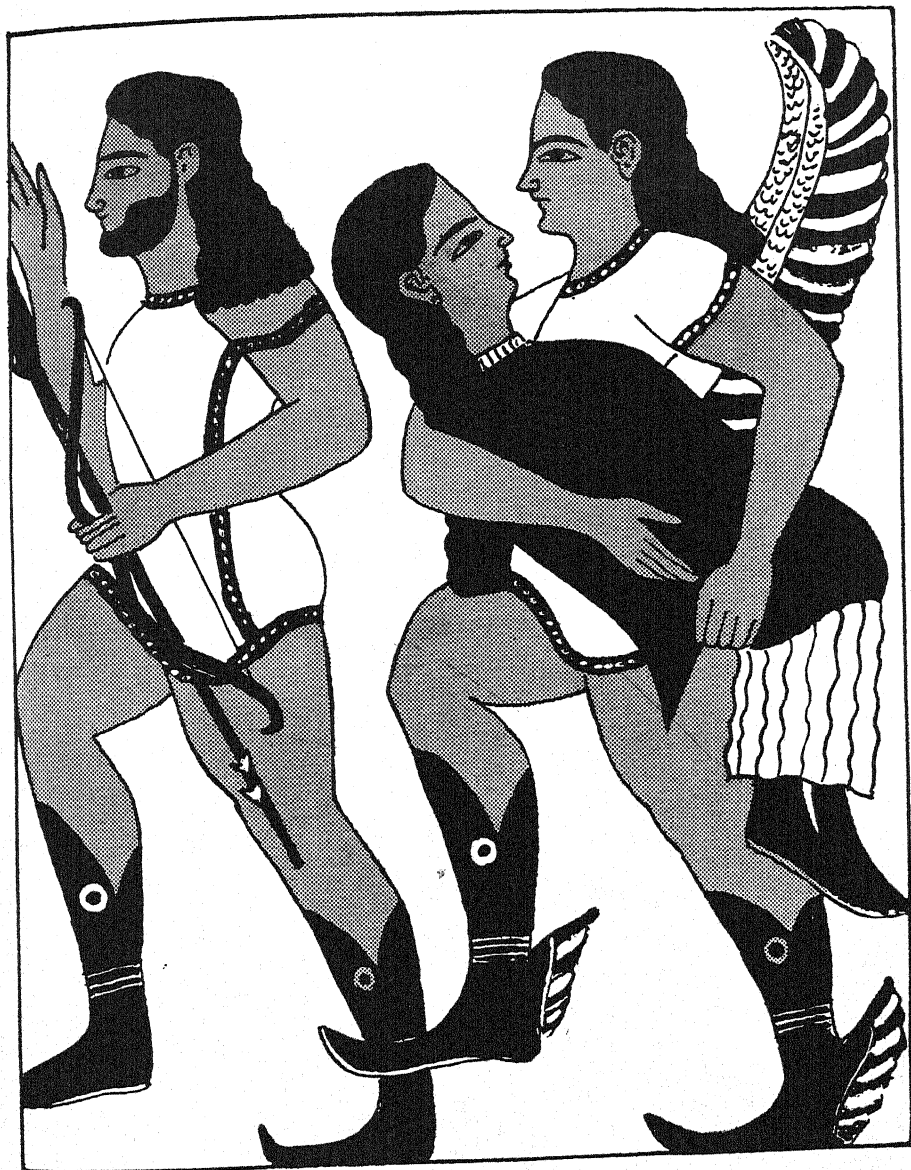
Painting No. 1.
Daśaratha's consultation with Sumantra



Painting No. 2.
Kausālayā distributing pāyasa

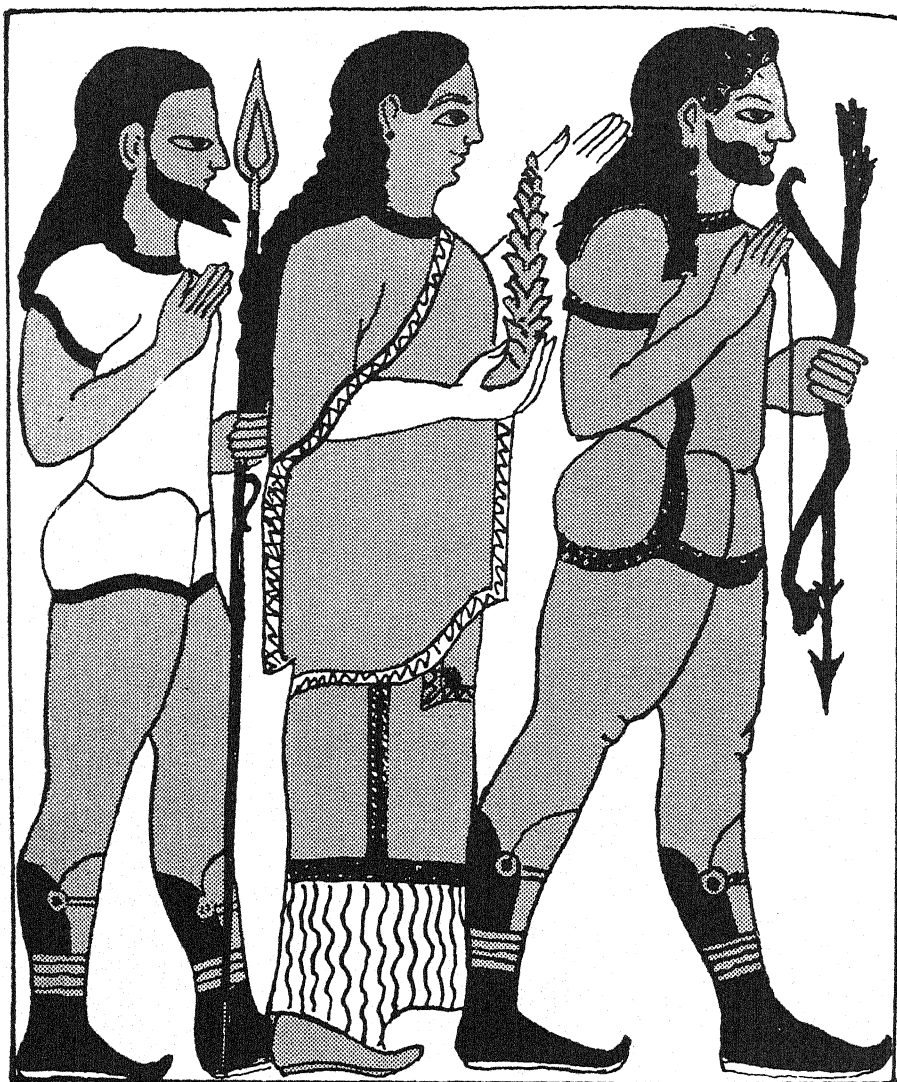


Painting No. 5.
Bharata's mission to Rāma



Painting No. 3.

Rāma, Sītā & Lakṣmaṇa—sojourn in Forest



Painting No. 4.
Rāma, Sitā & Lakṣmaṇa—sojourn in Forest



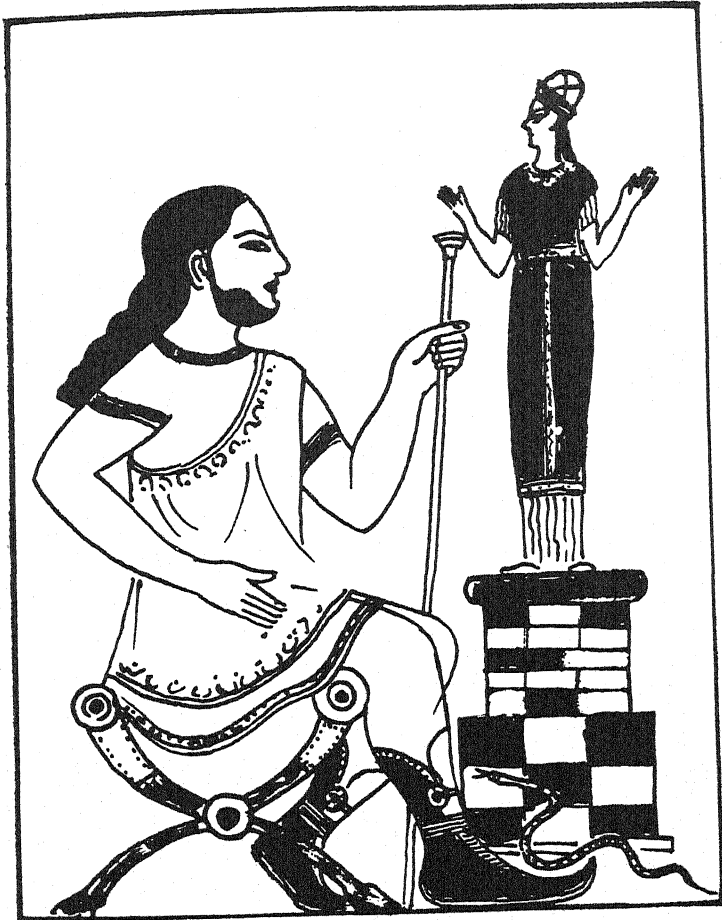
Painting No. 6.

Vālī and Sugrīva with Tārā in centre



Painting No. 7.

Rāvaṇa's abduction of Sītā, and Vībhīṣaṇa's advice to Rāvaṇa



Painting No. 8.
Rāma looking at Sītā's statue



Painting No. 9.

Kuśa & Lava capturing sacrificial horse



Painting No. 10.

Kuśa & Lava conversing with Sita

Bharata, the son of Kaikēyī, was away for some time to his grand-father's place. He rushed back to Ayodhyā when he came to know about the banishment of Rāma. He had decided to go to the forest and request Rāma to come back and occupy the throne and rule the kingdom. On the advice of 'Vasiṣṭha' Bharata with a big retinue left for the forest to request Rāma to come back to Ayodhyā. While Bharata's retinue was approaching the Parnasālā of Rāma at Citrakūṭa, Lakṣmaṇa who first observed that Bharata was approaching them with a big retinue suspected that he would be invading Rāma's camp to kill him. But he was advised by Rāma in pleasing words that Bharata was not coming to kill him but was coming with a mission.⁵

Bharata got down from his horse and stood by its side. Behind him are seen spearheads held by his men.

Painting No. 3⁵

This painted plaque certainly and undoubtedly reminds us of one of the scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* particularly during the sojourn of Rāma Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa in the Daṇḍakāraṇya.⁶

In this plaque three persons are shown. The person behind the first one is seen carrying in his arms a lady. They are Sītā and Rāma. Here Sītā is shown as being carried by Rāma in his arms. In this painted plaque Rāma is shown as having wings. The wings simply and possibly convey some mythological aspect which the painter had in his mind at the time of preparing the plaque. The man who is leading the path is identified with Lakṣmaṇa. He is seen holding a bow and arrows. This shows that the artist had the knowledge about the scenes from *Aranyakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Painting No. 4⁷

This painted plaque also belongs to *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*. Here are shown two bearded men, one carrying a bow and arrows, the other a long spear, and a lady in between the two holding a plant in her hands. This painted plaque depicts, as already mentioned another scene from the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*. The person depicted here are identified with Lakṣmaṇa, Sītā and Rāma. In *Aranyakāṇḍa* it is said that Rāma went first ; he was followed by Sītā who in turn was followed by Lakṣmaṇa.

Painting No. 6⁹

A painting on a vase which is now in Capitoline Museum Rome, reveals some ideas connected with one of the scenes from 'Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa'. Three persons are shown on the vase, of which two are men with nude bodies and tails and the third a woman standing in between them. Surprisingly the painter with his knowledge about *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes has shown tails to the two persons. These two figures may be identified thus ; the bearded man may be identified

with Vālī and the other with Sugrīva. The woman standing in between them may be identified with Tārā. Both the brothers are disputing for something. The man who is having beard seems to be older than the other and thus very fittingly connects with the fight of Vālī and Sugrīva.

Painting No. 7¹⁰

This painted plaque depicts a huge figure standing and opposite to him is shown another small figure in standing posture. In between the two persons is shown a woman sitting, covering her head with a cloth and putting her arms on her knees.

This plaque is identified with one of the scenes in *Yuddhakāṇḍa* from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The huge figure standing with upraised hands is none but Rāvaṇa who had carried away Sītā from the hermitage of Rāma to Laṅkā. The person standing before him in arguing posture is Vibhīṣaṇa, his brother and lady sitting in between them is Sītā. The standing posture of Vibhīṣaṇa indicates that he is persuading his brother Rāvaṇa to return Sītā to Rāma. It looks as though he pleads on behalf of Sītā with his brother (ten heads and twenty arms). But many verses in the poem show that he had ordinarily one head and two arms at least during nights¹¹. However, the uncommon and gigantic size of the body in the picture represents and compensates the actual description of Rāvaṇa with ten heads and twenty hands.

Painting No. 8¹²

This painted plaque reveals Rāma's performance of Aśvamēdha (horse sacrifice). In this is shown a person holding a sceptre in his left hand looking at the statue of a lady. He is seen sitting before the statue for some purpose. He is identified with Rāma and the statue with Sītā.

At the time of performing the Aśvamēdha, it is said that Sītā was banished to the forest. For performing Aśvamēdha his wife should be by his side and hence he consulted his Guru Vasiṣṭha and he readily advised him to prepare a golden replica of Sītā which would substitute the real one. It was after preparing the cast that Rāma performed Aśvamēdha.

Painting No. 9¹³

This painting and the succeeding one give us a 'connected account of the scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* especially after performing the Aśvamēdha (the horse sacrifice) by Rāma. The scene depicted in this painting acquaints us with the capture of the sacrificial horse (Yajña Aśva) by Lava and Kuśa near Vālmiki's Āśrama. A cloth is seen tied to the neck of the horse and is led by a boy (Lava) and his brother (Kuśa) is seen following his brother and the horse. Lava and Kuśa are known from the *Rāmāyaṇa* as the princes born to Sītā in exile at Vālmiki's Āśrama.

Painting No. 10¹⁴

This scene conveys another important event from the great epic *Rāmāyaṇa* in connection with the performance of Aśvamēdha by Rāma and the capture of the sacrificial horse by Lava and Kuśa near Vālmiki's Āśrama. This is identified with one of the events after the sacrificial horse was captured by the twins—Kuśa and Lava. Here both are seen explaining to their mother about their heroic adventures.

A Brief Comparison of Rāmāyaṇa with Greek Mythology.

Winternitz says "It (the *Rāmāyaṇa*) has become the property of the whole Indian people, and as scarcely any other poem in the entire literature of the world, has influenced the thought and poetry of a great nation for centuries." (History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, Page 476).

The *Rāmāyaṇa* is not a mere biography. It is a great poem, a great epic. It is also a great religious epic, and a supreme hymn and symphony. If really we had western type of epics they would have ended with the coronation of Rāma. But in India the epics pass on to the supreme heights of renunciation and sublimation of life. The *Iliad* begins with a quarrel over some girls and ends with the destruction of Troy and the bringing back of the abducted Helen. There is some similarity between the *Iliad* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Both deal with the fatal influence of beauty, the carrying away of a most beautiful woman, and the destruction of the abductor and their supporters in war. But there is a gulf of difference between the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki and the *Iliad*. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is rooted in righteousness and sublimates into renunciation. No such trait is found in *Iliad*. The reattainment of a disturbed sovereignty appears to be an end in itself in the literature of the West.

Conclusion:—

In this article only a few paintings have been selected from the history of the Etruscan people and their culture, very closely resembling the scenes from the Great epic. Even these are sufficient to show considerable identity with the scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The exemplification of *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes in the paintings, clearly reveals the popularity of the epic *Rāmāyaṇa* and its influence on the Etruscans even as early as 6th Cento B.C. These paintings cover some of the Kāṇḍas (parts) from the *Rāmāyaṇa* namely, *Bālakāṇḍa*, *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, *Aranyakāṇḍa*, *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, *Yudhakāṇḍa* and lastly *Uttarkāṇḍa*. This shows that the artists had a considerable knowledge of the Great Epic *Rāmāyaṇa*. With the further research it is felt that a full and complete picture of the scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* could be reconstructed. It is felt that further research and study of Etruscan paintings may bring to light the similarity and popularity of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in their country. It may also throw light on how the people of India migrated to far off lands and in this context to Italy.

- * 1 (a) Etruscans : Plates 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, and 27. Raymond Bloch: Thames and Hudson; London, 1958.
- (b) The buried people: Sibylle Voncles-Reden. Plate 66. Rupert Hart Davis 36, Soho Square, London-1. 1955.
- (c) The Etruscans: Pallottino M. Plate 20; Printed in Great Britain by Hunt, Aylesbruy Barnard and Company Limited. 1955.
- (d) The Etruscans Begin to speak. Plate 37, 38: Z. A. Mayane, Translated by Patrick Evans 34, Bloomsbury Street, London; w. e. i. 1961.
- 2 Painting 1: King Daśaratha's consultation with Sumantra at the time of Putrakāmeṣṭi Sacrifice. (Raymond Bloch: The Etruscans, Plate 21. Thames and Hudson. 1958.
- 3 Painting 2: Kauśalyā distributes pāyasa to her other two sisters, Kaikeyi and Sumitrā. Ibid, Plate 20.
- 4 Balakanda : XVI, 27, 28.
- 5 Painting 3: Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmana's Sojourn in the forest. (Raymond Bloch: The Etruscans, Plate 22.
- 6 In Aranyakāṇḍa: XI, it is said that Rāma went first followed by Sītā and by Lakṣmaṇa. In *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, LX. 27, it was Lakṣmaṇa Sītā and Rāma. This view is more justified by the words of Lakṣmaṇa in *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, XXXI, 23 and the words of Sītā in *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, XXVII, 6.
- 7 Painting 4: Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa Sojourn in the forest. (Raymond Bloch: The Etruscans : Plate 23).
- 8 Painting 5: Bharata's mission to Rāma to request him to come back to Ayodhyā to take up the Kingship. Ibid. Plate 27.
- 9 Painting 6: Vālī's fight with Sugrīva and in the centre Tārā, wife of Sugrīva: (Sibylle Voncles-Reden: The buried people, Plate 66)
- 10 Painting 7: Rāvaṇa's abduction of Sītā, and Vibhiṣaṇa's advice to Rāvaṇa, his brother. (Raymond Bloch: The Etruscans. Plate 26)
- 11 Yuddhakāṇḍa X, I, LIX, 110 to 113, XCIII, 29.
Sundarakāṇḍa X, 21, 22, 24. XXII, 18, 27 and 28. XLII, 23.
Uttarakāṇḍa IX, 28.
- 12 Painting 8: Rāma sits near Sītā's statue observing whether it resembles the replica of Sītā. Pallottino-M. The Etruscans Plate 20.
- 13 Painting 9: Kuśa and Lava twins of Rāma capture Rāma's Yagña Āśva (Sacrificial Horse). Z. A. Mayone. The Etruscans Begin to speak. Plate 38.
- 14 Painting 10: Kuśa and Lava are seen informing their mother Sītā about their adventures. Ibid. Plate 37.

I am very much thankful to Sarvaśrī M. D. Purāṇik and N. K. S. Sharma for rendering their invaluable help.

MAULANA MUHAMMAD B. TAHIR PATTANI

By

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Introduction :

Islam entered India before the invasions of Muhammad Ghori; but it established itself here firmly only after them. From 1206 A.D. when Qutubuddin Aibek ascended the throne of Delhi, to the days of Shah Waliullah of Delhi, the study of the science of traditions was prosecuted vigorously. The Indian Muslims continued to study this science even when it was almost neglected in other countries which were predominantly Muslim. Allama Rashid Raza Misri says: "Had the Indian Ulema not paid any attention to the science of traditions, it would have disappeared from the eastern countries, also; for during the tenth to the fourteenth centuries this science had declined in Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Hijaz".¹

And how much did the Indian Muslims devote themselves to the study of the Arabic language and of the traditions is manifest from the following :

"The Muslim emigrants of India naturally brought with them their home-culture intact and unchanged, and they had even before the Ghorian invasions developed it to a surprisingly high standard in this country. Thus for example, Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya, whose ancestors had been living in India for three generations was born at Kangra in 1192 A.D. By the time he was 12, he had learnt the Quran in all the seven *qirats* (modes of recitation) in that Hindu environment and when at that early age he went to Arabia for further studies, he had no difficulty owing to the Arabic language he had learnt here. The Muslim colony of Kanauj disappeared with that town, but Badaun situated within the territory of the Guharwar Rais was more fortunate and became a remarkable centre of Muslim education. Maulana Raziuddin Hasan Saghani (1181-1252 A.D.) studied the prophet's hadises at Badaun² and when he went to Baghdad he was immediately acknowledged to be one of the leading scholars of the subject. His compilation of the hadises, the *Mashariq-al-Anwar* of all such works is the most reliable".³

So great was the contribution of Saghani to the study of the traditions that his fame spread to all the Muslim countries and as a traditionist he was ranked with Ibn Jauzi. Hazrat Nizamuddin Aulia, according to *Fawa'id-ul-Fuwad* is

1 M. A. Gilani, *Hindustan men Musalmanon ka Nizam-i-Talim-o-Tarbiyat*, Nadwat-al-Musannifin, Delhi, 1944.

2 It has now been conclusively proved that Saghani was born at Lahore and not at Badaun. Vide articles on Saghani in Ma'arif, Jan. 1959 to June 1959.

3 Prof. M. Habib, in the introduction to Elliot and Dowson's History of India as told by its Historians.

reported to have said there were many learned men in Delhi who equalled Saghani in learning, but Saghani excelled all in the science of traditions.¹ Khwaja Nizamuddin Aulia himself committed to memory Saghani's *Mashariq-al-Anwar*.

The Traditions in Gujarat

It is clear from the above that the Muslim ulema in northern India were zealously pursuing the study of the science of the traditions. But it should not be gathered from this that in no other part of the country traditions were studied. Even more than three quarters of a century before Maulana Abdul Haqq Muhaddis Dehlavi, who is reputed to have popularized in India the study of the traditions, flourished, Gujarat had produced eminent traditionists who were acknowledged authority in this field. The host of eminent traditionists that Gujarat has produced is such as will find no parallel in any province of the country. The patronage showered on scholars by the Sultans of Gujarat made many traditionists leave their homes in Yemen and Hijaz and settle down in Gujarat; and the traditions of learning set up by these traditionists were brightly kept up by their local successors. Gujarat can justify, be proud of its achievements in the realm of the traditions.

When the Abbasid Caliph Al-Mahdi despatched an army under Abdul Malik in 159/775 to over-run the territories of Gujarat, there came with it Rabi' b. Abu Bakr b. Sabih as Sa'adi al Basari, who has the distinction of being the first scholar to compile a book on the traditions and also of being the earliest author in Islam.² Rabi' fell a victim to the plague that broke out then and was buried at Barbud (Bharbhut) near Broach. Gujarat thus has the honour of drawing to itself the first traditionist and author in Islam, who died there in 160/776.

In the reign of Ahmad Shah, there came to Gujarat al-Damamini, a great man of letters, from Egypt. He dedicated his *'Ain-al-Hayat* to the Sultan. Abdul Qasim b. Ahmad al-Shafi'i known as Ibn Fahd prosecuted his studies at Cairo and Damascus. He travelled to India with a copy of the *Fath-al-Bari*, copied by his father and uncle and presented it to Mahmud I. After the death of Mahmud I, he left Gujarat for Mandu where he died in 925/1578-19. Mahmud was interested in discussions on the traditions and he conferred the title of *Malik-al-Muhaddisin* on the Egyptian scholar Ibn Suwaid.³ Sakhawi in his biographical account of the notables of the ninth century of Islam mentions Ibn Suwaid as first going to Yemen and then to Cambay. He enjoyed a high favour in the life time of Mahmud and administered the Jaziya department. Another great

1 *Fawa'id ul-Fuwad*, p. 104.

2 Azad Bilgrami: *Maassir-ul-Kiram*, Mufid-i-Am Press, Agra, 1328/1910, p. 6.

3 Zubaid Ahmad: *The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*, Maktaba i-Din-o-Danish, Jullundar, 1946.

traditionist and grammarian Bahraq who was born in 869/1464-65 at Hazarmaut and who was a pupil of Sakhwi also came to Gujarat in the reign of Mahmud. Prince Khalil, later Muzaffar II, who was very much interested in the science of traditions, became Bahraq's pupil. Shaikh Abdul Muti' who was born at Mecca in 905/1499-1500 and who read Bukhari with Shaikh-ul-Islam Zakariya Ansari, also came to Ahmedabad. Another pupil of Shaikh-ul-Islam and a traditionist of repute was Shihabuddin Ahmad al-Abbasi al-Misri who dedicated several of his works to the Sultans of Gujarat.¹ In addition to the traditionists mentioned above, there came to Gujarat Shaikh Muhammad b. Abdullah al-Fakahi, a pupil of Shaikh Abul Hasan Bikri and Allama Ibn Hajar Mekki, and Saiyad Shaikh Abdullah, also a pupil of Ibn Hajar. All these are a few of the great traditionists who made Gujarat their home and who spent their life time in the teaching of traditions here. The people of Gujarat were much benefitted by them. Such was their influence that Gujarat, in its turn, produced traditionists who have added much lusture to its intellectual heritage. One of them was Maulana Muhammad b. Tahir Pattani.

Maulana Muhammad

Maulana Muhammad b. Tahir is the greatest traditionist that Gujarat has produced and he richly deserves the title of *Malik-al-Muhaddisin* conferred on him by the author of the *al-Nur-al-Safir*. Maulana Muhammad came of a scholarly Arab family headed by no less a figure than the great companion of the Prophet Abi Bakr Siddiq, the first Caliph himself.² He was born at Pattan in 913/1507 when Mahmud the Great was ruling over Gujarat. He was a Sunni Hanafi and belonged to the Bohra community of Gujarat. His grandfather Ali and his father Tahir were both merchants of Pattan. The Bohras of Pattan at that time used to carry on an extensive trade with Yemen, Jedda, Mecca, Medina, Taif, Basra, etc., and specially dealt in cloth and paper.

Maulana Muhammad b. Tahir received his early education at his home. By 924/1518, he became a *hafiz*, and after that he engaged himself in the study of other branches of learning. At the age of fifteen he found himself fully equipped with all the traditional sciences. As he was endowed with a sharp intellect, the students who entered in disputations with him were usually defeated. It is, therefore, reported that his school-mates were jealous of him and always desired to harm him.³ Some of his teachers, also, did not like his precociousness and uncommon intelligence and at times rebuked and snubbed him, which greatly rankled in his heart.⁴

1 Abdul Hayy : *Yad-i-Ayyam*, Shibli Book Depot, Lucknow, 1926, pp. 34-35.

2 Abdul Wahhab: *Tazkira-i-Allama Shaikh Muhammad b. Tahir Nadwat-ul-Mussan-nin*, Delhi, 1945, p. 28.

3 Abdul Wahhab: *op. cit* p. 28.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

Amongst Maulana Muhammad's Indian teachers the famous ones are Maulana Shaikh Nagori, Shaikh Burhanuddin Samhudi, Yadallah Sohi and Mulla Math. It is regrettable that not much is known about these teachers, but it is certain that they must have been the elect of their time for Naharvala—Pattan was a great centre of learning then.

Having finished his education in 920/1523, when Muzaffar II was ruling over Gujarat, M. Muhammad began to teach and continued to do so till 944/1537. Very few persons become great and successful teachers at this early age, and this bespeaks of the depth of his knowledge and ability to teach.

Maulana Muhammad possessed all the qualities that a good teacher needs. When he was a student, some of his teachers had ill-treated him; and it was then that he had pledged to God that on the completion of his education he would be a teacher and would treat his pupils with great consideration and sympathy and would always respect their personality. He had also taken a vow that as a teacher he would impart knowledge merely to please God and would not accept any remuneration for it.¹ Maulana Muhammad was so kind to the poor and promising students that he bore all their expenses and gradually he spent all his inherited wealth on them. He used to write letters to the teachers in Maktabas requesting them to direct to him intelligent children who desired to prosecute their higher studies. And when he found that they were industrious and willing to learn, he met all their expenses and made them study contentedly.²

In 944/1537 he proceeded to the Holy Lands for the Hajj. In those days Mecca was the home of many great scholars and teachers who had specialized in the science of traditions. As M. Muhammad was keenly interested in this science, he made up his mind to remain in Mecca for some time and to learn *hadis* from the Arab scholars. At Mecca he studied under the following teachers :

1. Abu Ubaidullah,
2. Saiyad Abdullah Aidarus,
3. Shaikh Ubaidullah Hazrami,
4. Shaikh Jarallah b. Fahd,
5. Shaikh Abul Hasan Bikri,
6. Shaikh Ali b. Iraq Madani, and
7. Shaikh Ibn Hajar.

Maulana Muhammad received his final instructions from Shaikh Ali Muttaqi from whom he received the garb of a Sufi, also.

After a sojourn of about five years in Hijaz, M. Muhammad returned to Gujarat and took up again the work of teaching. At this time Shaikh Math

1 A.Q. Aidarus : *Al-nur-al-Safir*, Matbaat-al-Arabia, Baghdad, 1934, p. 361.

2 Ibid., p. 361.

who was once his teacher died. He did not leave any son or successor behind him. In order to decide as to who should succeed him as a teacher, it was agreed that his prayer-carpet should be spread and whosoever felt confident of continuing his work should step forward and lead the prayers and occupy his place as a teacher. None but Maulana Muhammad dared to do so and he was accepted as the successor of Shaikh Math.

M. Muhammad and the Mahdavis

M. Muhammad besides being a great teacher, was a great religious reformer and preacher, also. On his return to Pattan from the Holy Lands he busied himself in combating the Mahdavi beliefs that his community had come to adopt. In the beginning of the reign of Muzaffar III, the last Sultan of Gujarat, the Mahdavis, taking advantage of the weakness of the government, openly began to run down the non-Mahdavis and even labelled them as Kafirs. Maulana Muhammad seeing the nefarious activities of the Mahadavis started a campaign against them by writing anti-Mahdavi pamphlets. This was not tolerated by his enemies and they resolved to kill him. Some of them joined his class as students, and one day finding him alone they attacked him with a sword and fled. Fortunately, M. Muhammad did not succumb to the wound, which took twentyfive days to heal.¹ Thereafter matters worsened and the Mahdavi activities continued to increase. Maulana Muhammad also determined to bring to end the Mahdavi beliefs. He vowed that he would not bind a turban on his head until this heresy had been removed from his community. When in 1772-73, Akbar reached Pattan he met this great teacher, and with his own hands fastened on the turban and said, "The fulfilment of your vow is in my charge".²

In 1573, Akbar after his conquest of Gujarat appointed Khan Azam who was a staunch Sunni as the viceroy of Gujarat. He, on the advice of Maulana Muhammad reduced the Mahdavis into submission and for some time all was quiet in Pattan. But when Khan Azam was recalled to Delhi, the Mahdavis again raised their heads and started fomenting fresh troubles. The new viceroy Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan was very lax in his religious beliefs and he did not pay any heed to Maulana Muhammad's advice. The Maulana thereupon determined to proceed to Delhi and present the case in person before the emperor himself. In 986/1578, he left Pattan for Delhi and after some days reached Sarangpur. The Mahdavi's pursued him secretly and when the Maulana left Sarangpur and reached the village Sohi they murdered him on the 6th Shawwal, 986/1578³ when he was offering his *tahajjud* prayers alone. His body was brought to Pattan and buried there.

1 Abdul Wahhab : *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

2 Abdul Wahhab : *op. cit.* p. 76.

3 A. M. Khan : *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* (Supplement), Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1930

Maulana Muhammad's Works :

It has been already mentioned that Maulana Muhammad was a very deep student of the traditions. It was in this science that he had specialised in the Holy Lands. In this particular field he was unmatched. *Al-Nur-al-afir* says :

“Some of our *mashaikh* have said that it is not known whether any scholar of Gujarat can stand comparison with him in the science of the traditions.”¹

It is no wonder, therefore, that his greatest contribution is made to this science. His *magnum opus* in this branch of Muslim learning is *Majma Bihar al Anwarfi gharaib al Tanzil wa Lataif al Akhbar*. It was completed at Pattan on 11 Ramzan 976/1578. “This work, which the author has dedicated to his spiritual teacher Shaikh Ali Muttaqi is a voluminous work extending over 1668 pages of large size closely lithographed. It is an exhaustive dictionary of peculiar words occurring in the Quran and the *Sihh Sittah*.” Both as reference book and as a commentary on the *Sihah*, it is a valuable book. It has almost eclipsed all the previous works of its kind. Writing about this book, Nawwab Saiyad Siddiq Hasan Khan says :

“The book is popular with the learned people since its composition and all agree on this that by writing this book Shaikh Muhammad b. Tahir has indebted the world of scholarship.”²

The version of the *Majma' Bihar* which is published by the Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, is in accordance with the MS. which was presented to Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddis by Maulana Ibrahim, the eldest son of the Shaikhul Islam.³ There is a new copy of it in Pattan, also.

2. *Tazkirat-al-mauzu'at*—This is another famous book of the Shaikh. It was completed in 958/1551. It deals with the spurious traditions. He wrote it for the students that they may guard against the pitfalls of Ibn Jauzi's *Mauzu'at*. This book is published in Cairo and was edited by Abdul Jalil Surati.⁴

3. *Al-Mughni fi zabt asma ir rijal iwa nasabehim*—This is an orthographical dictionary of the proper names and surnames of the traditionists, which are written in a similar way, and therefore, much confusion is caused. Short biographical notices are also given and there is a separate section dealing with surnames. At the end of the book there are brief notices of the Prophet, his Caliphs, famous *sunni* imams and the authors of the *Sihah Sittu*. It was completed in 952/1545 and was published in Delhi in 1873.⁵

1 Abdul Hayy : *Yad-i-Ayyam*, p. 56.

2 Abdul Hayy. *op. cit.*, p. 56.

3 Loth. 1023 : Bankipore, 1-2.

4 Abdul Hamid : *Miftah-al-Kunuz*, V-ii, 315.

5 Abdul Wahhab : *Op. cit.*, p. 82.

4. *Qanum-al-Mauzu'at fi zikr-al-zu'afa wal wazzain.*

5. *Asma-al-Rijal*—It is a work containing biographical notices of those traditionists whose names occur in the Shaikh's *Majma'l Bihar*. The book was dedicated personally to Akbar.

6. *Risala fi lughat al Mishkat* is a work similar to *Majma'l Bihar*.

7. }
8. } Taliqats on *Tirmizi* and *Abu Muslim*.¹

9. *Hashia Mishkat-al-masabih* ².

Pupils of Maulana Muhammad

The *Risala-i-Manaqib* by Shaikh Abdul Wahhab gives a long list of Maulana's disciplines and pupils. Some of them are :—

1. Shaikh Ziauddin b. Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus.
2. Maulana Mian Ahmad Khan Pattani.
3. Muhammad Fazl.
4. Mian Jalal b. Manjhan (Shah Alam).
5. Maulana Shaikh Muhammad Shattari.
6. Shaikh Amin b. Shaikh Ahmad Pattani.
7. Shaikh Husain Surati
8. Shaikh Abdun Nabi, Sadr-us-Sudar in the days of Akbar.³

Epilogue :

As you come out of the Khan Sarovar Darwaza of the ruined fortress of Pattan, your eyes fall on a dried thorny hedge fencing a forsaken tomb. And when you are told that it is there that Maulana Muhammad b. Tahir lies buried, you begin to wonder at the vagaries of time and the utter unconcern of the people, with things of transcendental character. The man who brought glory to Gujarat by his pen mightier than the swords of many mundane conquerors, and who made the name of Pattan a household word in the world of Islam does not deserve to be thus consigned to the limbo of oblivion ! The scholarly world of Gujarat should not fail to repay the debt it owes to Maulana Muhammad.

1 Abdul Hamid : *Miftah-al-Kunuz*, XII, 731, *Ma'arif*, Oct. 1945, p. 236.

1 Abdul Wahhab : *Op. cit.*, p. 90

2 Abdul Wahhab *op. cit.*, p. 90

3 *Ibid.* p. 93-94.

MĀṆḌAVĪ STEP-WELL INSCRIPTION AT CĀMPĀNERA
SAMVAT—1554, ŚAKA—1419

By

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During the Archaeological explorations around Cāmpānera the present inscription was found near a village locally known as Māṇḍavī. It is about three kilometers to the north-west of Cāmpānera, behind the Saria-Vākariā ḍuṅgar, and seven kilometers to the north-east of Halol, in the Panchamahals district of Gujarat State. This inscription was discovered from a ruined step-well near a cultivated field, which is hardly 100 meters to the south-east of the village.

The size of the step-well is about, 19×4.80 meters. It has five spans, and each span has seven steps. This inscription is engraved in the northern niche of the third span, on a square flat sand-stone of 61×61 c.m. There are 16 lines of the inscription and the average size of the letters is 2 c.m. On each line there is a decorative device of two vertical strokes. To the opposite side of this inscription there exists a similar niche in ruinous condition.

This inscription is in Devanāgarī characters. The language is mixed—Sanskrit and mediaeval Gujarati. The letter *E* for *Ya* and the use of the term *Śavaloka* for *Śivaloka* indicate that the author was not a very efficient writer of Sanskrit. The terms Sultān, Vakaf, Masit, Hajirā etc. are of Persio-Arabic source. The use of these and other administrative words was already current by the 15th cent. A.D. in Gujarat.

The inscription begins with an invocation of *Gaṇeśa* and *Śāradā*. After that the benedictory verse for water reservoir is given. It is followed by the astronomical data of the year, time, day and other details of the Indian calendar. It is followed by medieval Gujarati text, which indicates the main purpose of the donation of two plough-land for a Mosque, step-well and a Hazirā, by Malik Saṇḍal Sultānī during the reign of Sultān Mahmud Begrā.

The places mentioned in the inscription such as Pāvakadurga, Cāmpānera and Mahamadāvāda refer to the hill fortress of Pāvāgaḍha, and the city of Cāmpānera, or Campakanagara. This city was on the Pāvāgaḍha hill, as noted in the drama '*Gaṇḍadāsa Pratāpa Vilāsa*'¹. After the conquest of Cāmpānera Mahmud Begrā made it the capital, and named as Mahmudābād. The inscription clearly mentions that the city was given another name. This is a well-

1 Sandesara, B. J., 'Detailed description of the Fort of Cāmpāner in the Gaṇḍadāsa Pratāpa Vilāsa, an unpublished Sanskrit Play by Gaṇḍādhara', *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1-2, Sept.-Dec., 1968.



known phenomenon that was responsible for change of many place-names. It is interesting to know that such changes proved short-lived in many localities including Cāmpānera.

The term Pāvakadurga is noted even in the Nahānī Umarvān inscription¹ (Halol Taluka) dated *Samvat* year 1525=1469 A.D. and in the Dohad stone inscription of Mahmud² (Begrā) dated V.S. 1545=1489 A.D. earlier to this present inscription. The term Pāvakadurga has the reference to Pāvāgaḍha in all these cases, and hence the identification of Pāvakdurga with Pāvāgaḍha does not raise any problem of identification.

The word Śrī which comes before the name of Sultān Mahmud Begrā for seven times indicates his majesty and personality. 'Saṇḍal Sultānī Bābati-Mulku-Udah' is probably the name of Malik of Sultān Mahmud Begrā, who had donated a field for public utility and welfare. But here the title 'Bābati-Mulku-Udah' requires further study.

From the style of writing it seems that the tradition of giving numbers in numerals as well as in words was very common in 15th century A.D. Some of the numbers occurring in this inscription are given in both the forms such as 5 *Pañcamyām*, *Hala 2 aṅke hala bi* or *Bhūmihala bi aṅke 2*. Here the word *Hala* is used as a term for measurement, a measure frequently met with in the Caulukya grants. It is described as *Bhūmihala 2*. This description indicates that a piece of land which could be managed by two ploughs in this area might be about ten acres of land. This measure is variable as the capacity of ploughing depends upon the nature of the soil. It also describes that the field which is donated for public welfare is "*Kālikālayakhetra*", meaning the field having black colour, like the colour of Goddess *Kālikāmātā*. The black land of the surrounding area gives significance to the simile. Incidentally it may be noted that Pāvāgaḍha is a famous seat of the temple of *Kālikā*. She is the *Kula-devatā* of the Cauhan dynasty of Pāvāgaḍha, and hence her temple at Pāvāgaḍha exists at least from the period of the Cauhāns.

Another important fact was also noticed while exploring the area around the step-well. It was noticed that the remains of ruined mosque and standing Mausoleum are still in existence in the same field as it is already mentioned in the inscription. These remains provide the reality of the narration on the inscription.

I am very grateful to Prof. R. N. Mehta, Head, Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, M. S. University of Baroda, for his help in writing this

2 Major Watson, J. W., 'Historical Sketch of the Hill Fortress of Pāvāgaḍh, in Gujarat', *The Indian Antiquary*, 1877, A Journal of Oriental research, pp. 1-9.

3 Sankalia, H. D., 'Dohad Stone Inscription of Mahamud (Begarha) V. S. 1545, Śaka 1410', *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIV, 1937-38, pp. 212-225.

paper. I am also grateful to Śrī G. U. Bhagat, for accompanying me in field work and also for taking the rubbing of the same inscription. My thanks are due to Shri J. T. Patel also, for his help in taking the photographs of this inscription.

TEXTS

- L. 1 ॐ नमो श्री गणेशाय नमः श्री सारदाई¹ नमः
 L. 2 एकांगो पदमात्रेण उदकं धारयेन्मही । षष्ठिव-
 L. 3 रित्व²सहस्राणि शिवलोकं³ गच्छति⁴ । स्वस्तिश्री
 L. 4 संवत् १५५४ वर्षे शाके १४१९ प्रावर्तमाने उत्तराय-
 L. 5 ने हेमंतरितौ⁵ पौषमाशे शुक्लपक्षे ५ पंचम्यां स्तियो⁶
 L. 6 गुरुदिने शतसिंघा नक्षत्रे संध्याभ्यामिगे बालव क
 L. 7 र्णे पावकदुर्गे शहर मुकरम⁷ महमदाबाद और्फ⁸
 L. 8 चापानेरः । स्थाने श्री पातशाह श्री श्री श्री श्री
 L. 9 श्री श्री श्री सलतान महमुद विजयराजे योति-
 L. 10 श्री⁹ वजयादितः वाकिकिः मलिक संदल सुल-
 L. 11 तानी¹⁰ बावति मुल्क उदः शुभंभवति कत्या-
 L. 12 ण जितिभूमी हल २ अंके हल वि वावि मसी-
 L. 13 तनुं तथा वकफ¹¹ हजीरानुं षे(खे)त्रेए भूमिहल
 L. 14 चि अंके २ सुलतानि समस्त दीवानिए¹² मोमि-
 L. 15 हल २ धर्मार्थ दता कालिकालां ऐषे(खे)त्र जि-
 L. 16 को लोपि ते दोषभागी थाइ ए पुंन्यआयुष्य इ (?) तपापी

1 E is used for Ya.

2 Var iṣa is used for Varṣa.

3 Śavaloka should be Śivaloka.

4 This benedictory verse could be traced to 'Aparājita-prcchā' which notes :

यस्य गोपदमात्रं तु ह्युदकं धारयेन्मही ।

वर्षषष्टिसहस्राणि शिवलोकं स गच्छति ॥ ३८ ॥

A comparison of this Śloka with that from the inscription indicates clearly the source of the latter. "Aparājita-prcchā", B. Bhattacharya, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1950, Chapter no. 74, p. 185.

5 Ritau should be Rīau.

6 Paṛṇyām tithau would be correct, addition of S is not necessary.

7 Śaharamukarama is a persian epithet of Cāmpānera.

8 Aurfin in the sense of or.

9 Yoṣīrī seems to be Jyotiṣī.

10 'Malik Sandal Sultani' is unknown to Historical literature, probably he was one of the nobles of Sulṭān Mahmud Bagra.

11 Vakafa = donation.

12 Sulṭānī Samasta Divānī is technical administrative term.

TRANSLATION

Om: Salutation to *Gaṇeśa*. Salutation to *Śāradā*. One who makes the provision of water on the earth even in one foot-step of cow, will get the heaven of Śiva for sixty thousands of years.

Hail : In the Samvat year 1554 and Śaka era 1419, when the Sun is in Uttarāyaṇa in the month of Pauṣa, in the first fortnight, fifth day, on Thursday during Śatabhiṣā constellation coinciding Sandhyagniyoga and Bālava Karaṇa.

In the fortunate fortress of Pāvaka in the city of Mahamadābād alias Cāmpānera, during the victorious region of Sultān Mahmud.

A Jyotiṣī called Vijayādita writes:—Malik Saṇḍal Sultāni Bābati Mulk-Udah. Let there be good and auspiciousness. The land which could be cultivated by two ploughs, which is in the revenue of kingdom of Sultān is given in donation for the sake of step-well, mosque and mausoleum. This two plough land is given in donation as per Cīvil regulations of the Sultān.

One who violates the Black-field as black as the goddess *Kālī* will be guilty. The Puṇya will persist as long as the step-well.

FAUNA IN BHĀRAVI

By

J. P. THAKER, Baroda

In a previous paper by the present writer, published in JOI, XX. iv—June 1971—(pp. 461-478), a study of the *FLORA IN BHĀRAVI* was presented. The present paper humbly attempts at a critical survey of the *FAUNA* as mentioned by B h ā r a v i in his highly esteemed poem, the *Kirātārjunīyam*.

Several *FAUNA*, i.e., quadrupeds, flying animals, creeping creatures and aquatic animals have been referred to in B h ā r a v i's poem. The terms 'bhūta' (XV. 1), 'tiryac' (II. 55) and 'sattva' (XIV. 16) are employed by him to denote animals in general. In the sense of beasts alone, the term 'tiryac' is used once (XIII. 10); 'paśu' twice (XIV. 38; XV. 13) and 'mrga' as many as ten times (VI. 34; X. 5; XII. 45, 46; XIII. 4, 6, 9; XIV. 13, 15, 22). Likewise, such terms as 'khaga' (XIV. 45), 'patat' (VI. 1; XIII. 26), 'patatrin' (IX. 8), 'śakuni' (XII. 45), 'vi' (XV. 52) and 'vihaṅga' (IX. 31; XII. 46) are employed to denote birds.

The BEASTS referred to in our poem are the horses, the yaks, the elephants, the oxen, the cows, the jackals, the 'indragopa's, the buffaloes, the antelopes, the donkeys, the lions, the boars and the bulls. Let us survey the references to each of these in their proper order.

1. *Aśva* (I. 16; XVI. 6, 8) or the horse is also termed here as 'turaga' (VII. 11; XV. 16, 26), 'turaṅga' (VII. 4, 19), 'turaṅgama' (VII. 21) and 'vājin' (XIII. 55). At one place the horses as a part of the army on the field of battle are stated to be 'caturagāḥ' or moving in a dexterous manner.¹ At another they are mentioned as 'prajavin's or very fast (VII. 4). It is narrated at a third place that the chariot-drivers used to be thrown off on the battle-field by steeds terrified by dancing headless trunks of dead warriors.² There are references to 'aśva-heṣā' or neighing of horses (XVI. 8) on the battle-field, to 'aśviya' or a multitude of horses (XV. 24), especially to the cavalry

1 *Vide* XV. 16, which is a 'citra-kāvya' of the 'samudgaka' type with the figures 'Yathāśarikhya' and 'Yamaka':

स्यन्दना नो चतुरगाः सुरेभा वाविपत्तयः ।

स्यन्दना नो च तुरगाः सुरेभा वा विपत्तयः ॥

2 *Vide* the first half of another 'citra-kāvya':

प्रवृत्तशववित्रस्ततुरगाक्षिप्तसारथौ । XV. 26^{ab}.

(XVI. 4) and to 'vāji-bhūmi or a place where horses are found in abundance (XIII. 55).

2. *Camaris* or the Yaks (*Bos grunniens*) are stated here to be so fond of their hairy tails that they would try to preserve them even at the risk of their very lives (XII. 47).
3. *Gaja* or the elephant is referred to by the following synonyms: 'dantin' (I. 16; III. 45; V. 9; XIV. 22; XVI. 11, 14), 'dvipa' (III. 38; VII. 24, 30; XV. 24; XVI. 8; XVII. 36, 45), 'dvirada' (II. 25; VI. 7; XVIII. 1), 'gaja' (I. 36; V. 2, 47; VII. 8, 31, 32, 35, 37; XII. 40, 48), 'ibha' (VI. 11; VII. 11, 39; X. 53; XIII. 55; XV. 16, 25; XVII. 51), 'kareṇu' (VII. 20, 33), 'karin' (II. 18; V. 7, 25, 26; VII. 13, 24, 34; VIII. 12; IX. 20; XII. 49; XVI. 9, 12; XVIII. 32), 'mātaṅga' (VII. 36; XVI. 14), 'mataṅgaja' (I. 29; V. 47; XVII. 17, 36), 'nāga' (III. 50; VII. 32; XV. 12; XVI. 2, 30, 38; XVII. 45) and 'vāraṇa' (VII. 34, 38; VIII. 22; XIII. 20; XIV. 35; XVI. 13, 36). 'Vyāla gaja' or 'a vicious elephant' is referred to at XVII. 25. The she-elephant or 'kariṇī' is mentioned at two places (II. 6; VII. 24); while a reference to the 'gandha-gaja' or scented elephant is met with at XVII. 17. The 'aga-ja gaja's or mountain-born (i.e. mountainous) elephants are covered with hair on the whole of their bodies which are very hard (I. 36). The 'vanya-dvipa's or wild elephants are fond of rivers which they turn turbid especially in summer (III. 38). 'Ibha-rāja-kānana' or the forest where excellent elephants are found in abundance is also referred to at XIII. 55. The 'ākariṇ karin's or elephants of good breed are mentioned at V. 7. They are fond of digging river-banks. Rutting elephants are fond of giving side-blows to the banks (VI. 7). They are fond of swimming and dipping in rivers (V. 25; VI. 11; VII. 11, 35), and the drops of rut floating on waters resemble the eyes of peacock-feathers (VI. 11). The colour of rut is reddish or tawny (VII. 33, 35), and it smells like *sāptaparṇa* flowers (I. 16), like lotuses (VII. 35) and like full-blown cardamun flowers (VII. 38). While rutting, they close their eyes (might be due to intoxication), stretch their trunks on the branches of trees, in due course their trunks slip down from the trees and they sit down in an easy way.³ They become so enraged at the rutting of other elephants that they disregard the commands of their

3 Vide the nice description of Śiva's *gaṇas* who are compared to such elephants:

अंसस्थलैः केचिदभिन्नधैर्याः स्कन्धेषु संश्लेषवतां तरुणाम् ।

मदेन मीलन्नयनाः सलीलं नागा इव सस्तकरा निषेदुः ॥ XVI. 30.

drivers, when female elephants have to be brought to help who tactfully captivate them and under the circumstances they would proceed further with great difficulty.⁴ *Bhāravi* states that the elephants emaciate due to rutting.⁵ The roarings of elephants are compared to the deep thunders of clouds (VII. 39). Other peculiarities of elephants are spraying out water-drops from their trunks all around (XVI. 9, 12) and scratching their temples against sandal-trees (V. 47; VIII. 12) and even breaking forth these trees (XII. 49). When enraged against another elephant, it casts off its '*mukha cchada*' or face-covering (XVII. 45). This reference indicates that, even like the horses yoked to carts, the elephants used to have their faces covered with special veils. The wild elephants are stated to be afraid of the *Kirātas* or forest-tribes (XII. 49). There is a reference to '*gaja-mauktika*'s or pearls springing forth from the temples of the elephants (XII. 40). At one place the ear-flapping on the part of a vicious elephant is mentioned. When such an elephant starts flapping its ears one after the other, the driver understands that he has committed certain flaw out of carelessness that has loosened his check on the animal and becomes suspicious of destruction.⁶

4. *Go* (mas.) or an ox is mentioned as a model of the low position of attendership to which one is condemned on account of four vices viz. (1) always depending on others for fulfilling one's own tasks, (2) following very low types of vocation such as those of a scavenger, a coolie, etc., (3) being devoid of all sense of shame and (4) having no control over sense-organs.⁷
5. *Go* (fem.) or the cow (IV. 10, 11, 12, 13, 32; XVII. 20) is also termed as '*dhenu*' (IV. 13, 31) and '*paśu*' (IV. 13). At one place the herds

4 *Vide* the picturesque description of the feelings and movements of such elephants:

आसन्नद्विपदवीमदानिलाय कुध्यन्तो धियमवमल्य धूर्गतानाम् ।

सव्याजं निजकरिणीमिरात्तचित्ताः प्रस्थानं सुरकरिणः कथंचिदीषुः ॥ VII. 24.

Also *vide* VII. 32, 34.

5 *Vide* :

मदलुत्तिक्षाममिवैकवारणम् । XIV. 35^b.

6 *Vide* the nice Simile:

सव्यापसव्यध्वनितोग्रचापं पार्थः किराताधिपमाशङ्के ।

पर्यायसम्पादितकर्णतालं यन्ता गजं व्यालमिवापराद्धः ॥ XVII. 25.

7 *Vide* Indra's words to ascetic Arjuna:

परवानर्थसंसिद्धौ नीचवृत्तिरपत्रपः ।

अविधेयेन्द्रियः पुंसां गौरिवैति विधेयताम् ॥ XI. 33.

of cows are described as snow-white resembling a fine silken garment.⁸ They are very timid (IV. 13). When it rains at night, they are not able to see one another and only hear the thunders of clouds; they are terrified at this and tremble continuously (XVII. 20). They are also represented here as fond mothers (IV. 10, 31, 32). *Bhāravi* shows great regard for these holy creatures by employing such epithets as 'jagat-prasūti' and 'jagad-eka-pāvani' and comparing them with sacrificial offerings (IV. 32).

6. *Gomāyu* or the jackal is referred to as a vile and low animal who cannot have friendship with such a noble animal as an elephant (XIV. 22).
7. *Indragopa* or the insect cochineal is mentioned twice. At X. 3 it is named 'śakragopa' and at X. 27 'surendragopa'. Its scarlet colour becomes evident from the descriptions in both these places, the latter expressly indicating its bulky body. These insects generally appear in the rainy season as is implied by their very name; the description here is of autumn.
8. *Mahiṣa* or the buffalo is referred to once, where it is stated that buffaloes pound down the plants of *Aguru*, *Tamāla* and *Nalada*, while flying away out of fear from the foresters' army (XII. 50).
9. *Mrga* or the deer is mentioned eight times in our *Kāvya* (I. 40; IV. 33; V. 38; VI. 24; XI. 58; XII. 52; XIII. 5; XV. 10). The synonym 'hariṇa' is used at XI. 58 and its feminine form 'hariṇi' at XII. 52. The timid nature and very low life and maintenance of the antelopes are pointed out at XI. 58. Their dexterity in running away speedily is indicated by the phrase "mārgaṃ mārgaṃ" at XV. 10^b. They were prominent as *Āśrama*-creatures (XII. 52). The does are described as fond of music. They are so fond of music that they disregard their intense hunger and do not go to the grass while listening attentively to the sweet songs of the cowherdesses of melodious voice (IV. 33). Their fondness for the sprouts of green grass is brought out at V. 38. When rejoiced, they bite the tender creepers with their teeth (XII. 52).
10. *Rāsabha* or the donkey is referred to once, where its dusty-white colour is hinted at.⁹

8 *Vide* the figurative statement:

विमुच्यमानैरपि तस्य मन्थरं गवां हिमानीविशदैः कदम्बकैः ।
शरन्नदीनां पुलिनैः कुतूहलं गलद्दुकूलैर्जघनैरिवादधे ॥ IV. 12.

9 *Vide* this striking expression where the dust is compared in colour to the donkey :

भूरेणुना रासमधूसरेण XVI. 7^a.

11. *Siṃha* or the lion is mentioned as many as eight times. The synonyms of *Siṃha* (XVI. 50) used by our poet are *mṛgādhipa* (II. 18, 21; VII. 39; XII. 48), *mṛgendra* (III. 50) and *Hari* (XV. 45; XVII. 46). Its characteristics of self-respect (II. 21; VII. 39; XVII. 46), self-reliance (II. 18), dauntless nobility (II. 21; XII. 48) and even corporeal handsomeness (XV. 45) are described by our poet very briefly but quite strikingly and vividly. At one place (XVI. 50) the fire issuing out of Arjuna's *Āgneyāstra* which spread in all directions and crossed the very cloud-rows, as if desirous of destroying all living beings, is aptly compared to a lion ready for taking a leap for killing the creatures, with its manes dishevelled on all sides.¹⁰
12. *Varāha* or the boar is referred to in our poem, over and above the usual name '*varāha*' (XII. 37; XIII. 23, 41), by the synonym '*sūkara*' (XII. 53), the descriptive term '*daṃṣṭrin*' (XIII. 50; XIV. 38) and the general term '*mṛga*' (XIII. 1, 6, 33, 46, 49, 63, 65; XIV. 14, 15). It is described here as possessing an uneven dark huge body and strong teeth (XIII. 1, 8, 24).
13. *Vṛṣa* or the bull is termed here as '*gavām adhipa*' (IV. 11), '*ṛṣabha*' (XIV. 40), '*ukṣan*' (IV. 11; V. 42), '*vṛṣa*' (IV. 18; XII. 20; XVIII. 20) and '*vṛṣabha*' (XVIII. 16). Its well-nourished huge white body (IV. 11; V. 42), made circular in the fond act of butting against banks and rocks and thus resembling the moon (V. 42), is aptly described by our poet, who rightly considers it as arrogance (*darpa*) incarnate (IV. 11).

The BIRDS mentioned in our poem are the crane, the bee, the partridge, the ruddy goose, the eagle, the swan, the crow, the cuckoo, the osprey, the peacock, the *sārasa* and the parrot.

14. *Balākā*: The cranes are referred to by the expression '*viśadāḥ patatṛiṇaḥ*' which is paraphrased by Mallinātha as '*balākāḥ*' (IV. 23). The description here indicates that these are birds of the rainy season and as such they are not seen in the autumn.¹¹
15. *Bhramara* or the bee is mentioned here as many as twenty times. Over and above the common term '*bhramara*' (VII. 10) six other synonyms

10 *Vide* the very nice description of fire :

ऊर्ध्वं तिरश्चीनमधश्च कीर्णैर्ज्वालासटैर्लङ्घितमेघपङ्क्तिः ।

आयस्तसिंहाकृतिरुत्पपात प्राण्यन्तमिच्छन्निव जातवेदाः ॥ XVI. 50.

11 *Vide* this verse which is an instance of *Arthāntaranyāsa* :

पतन्ति नाऽस्मिन् विशदाः पतत्रिणो धृतेन्द्रचापा न पयोदपङ्क्तयः ।

तद्यापि पुष्पाति नभः श्रियं परां न रम्यमाहार्यमपेक्षते गुणम् ॥ IV. 23.

are used viz. 'ali' (V. 26; VI. 2: VIII. 5; X. 31, 33), 'alin' (VII. 31), 'dvirepha' (VIII. 11, 35, 47), 'madhulih' (XVIII. 20), 'saṭpada' (IV. 14; VIII. 7, 35; X. 26, 34, 42) and 'śilīmukha' (IV. 35; VIII. 6). The 'aliyoṣits' or drones are also referred to at one place (VI. 7). The bees are fancied as the collyrium for the flower-eyes of the creepers (VIII. 11).¹² They like the odour of elephants' rut (V. 26; VI. 7). They are fond of flower-juice (X. 26), of lotuses in general (VIII. 35; X. 33) and of 'kokanada's or red-lotuses in particular (X. 42). Their dark colour is hinted at thrice (IV. 14; VIII. 47 and X. 26). The buzzing of the bees is depicted as a good omen (VI. 2).¹³

16. *Cakora* or the partridge is mentioned only once (VII. 39). There the partridges are described as startled at the deep roarings of celestial elephants resembling the deep thunderings of clouds.
17. *Cakravāka* or the ruddy goose (*Anas Casarca*) is referred to at six places, where the peculiar fate of these birds in being invariably separated from their beloveds during the night-time is described (VIII. 56; IX. 4, 13, 14, 30). Only at one place they are termed as *Cakravākas* (IX. 4); at all other places descriptive expressions are employed ; e.g. they are called 'rathāṅganāmnāṃ mithunāni' (VIII. 56) and 'yāminivirahiṇāṃ vihaṅgānāṃ mithunāni' (IX. 13). At one place the singular of the latter expression viz. 'yāmini-virahiṇā vihagena' is used (IX. 30). At another the general term 'śakuntī' is employed for the male (IX. 14), while at a third one female of this bird is called 'rathāṅga-nāma-vanītā' (VI. 8). It is not possible even for her, says the poet, to distinguish her ruddy mate from the huge waves of the Gaṅgā turned reddish on account of the vicinity of the golden peaks of the Himālayas.¹⁴
18. *Garutmat* or the eagle is termed by our poet as 'ākhaṇḍala-sūnu-vi' (I. 24), 'khaga' (XVI. 45), 'tārṅśya' (XIII. 21; XVI. 42), 'patat' (XVI. 47), 'patatāṃ pati' (VI. 1), 'rukmacchada' (XVI. 46),

12 Vide the excellent verse possessing a *Saṅkara* of *Rūpaka* and *Utprekṣā* :

सखीजनं प्रेमगुरुकृतादरं निरीक्षमाणा इव नम्रमूर्तयः ।

स्थिरद्विरेफाञ्जनशारितोदरैर्विसारिभिः पुष्पविलोचनैर्लताः ॥ VIII. 11.

13 Vide the verse having a *Saṅkara* of *Upamās* :

तमनिन्द्यबन्दिन इवेन्द्रसुतं विहितालिनिक्कणजयध्वनयः ।

पवनेरिताकुलविजिह्वाशिखा जगतीरुहोऽवचकरुः कुसुमैः ॥ VI. 2.

14 Vide the verse with a *Saṅkara* of the figures *Bhrāntimat* and *Tadguṇa* :

अनुहेमवप्रमरुणैः समतां गतमूर्मिभिः सहचरं पृथुभिः ।

स रथाङ्गनामवनितां कर्णैरनुबध्नतीमभिननन्द रतैः ॥ VI. 8.

'*suparṇa*' (XVI. 44) and '*vinatā-suta*' (XVI. 48). The chests of the eagles are stated to be broad (XVI. 45). Their reddish brilliance is referred to at XVI. 43, 45, 46, 47 and 48. The eagle is depicted once as the vehicle of the Supreme Being (VI. 1). Great serpents are represented as being terrified at the flapping sound of the eagles (XIII. 21). The eternal enmity between serpents and eagles is also referred to at XVI. 48.

19. *Haṁsa* or the flamingo is mentioned as many as thirteen times. It is termed not only as '*haṁsa*' (IV. 25; V. 31; VI. 4; X. 4, 25; XVIII. 19) but also as '*kalahāṁsa*' (IV. 1; V. 13; VI. 6; VIII. 27, 29). At one place the descriptive name '*śitacchada-patātrin*' is used (IV. 30). The '*kalahāṁsa-vadhū*' or the female flamingo is mentioned at X. 60. The sweet voice of these birds is described at IV. 1, 25; VI. 4; VIII. 27 and X. 4. They are stated to be intoxicated in Autumn (IV. 25; X. 25), when they fly along the sky towards waters and forest-groves (IV. 27-30). These birds possess silver-bright and crystal-bright lustre (V. 31) but their gait lacks grace [*hāva*] and consequently the graceful movements of the celestial nymphs surpass the same (VIII. 29; X. 60). The *Mānasa*-lake in the Himālayas is traditionally considered as their abode, where they are found in abundance (V. 13). They are depicted here as the carriers of the celestial cars, the bells hung on their necks ringing as they moved along the celestial road of the sky (XVIII. 19).
20. *Kāka* or the crow has secured a solitary reference (XV. 25), where its contemptible nature of flying away from responsibility is hinted at.¹⁵
21. *Kokila* or the cuckoo is referred to twice. At the first place it is stated that in spring the '*kokila*' or the he-cuckoo, so fond of the smell of blowing mango-fruit, is intoxicated by that smell and produces cooing notes (V. 26). At the other place the '*parabhṛta-yuvati*' or the she-cuckoo is mentioned. It is stated there that in rainy season it eats the ripened Jambū-fruit and, rejoicing at this enjoyment, produces sweet notes which become agreeable by virtue of the employment of a variety of sweet tones and as such it fascinates even afflicted hearts (X. 22).

15 *Vide* the nice illustration of '*Sarvato-bhadra*', which, being a *citra-bandha*, is difficult to understand :

देवाकानिनि कावादे बाहिकाखखकाहि वा ।

काकारेभमरे काका निखभव्यव्यभखनि ॥ XV. 25.

Here Kārtikeya is stated to be addressing the *gaṇas*, who were taking to their heels from the battle-field, as contemptible like crows.

22. *Kurari* or the osprey is mentioned only once (V. 25). This single reference makes it clear that '*kurari-gaṇa*'s or flights of ospreys are found in the Himālayas and their resounding is liked by elephants.¹⁶
23. *Mayūra* or the peacock, the national bird of India and certain other countries, has retained its importance by securing as many as ten references in the *Kirātārjunīya*. The terms employed here to denote this bird are '*nīlakaṇṭha*' (VII. 39), '*barhiṇa*' (IV. 33), '*barhin*' (VI. 11), '*mayūra*' (VII. 22), '*śikhāṇḍin*' (IV. 25; X. 23), '*śikhādhara*' (XV. 42) and '*śikhin*' (X. 25; XII. 41). The pea-hens are mentioned as '*śikhāṇḍināṃ yoṣitaḥ*' (IV. 16). These birds are stated to rejoice and become intoxicated on the advent of rain (IV. 16; VII. 22, 39; X. 23) and hence their sweet notes are not so agreeable in autumn as they are in monsoon (IV. 25). They sing in the *śaḍja svara*.¹⁷ At one place the variegated peacock-feather-eyes are referred to (VI. 11). The *Kirātas* are stated to adorn their temples with peacock-feathers (XII. 41). The arrows also used to be adorned on the other end with peacock-feathers (XV. 42).¹⁸
24. *Sārasa* or *Ardea Sibirica* is referred to four times (VI. 4; VIII. 9, 31; X. 4). The notes of this bird were considered as auspicious or good omen (VI. 4). Its habit of starting to produce notes on hearing the sound of its kin is mentioned at X. 4. These birds are stated to be found in abundance on the banks of the *kuñja-nadis* or bower-rivers of the Himālayas as well as on those of the holy river Gaṅgā (VIII. 9, 31).
25. *Śuka* or the parrot is mentioned thrice (IV. 36; V. 38; XII. 50). At V. 38 and XII. 50 the tenderly green colour of the parrots is referred to. At the former place the rays of emeralds are stated to be as green and tender as young parrots¹⁹. At the latter the '*śilākusuma*'s or '*śaileya*'

16 *Vide* the description of the Himālayas :

कुररीगणः कृतरवस्तरवः कुसुमानताः सकमलं कमलम् ।

इह सिन्धवश्च वरणावरणाः करिणां मुदे सनलदानलदाः ॥ V. 25.

17 *Vide* Mallinātha on IV. 33 :

जितबर्हिणध्वनौ, केकानुकारिणीत्यर्थः । एतेन षड्जस्वरप्रायं गायन्तीति गम्यते । यथाह मातङ्गः—'षड्जं मयूरो वदति' इति ।

18 The readers may refer, with advantage and interest, to the present author's paper 'Peacock : The National Bird of India' published on pages 425-446 of the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. XII, No. iv—June, 1963.

19 *Vide* the nice description :

परिसरविषयेषु लीडमुक्ता हरिततृणोद्गमशङ्कया मृगीभिः ।

इह नवशुककोमला मणीनां रविकरसंवलिताः फलन्ति भासः ॥ V. 38.

flowers are described to be of the colour of the parrots.²⁰ Likewise, at IV. 36 a series of parrots, with yellowish paddy-tips in their coral-red beaks and by virtue of their tenderly green colour like that of a fully blown 'śirīṣa' flower, is described as imitating the beauty of a rain-bow.²¹

CREEPING ANIMALS: As to the creeping animals we meet with in B h ā r a v i 's poem a number of references to the snakes, which are termed differently as 'ahi' (V. 30, 47; VII. 29; XI. 23; XII. 22, 24A; XVIII. 32), 'bhujaga' (XII. 24A; XVI. 37), 'bhujāṅga' (VI. 32; XVI. 36), 'bhogin' (XVI. 41, 48), 'cakṣuḥ-śravas' (XVI. 42), 'nāga' (XV. 12; XVII. 7), 'phaṇabhṛt' (V. 11), 'phaṇavat' (V. 27), 'phaṇāvat' (XVI. 39; XVII. 45), 'sarpa' (XVI. 38) and 'uraga' (I. 24; XIII. 21). They are stated to be specially liking charming creepers and filaments.²² Their dark colour is compared to that of the *Indranīla* gems (XVI. 38). We get a striking reference to the serpents' casting off their sloughs.²³ Their proverbial fear from the eagles is also referred to by B h ā r a v i (XIII. 21). At one place Arjuna's arms are compared by the foresters to terrible [*bhīṣaṇa*] serpents (VI. 32). Their habit of surrounding sandal trees is also mentioned (V. 47; XII. 24 A). They are compared to bad persons, as the sprouts of the sandal trees resorted to by great serpents trembled due to their (vehement) breathings.²⁴ At one place enjoyments are compared to the hoods of serpents, because both lead one to destruc-

20 व्यस्तशुक्रनिभशिलाकुसुमः (सदागतिः) XII. 50^c.

21 Vide the nice Simile :

मुखैरसौ विद्रुममङ्गलोहितैः शिखाः पिशङ्गीः कलमस्य विभ्रती ।

शुक्रावलिव्यक्तशिरीषकीमला धनुःश्रियं गोत्रभिदोऽनुगच्छति ॥ IV. 36.

22 Vide the half-verse charming with *Yamaka* :

फणभृतामभितो विततं ततं दधितरम्यलताबकुलैः कुलैः ॥ V. II^{cd}.

23 Arjuna, with his armour removed, shone forth like a 'phaṇāvat' or a snake that has cast off its slough. Vide :

विक्रोशनिर्धौततनोर्महासेः फणावतश्च त्वचि विच्युतायाम् ।

प्रतिद्विपाबद्धरुषः समश्च नागस्य चाक्षिप्तमुखच्छदस्य ॥

विवोधितस्य ध्वनिना घनानां हरेरपेतस्य च शैलरन्ध्रात् ।

निरस्तधूमस्य च रात्रिवह्नेर्विना तनुव्रेण रुचिं स मेजे ॥ XVII. 45-46.

24 Vide :

क्लान्तोऽपि त्रिदशवधूजनः पुरस्ता-

ल्लीनाहिश्चसितावलोलपल्लवानाम् ।

सेव्यानां हतविनयैरिवावृतानां

सम्पर्कं परिहरति स्म चन्दनानाम् ॥ VII. 29.

tion.²⁵ References to huge snakes possessing brilliant gems on their heads are also met with (XIV. 25 ; XVIII. 32). Bhāra vi refers also to the peculiar type of snakes known as 'Dṛṣṭivīṣa' whose very glances are believed to be poisonous (XIV. 25 ; XVI. 40 ; XVII. 7). Such a serpent is stated to emit poison from its eyes²⁶, i.e., its very glances are poisonous. At one place the 'Dṛṣṭivīṣa' serpents are termed as 'prāṇaharekṣaṇa's i.e., those whose very glances are capable of destroying life ; because, as the poet describes, from the eyes of such serpents spring forth brilliant flames resembling great meteors.²⁷ There is a reference also to the snake-bite-curiers, who used to recite a charm in which occurred the names of 'Tārṅgya' (i.e. an eagle) and 'Vāsuki' (a serpent-lord), at the recitation whereof the snakes would be highly pained (I. 24). The serpent-chiefs 'Śeṣa' (V. 27) and 'Vāsuki' (I. 24 ; V. 30) are also referred to in this poem. The former is termed merely as 'Phaṇavat' to whom nectar is so dear and who protects it (in the nether world) (V. 27) ; while the latter is termed as 'Ahipati' who was used as the churning rope at the great Ocean-churning undertaken by the gods and the demons for bringing out nectar (V. 30).

AQUATIC ANIMALS : Let us now turn to the references to the aquatic animals. We meet with in Bhāra vi's poem as many as fifteen such references (IV. 3, 5 ; V. 29 ; VI. 14, 15, 16 ; VIII. 27, 30, 45, 46 ; XII. 49 ; XIII. 24, 70 ; XVII. 26, 63). 'Yādas' (V. 29 ; VI. 14 ; XVII. 26) and 'grāha' (XIII. 24) are the general terms employed here to denote the aquatic animals in general. The terms 'śapharī' (IV. 3 ; VI. 16 ; XII. 49), 'mīna' (VIII. 27, 30, 45) and 'jhaṣā' (VIII. 46) are used to denote the fish in general ; while 'pāṭhina' (IV. 5) denotes a particular type of fish, which is otherwise known as 'sahasra-damṣṭra'. There is a reference to 'makara' or the crocodile also (XVII. 63). We get two references to water-snakes. At one place it is termed as 'ahi' (XIII. 70) and at the other as 'phaṇin' (VI. 15).

The movements of the 'śapharī's or fish are described to be as charming as the side-glances of beloved ladies (IV. 3). Our poet fancies the movements of the 'śapharī's in the rivers merging into the Gaṅgā to be the charming eyes of those rivulets (VI. 16). Out of fear and perturbed condition due to the

25 Vide :

दुरासदानरीनुग्रान् धृतेर्विश्वासजन्मनः ।
भोगान्भोगानिवाद्देयानव्यास्यापन्न दुर्लभा ॥ XI. 23.

26 Vide :

स निर्वैवासाद्यममर्षेनुचं विषं महानाग इवेक्षणाभ्याम् ॥ XVII. 7^{cd}.

27 Vide the nice description :

प्रतप्तचामीकरभासुरेण दिशः प्रकाशेन पिशङ्गयन्त्यः ।
निश्चक्रमुः प्राणहरेक्षणानां ज्वाला महोल्का इव लोचनेभ्यः ॥ XVI. 40.

confusion, created by the *Kirāta* army, the '*śapharī*'s or fish in the rivers of Mt. Indrakila turned their bellies upwards and backs down-wards (XII. 49) ! The '*mīna*'s or the fish being unsteady in the waters of the river Gaṅgā shook the lotuses. This created a very nice scene and the holy river appeared thereby to be casting glances at the celestial damsels who went there for water-sports (VIII. 27). The '*yādas*'es or aquatic animals of the ocean are stronger than those of the rivers merging into the ocean and consequently the former kill the latter (XVII. 26). There is a reference to aquatic animals similar in form to an elephant. At the smell of the rut on the fickle water-waves, these creatures come out as if to fight with the elephants (VI. 14).²⁸ At one place the peculiar characteristic of the '*makara*' or crocodile of crossing the river vehemently and then clashing against big stones in the river or on the bank of the river is mentioned (XVII. 63).

As already noted, the water-snake is referred to twice. At the first place it is stated that by the serpents' vehement exhaling of breath, water was thrown up into the sky, resembling, on account of purity and extent, autumnal clouds. As is explained, this vehemence was due to its desire to soar up all of a sudden (VI. 15). At the other place the *Kirāta* king, fully equipped with his sharp-armed armies, is compared to the ocean whose billows are brimming with serpents.²⁹

To conclude, the above study shows that in all there are *two hundred seventy-four* references to the FAUNA in B h ā r a v i's *Kirātārjunīya*. Among these there are *twenty-eight* general references including those to animals in general (3), beasts in general (13), birds in general (8) and aquatic animals in general (4); *one hundred forty* particular references to beasts including *Aśva* (12), *Camarī* (1), *GAJA* (73), *Go* (mas.) (1), *Go* (fem.) (9), *Gomāyu* (1), *Indragopa* (2), *Mahiṣa* (1), *Mrga* (8), *Rāsabha* (1), *Siṃha* (8), *Varāha* (15) and *Vṛṣa*(*bha*) (8); *seventy-two* particular references to flying animals including *Balākā* (1), *Bhramara* (20), *Cakora* (1), *Cakravāka* (6), *Garutmat* (10), *Haṃsa* (13), *Kāka* (1), *Kokila* (2), *Kurārī* (1), *Mayūra* (10), *Sārasa* (4) and *Śuka* (3); *twenty-three* particular references to creeping animals all of them being to the *Snakes*; and *eleven* particular references to aquatic animals including *Jhaṣā* (7), *Makara* (1), *Pāṭhina* (1) and *Water-snakes* (2).

28 *Vide* :

उपलभ्य चञ्चलतरङ्गधृतं मद्गन्धमुत्थितवतां पयसः ।

प्रतिदन्तिनामिव स संबुबुधे करियादसामभिमुखान् करिणः ॥ VI. 14.

29 *Vide* :

दृश्यतामयमनोकहान्तरे तिग्महेतिपृतनाभिरन्वितः ।

साहिवीचिरिव सिन्धुदृढतो भूपतिः समयसेजुवारितः ॥ XIII. 70.

Thus in all there are *thirty-four* items of FAUNA—*four* general and *thirty* particular—referred to in the *Kirātārjunīya* of B h ā r a v i, the most prominent being 'GAJA' or the *ELEPHANT* which has secured as many as *seventy-three* references out of these *two hundred seventy-four* references. Just as the most prominent among the *thirteen* items of *beasts* is 'GAJA' which has secured not less than *seventy-three* references out of the *one hundred forty* references to the *beasts*; 'BHRAMARA' or the *BEE* is the most prominent among the *twelve* items of *flying animals*, having secured as many as *twenty* references out of the *seventy-two* to *flying animals*. Likewise, *SNAKES* are referred to by B h ā r a v i as *creeping animals*, the number of references to them being *twenty-three*; while among the *four* items of *aquatic animals* that of 'JHAṢĀ' or the *FISH* is the most prominent, having secured not less than *seven* references out of *eleven*.

SELECT CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

By

P. H. JOSHI, Baroda

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Vol. XLII, No. 9, November 1971.

Moorthy, N. Narasimha : The Sovereignty of Dharma

Mukhopadhyaya, Sujitkumar : Universal Love and Tolerance in Indian Culture—I

No. 10, December 1971.

Collis, J. S. : What is Faith ?

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Angold, Francis H. : The Psychological Significance of Re-birth.

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Shastri, Udayashankar : Rasajāni Vaiṣṇavadāsa aura Bhaktīratnāvali (Hindī)

Vol. 13, No. 1-2, January-April 1968.

Ghoshal, Satyendranath : Banglā Sāhityame Kṛṣṇakāvya (Hindī)

Vidyarthi, Devendrasimha : Panjāba kā Ajñāta Sāhitya (Hindī)

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Chatterjee, Asimkumar : Position of Śudras in the Epics

Mitra, Atri : Bengal's Contribution to Sanskrit Metrics

Pandey, Vishwanath : Early Buddhist Conception of Consciousness

Agrawal, R. C. : Sūryā with Serpent Hood Canopy—A Rare Device

Prabhakar, C. L. : Goddess Lalitā

Kulkarni, Kunda : Mammaṭa and the Modern Concept of Obscenity

Joshi, J. R. : Śraddhā in the Veda.

Samudra, K. D. : The Sṛṅgārasarvasva of Nallā Dīkṣita.

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Venkatacharya, T. : The Significance of the Expression Muṣṭimdhaya

Kunjunni Raja : Muṣṭimdhaya

Gupta, Sanjukta : The Caturvyūha and the Viśākha-yūpa in the Pāñcarātra

Ramaswamy, Kalpakam : Quotations of the Rasakalikā as found in the
Commentaries of Mallinātha

Dhaky, M. A. : Prāsāda as Cosmos

Sternbach, Ludwik : On the Sanskrit Nīti-Literature of Ceylon

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Cooney John D. : A Miscellany of Ancient Bronzes

Branner, Robert : A Cutting from a Thirteenth century French Bible

No. 9, November 1971.

Lerner, Martin : An "International Style" Wooden Maṇḍala

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No. 2, February 1972.

Devaraja, N. K. : Constructive Reasoning in Philosophy-II

Mitra, Sisirkumar : The Significance of the Vratas

No. 3, March 1972.

Devaraja, N. K. : Constructive Reasoning in Philosophy-III

No. 4, April 1972.

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Arberry, A. J. : Plato's Testament to Aristotle

Pootgate, J. N. : Land Tenure in the Middle Assyrian Period—a Recon-
struction.

Burrow, T. : Spontaneous Cerebrals in Sanskrit

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Aklujkar, Ashok : Nakamura on Bhartṛhari

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Varma, Siddheshwar: Popular Words as a Mechanism in the Terminologies of Caraka

Buddha Prakash: The Historical Background of Daṇḍin's Prose Romances Avantisundarikathā and Daśakumāra-carita

Bhat, M. R. : Astrology and Dharmaśāstra

Bhattacharya, Biswa Nath: Critical Observations on an Overlooked Misreading in the Printed Text of Jagannātha's Rasagaṅgādhara

Sharma, Ramashraya: A Re-appraisal of the Integral Character of the Bālakāṇḍa and the Uttarakāṇḍa of Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa

Sarasvat, Sarasvati: Bṛhaspati, the Lord of Speech in the Ṛgveda

Chaudhari, Manoharalal: Naiṣadhiyacarite Bauddhadarśanam (Sanskrit)

Nagar, Ravishankar : Vyañjanāviṣaye Jagadīśatarkālaṅkāramatasamīkṣā (Sanskrit)

Prahladkumar: Ṛgvede Punaruktavadābhāṣaḥ (Sanskrit)

Kulasreshtha, Sushama: Naiṣadhiyacarita meṃ Mukhasandhyaṅganirūpaṇa (Hindi)

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Tiwari, M. P. : Some Unpublished Jaina Bronzes in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi

Betai, R. S.: Evolution of Criminal Law—Transition from Manu and Yājñavalkya

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Mehta, R. N. and Sonavane, V. H.: Explorations in the Daskroi Taluka, Dist. Ahmedabad

Kantawala, S. G.: The Puranas and Epics as Sources of Religious, Social and Cultural History of India

Divetia, S. H.: Are Ethical Statements Propositional?

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Vol. XL, No. 76, October 1971.

Dange, S. A. : The Vision of Vasukra.

Velkar, (Mrs.) N. A. : The Nature of Upāsana in the Upaniṣads

Kulkarni, V. M. : Prakrit Verses in Works on Sanskrit Poetics

Davane, (Kum.) G. V. : Good and Bad Verbal Borrowing according to Rājaśekhara

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Auboyer, Jeannine : Śrīraṅgam

Titley, Norah : A 15th century Khamseh of Nizāmī

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Vol. LXXVII, No. 1, January 1972.

Swami Parahitanand : Modern Aims and a Religious Ideal

Stapp, Philip : An American's Approach to Hindu Traditions

Swami Pavitrnanand : Man, the Infinite Spirit

Utter, Robert P. : The Significance of Faith

No. 2, February 1972.

Raghavachar, S. S. : Mind

Swami Parahitanand : Modern Aims and Religious Ideal

Harrington, Donald S. : Human Trends—Society, Religion and Presentday Civilization

No. 3, March 1972.

Swami Prabhavananda : Meditation—Why and How

Swami Tapasyananda : The Gītā Among the Triple Texts

Burke, Marie Louise: Swami Vivekananda, Sarah Bernhardt and Nikola Tesla

Swami Pavitranaṇḁa : Unchanging Religion in a Changing World

No. 4, April 1972.

Gupta, D. C. : Shintoism and Buddhism

Swami Budhanaṇḁa : “Enjoy The World”—But How ?

Sastri, P. S. : World of Matter

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Chaudhari, Subhadra : ‘Saṅgītaratnākara’ kā Rāgavivekādhyaṇḁa aura Rāga-Rāgiṇī Vargīkaraṇa-Paramparā (Hindi).

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No. 2, February 1972.

Mishra, Mahesh Kumara : Saṅgīta-Vāṇmaya—Hanuman mata ke Rāga-Rāgiṇī (Hindi)

No. 4, April 72.

Gulam Rasul : Rāga-Rāgiṇiyom meṁ Nāyaka-Nāyikā Bheda (Hindi)

Shukla, Vishvanatha : Rāga—Śabda-vyutpatti aura Paribhāṣā (Hindi)

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Vol. 8, No. 2, February 1971.

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Thaker, Jayant : Śrīkṛṣṇanī Rāsalilā—Eka Adhyayana (Gujarati)

Dave, S. K. : Tīrthadhāma Lōṭeśvara (Gujarati)

Nahata, Agarchand : Vācaka Ratna-Kīrtikṛta Puṇyaratnasūri Phāga (Gujarati).

No 3, April 1971.

Shastri, K. K. : ‘Mahābhārata’-māṇṭhī ‘Jayasamhitā’ ane ‘Bhāratasamhitā’ (Gujarati).

Thaker, Jayant : Śrīkṛṣṇanī Rāsalilā—Eka Adhyayana (Gujarati)

Vora, Minal M. : Mahākavi Bhāsanī Vāsavadattā

Sheth, Kanubhai V. : Adyayāvat Aprasiddha Kavi Halarājākṛta Śhūlibhadra Phāgu-Eka Paricaya (Gujarati)

No. 4, August 1971.

Jetly, Jitendra : Dharma ane Tattvajñāna (Gujarati)

- Sandesara, Upendrarāya: Sārathipravara (Gujarati)
 Patel, Prahlad: Bhagavāna Śrīkṛṣṇaṇī Dvārakā (Gujarati)
 Shastri, Hariprasad: Siṃha Saṃvat (Gujarati)
 Dasai, Z. A.: Vaḍodarāno Pīra Ghodāno Pandaramī Sadīno Śīlālekha
 (Gujarati)
 Bhatta, Upendra: Gata So Varṣaṇuṃ Gujarāti Caritrasāhitya (Gujarati)

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 Jnanananda Bharati Swaminah: An Introduction to the Study of Vedānta
 Iyer, M. K. Venkatarama: Śrī Rāma as Dharma Incarnate.

No. 10, February 1972.

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 Jnanananda Bharati Swaminah: An Introduction to the Study of Vedānta.
 Tripathi, Ramesh Kumar: An Appraisal of Malcolm's Linguistic Interpretation of Moore's Philosophic Method
 Swami Apurvananda: Ācārya Śaṅkara
 Swami Parahitānanda: Is Religion a Science?

No. 11, March 1972.

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 Swami Parahitananda: Is Religion a Science ?

No. 12, April 1972.

- Gupta, Mallika Clare: A Study of the Gītā
 Sen Gupta, Anima: The Cārvākas—what they stood for
 Raper, T. C. H.: Hymn to Hanumat in Five Jewel-like Stanzas
 Elayathu, K. N. Nilakantan: Metaphysics and Ethics in Śaṅkara

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 Narayana Murti, M. S.: A Note on the Iva-samāsa
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Vol. 20, No. 10, January 1972.

Gupta, Anandasvarup : Dārśīkoha ke Guru—Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī
(Hindi)

No. 11, February 1972.

Gupta, Kusumkumari : Purāṇaracanā ke Lakṣaṇa (Hindi)

Dvivedi, Sharadaprasad : Svāsthya aura Rājayoga (Hindi)

No. 12, March 1972.

Gupta, Satyapala : Caraka Saṁhitāmeṁ Śikṣā kā Svarūpa (Hindi).

Garga, Rajendrakumar : Jaina Darśanamemeṁ Dravya, Tattva aura Padārtha
(Hindi)

Yogamīmāṃsā, Kaivalyadhama, 117, Valvan, Lonavala (C. R.).

Vol. XIV, Nos. 1 & 2, April & July 1971.

Joshi, K. S. : On Sāṅkhya-yoga Dualism

ANNOUNCEMENT

The Secretary General of the 29th International Congress of Orientalists requested the Editor, Journal of the Oriental Institute, to publish the following bulletin :—

The 29th International Congress of Orientalists will be held in Paris, from 16 to 22 July 1973, in conformity with the resolution approved by the 28th International Congress of Orientalists in Canberra in January 1971.

The Congress will be held in celebration of the centenary of the First Congress of Orientalists held in Paris in 1873 and of the 150th anniversaries of the foundation of the Société Asiatique and of Champollion's deciphering of the hieroglyphic system.

The President of the Congress, M. René LABAT, Professeur au Collège de France and Président de la Société Asiatique, and the Organizing Committee have the honor of inviting you to the Congress and ask you to let your colleagues and your teaching and research staffs and your research students know of it. Invitations will be sent to any persons whose names you send us, or will be sent to them if they write directly to us.

Secretary-General :

Yves HERVOUET, Professeur à l'Université de Paris VIII.

Assistant Secretaries :

Paul GARELLI, Professeur à l'Université de Paris I,

André MIQUEL, Professeur à l'Université de Paris III.

Registration Fees : The registration fee will be 150 F for ordinary members and 50 F for students. Complete information on lodging and meals will be given in the second invitation which will be sent only to those who have answered the first invitation by sending in the enclosed card.

Air France has been appointed as official air carrier for the Congress. The sales departments for your area are at your service to arrange for your individual or group travel.

Address : XXIXe Congrès des Orientalistes, Collège de France, Place Marcelin-Berthelot, 75-Paris-5e, France.

REVIEWS

Verb Forms of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa : By H. S. ANANTHANARAYANA. (Deccan College Building Centenary and Silver Jubilee Series : 60.) Poona ; Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, 1970 ; pp. xvii, 368. Price Rs. 30.

This index of verb forms of the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* is arranged in three principal sections. The first (pp. 1-96) lists roots alphabetically (following the nāgarī order), giving the forms of them which occur in the text. The second section (pp. 98-256) contains an alphabetical list of all attested forms, with textual references. The third section (pp. 259 ff.) deals first with the statistical frequency of forms. To begin with, the author gives the distribution of the 83 roots (of a total of 369) which are represented by one form only. As one might expect, the third singular present (21 roots) and the second singular imperative (13 roots) are most common, followed by the third singular imperfect (9 roots). Similar tabulations are given for the systems of the present imperfect, etc. both for primary and derived roots. There follows (pp. 270-348) a list of forms which occur with preverbs ; this list too is accompanied by textual references. Finally (pp. 355-367), roots are arranged alphabetically under present classes (*bhṡvādi* to *curādi*). A brief list of uncertain forms together with their context is given on p. 368. And four pages of errata precede the main section.

The organization of the first main section follows that of Whitney (*Roots...*), as the author notes (p. vii of his introduction). But the inclusion of textual references in other sections is an improvement, as pointed out by W. P. Lehmann in a preface, where he also suggests (p. vi) that similar indices should be made for other early Indic texts and concludes, "Through them we may come to deal with various stages in the development of early Indic, and in this way deepen our knowledge of Indic and through it of Proto-Indo-European."

The only way of truly testing the full worth of a work such as this is to go through the entire *Brāhmaṇa* text anew with the index in hand, checking each entry. I have not had the leisure to undertake this tedious job. But after a cursory check of passages picked at random, I think this work may be considered generally reliable. It may thus be added to the list of existing indices such as Whitney's index verborum to the *Atharva-veda*, the full index to von Schroeder's edition of the *Kāthaka* and Vishva Bandhu's voluminous vedic indices.

While I thus welcome this work as an additional tool for the study of early Indic, I think some things might have been done slightly differently. It might

have been useful on p. 368 to given references to and cite passages parallel to those in which the uncertain forms occur. For example, *RV* 6. 16. 26, *KS* 26. 11, where the imperative form is *astu*, as parallels for *TB* 2. 4. 6. 2, where *astu* is the form. A discussion of such peculiar forms, with references to any pervious discussion, would also have been welcome. More importantly, I think the usefulness of this index is somewhat diminished as a consequence of one of the author's decisions regarding what to include. As he says (p. vii), "The periphrastic future forms in the third singular (e.g., *bhavitā*) are not included since they do not show verbal inflection." I think this was an unwise decision. For the student of the history of Sanskrit who is interested in tracing the incorporation of such periphrastic forms into the verb system from the first appearance in the *Vājasaneyi samhitā* to later Sanskrit—for Pāṇini this formation, the *luṭ* future, was fully operative—this omission represents a serious lacuna. Moreover, I do not consider the fact that forms such as *bhavitā* or *kartā* do not have a finite ending (though in Pāṇini's description the type *kartā* derives from *kar-ti*) a true justification for their omission. Even if one insist on the fact that forms such as first singular *kartāsmi* of the periphrastic future are etymologically sequences of agent nouns plus the verb *as* 'be', it is also a fact that in the Sprachgefühl of speakers they constituted part of the verb system at some time, witness Pāṇini. The same etymological consideration which might lead one to exclude the periphrastic future from the verb system could be claimed as justifying the exclusion of Prakrit forms such as *gaa-*, *gaya-* (Skt. *gata-*) and Modern Indic forms such as Gujarati *gayo*, Hindi *gayā* from the verb system, clearly a procedure which goes counter to the system of these languages.

GEORGE CARDONA

A Critical Study of the Ancient Hindu Astronomy in the Light and Language of the Modern : By D. A. SOMAYAJI, Dharwar, Karnatak University, 1971. pp. iv + 186 + x.

This Ph.D. thesis by the former Principal of D.N.R. College in Bhimavaram Andhra Pradesh, who has to his credit several small papers on Indian astronomy and mathematics (see my *Census of the Exact Sciences in Sanskrit*, Series A, Vol. 1, Philadelphia, 1970, p. 22), is a disaster. His introduction displays an incredible ignorance of the advances made in the history of Indian astronomy since 1900 ; his bibliography is slightly better, but apparently made no impression on the level of his scholarship. And his discussion of Indian astronomy, primarily based upon Bhāskara's *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi*, is filled with errors of interpretation and of astronomical fact. The whole is further vitiated by a desire to explain Bhāskara in terms of modern theories, including heliocentrism, rather than letting his system stand for itself. As an historian he should elucidate the past, not attempt to justify it.

It would be tedious to list all of Somayaji's mistakes. Perhaps a few of his more glaring errors of omission or misinterpretation may be here referred to, however. On pp. 9-10 he attempts to demonstrate that Bhāskara used differential calculus without displaying any awareness of the discussions of this problem, pro and con, by Bapu Deva Sastri (*JAS Bengal* 27, 1858, 213-216), W. Spottiswoode (*JRAS* 17, 1860, 221-222), P. C. Sengupta (*JDMV* 40, 1931, 223-227 and *JDL/UC* 22, 1932, art. 5), or S. Chakrabarti (*BNISI* 21, 1963, 287-296), among others. In chapter III he fails to deal with the important problems involved in the computation of the *ahargana* (cf. O. H. Schmidt in *Centaurus* 2, 1952, 140-180; E. S. Kennedy, S. Engle, and J. Wamstad in *JNES* 24, 1965, 274-284; and D. Pingree in *JNES* 27, 1968, 97-125). On p. 76 he states that the common *approximation* of the equation of the center at an anomaly at 90° to the maximum equation is a true identity, which it is not. The discussion of the helical risings and settings of the planets on pp. 103-109 is vitiated by Somayaji's failure to take into consideration the latitude of the planet and the slope of the ecliptic with respect to the horizon. The discussion of various corrections in chapter VI is rendered senseless by Somayaji's reversion from sunrise-days to midnight days. On pp. 132-139 the yojanas in the Moon's orbit (324,000) and in the diameter of its disc (240) are the "given" parameters, not the mean daily motion in its orbit ($11,858\frac{3}{4}$ yojanas) and the radius of its orbit (51,566 yojanas) as Somayaji wishes; neither of these latter distances could be directly measured. But perhaps his most astonishing error occurs in chapter XI where he claims a knowledge by Bhāskara of the correction of lunar motion called "variation" on the basis of the notorious *Bijopānaya*; this text was convincingly demonstrated to be a late nineteenth century forgery in the pages of this journal over a decade ago by T. S. Kuppanna Sastri (*JOI Baroda*, 8, 1958-59, 399-409). In brief, he who cannot read Bhāskara's Sanskrit will do far better to turn to E. Roer's Latin translation of the *Gaṇitādhyaṃ* (*JAS Bengal* 13, 1844, 53-66) and to Bapu Deva Sastri's English version of the *Golādhyaṃ* (Calcutta, 1861) rather than to Somayaji. It is characteristic that Somayaji is unaware of both of these competent attempts to interpret the text on which his thesis is almost totally dependent.

DAVID PINGREE

Puruṣottamajī: A Study—by Dr. A. D. SHASTRI, M.A., PH.D.; Published by Chunilal Gandhi Vidyabhavan, Surat. Price Rs. 20/-

The work is the Thesis, in print, by the Author for his Ph.D. degree. The work is really an excellent one. The amount of thought and labour expended after the work is really admirable. The views of the author are both critical and well-balanced. The presentation of the matter is both clear and direct.

The language employed is marvellously simple. The comprehensive study, which the author has made, of the various long as well as short works of so prolific a writer as Shri Purushottamaji is certainly laudable. The work not only acquaints us with what a great personality Shri Purushottamaji is but it also serves as a critical and comprehensive presentation of the Vedantic doctrines of Shri Vallabhacharya. As is well-known among the students of Indian Philosophy, works, in English, presenting these doctrines in a clear yet comprehensive form are almost absent. And this fact makes this work highly valuable. And it is my humble suggestion that if either the author himself or somebody else just culls out such portions as clearly present, and presents them in a well-arranged and connected form, this new work will supply a long-felt want. The general reader will profit a lot thereby.

Now, with due deference to the above-mentioned excellences of the author and the work, I beg to make the following few suggestions:—

(1) P. 77—Vastrasevāvāda. In the Sampradāya the current worship is not of the clothes of the Ācārya, but those of the Deity.

(2) P. 90—The verses at the beginning of the Third and Fourth Adhyāyas of the Aṇubhāṣya are from the pen of Śrī Vallabhācārya.

(3) P. 149, L. 3—‘Bṛhatkṛṣṇapremāmṛta’ ought to be ‘Sphuratṛṣṇapremāmṛta.’

(4) P. 169—The third pāda of the Saṅgati stanza should be rather—Nīrvāhakaikyakāryaika.

(5) P. 247—The remark ‘Naitat sūtrakāra-sammatam partibhāti (sic = pratibhāti)’ gives no reason for the combination of the two Sūtras, but it criticizes the roundabout way of dissolving the compound ‘Śāstrayonitvāt’ in order to show it to be nominative singular instead of the ablative one.

(6) P. 252—The anachronism referred to in the second paragraph can be removed by supposing that Vedavyāsa does not criticize future Śāṅkarācārya in anticipation but either his predecessors or contemporaries having views similar to those of Śāṅkarācārya. Bādari is one such.

(7) P. 253—‘Naikasminn asambhavāt’ is the attack by the Sūtrakāra on one who asserts that his system is based on logic, as logic won’t brook such contradictions. As for scriptural contradiction he has no objection. Vide his ‘Śruteṣu śabdāmūlatvāt.’

N. K. BAMBHANIA

The work is divided into three sections pertaining to Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali and further subdivided into small chapters in each section. In the first section on Pāṇini the author discusses in five small chapters the text of Aṣṭādhyāyī, technical terms in Aṣṭādhyāyī, its (Anubandhas), the author of Akṣarasamāmnāya and the general scheme of Aṣṭādhyāyī. In the first chapter the author tries to justify the traditional account of the number of the sūtras in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. In the course of the discussion Śrī Śarmā refers to the earlier views on the subject and gives interesting discussion from Patañjali and Kaiyaṭa. While trying to refute the findings of Scold he takes the help of the relevant discussion found in Keilhorn and Thieme. He refers to the traditional view that Candragomin redacted the text of the Mahābhāṣya. His argument to refute the view cannot be accepted; for, Bhartṥhari's account of this cannot be brushed aside so lightly nor can we wholly accept Śarmā's view that Candragomin had no need to amend the Aṣṭādhyāyī because the ancient grammarian had written a separate work to account for the ungrammatical words found in the Buddhist literature. It should now be known once and for all that except Kātantra and the early eastern grammatical schools, the Buddhist and the Jain grammarians had little to offer in grammatical writings that was new and substantial. Every serious student of Sanskrit grammar knows that almost all Buddhist and Jain grammarians from Candragomin to Malayagiri belong to the same traditions which followed Pāṇini. Their efforts to appear original are feeble. In fact, grammarians like Candragomin had before them an ideal of writing a grammar which was "short, lucid and comprehensive".

In chapter second the author presents a discussion about technical terms (Saṁjñā). He refers to Goldstucker's conclusions about a 'Saṁjñā' in Pāṇini's grammar. He also refers to the known discussion regarding the *Saṁjñāpramāṇatva* referred to in Pāṇini towards the end of the second Pāda of the first Adhyāya. Śrī Śarmā covers known ground when he refers to the meaning of the word saṁjñā as found in Kāśikā, Pradīpa and Uddyota. However, the discussion in this very small chapter is incomplete. Śrī Śarmā would have done well to present the discussion in fuller perspective by referring to the difference in meaning of the word saṁjñā in all those sūtras in Pāṇini where he refers to it by the words saṁjñāyām or asaṁjñāyām or where the word Saṁjñāyām is carried forward (Anuvṛtta) on the one hand and by referring to its meaning to relevant places in Vākyapadīya and Dīpikā on the other.

In the third chapter on Anubandhas the author explains the term 'It'. He gives useful information about Pāṇini's use of vowels and consonants as 'It's. He also points out their various technical purposes.

In the fourth chapter Śrī Śarmā discusses the authorship of the Śivasūtras. He rightly accepts Pāṇini's authorship of the Śivasūtras. Śrī Śarmā's discussion

on the authorship of the Dhātupāṭha and the Gaṇapāṭha is casual. He has missed the very interesting remarks on the Dhātupāṭha and the Gaṇapāṭha in Dīpikā on Bhāṣya on 1-1-34.

In the fifth chapter he gives in a very summary way the general scheme of Aṣṭādhyāyī. For a scholar like Śrī Śarmā well-versed in traditional Sanskrit Grammar it is not proper to rest satisfied by quoting irresponsible views of other scholars. Kumārila's views in Tantravārtika (on I. 3-8) were intended more for humour than for any serious consideration. The irrelevant remarks of Wackernagel in this context, as quoted by Śrī Śarmā, should not find a place in a discussion which does not admit any controversy being based on the contents of Pāṇini's sūtras.

The second part of Śrī Śarmā's work has three small chapters, the third being the smallest. In the first chapter he has referred to the well-known discussion on the purpose of Kātyāyana in writing the vārtikas on the sūtras of Pāṇini. An interesting peculiarity of Śrī Śarmā's work now becomes clear. He refers to and quotes extensively from earlier—and mostly western—scholars and illustrates their remarks by giving a number of instances, or, if he chooses to oppose those statements—which attempt is not always successful—he similarly furnishes further illustrations to enliven his point. The kind of discussion that he refers to in this chapter is already known since about forty years through the opinions of Goldstucker, Keilhorn and Bhāṇḍārkar. In the second chapter Śrī Śarmā takes up a number of sūtras and vārtikas and explains them. After this elaborate attempt the conclusions arrived at do not go beyond the known remarks of earlier scholars in the field. Śrī Śarmā's statements on the treatment of accents in Kātyāyana and Patañjali are made in a very general way. Towards the end of the chapter he makes such loose statements as 'Kātyāyana is a greater Vedic scholar than Pāṇini and that he comes to amend the Aṣṭādhyāyī only after he has exhausted the Vedic literature existing in his time'. The detailed inquiry in this chapter which explains some sūtras and vārtikas and refers some Vedic expressions to their context does not yield anything worth having. We are reminded of Patañjali's remarks that a very small fruit was the only thing obtained after struggling hard with the help of a long pole ("mahato vaṃśastambāllaṭvānukṣyate"—Bhāṣya on 'ṛlk'). In the next one and a half page-chapter Śrī Śarmā makes some general statements about Pāṇini's Sanskrit and summarises remarks of Liebich ('Pāṇini') taken at random.

The third part of the work is on Patañjali. The first chapter emphasises the importance of Mahābhāṣya. While referring to the background of Mahābhāṣya he has summarised Patañjali's remarks on the aims of the study of Vyākaraṇa. Śrī Śarmā attempts to find out the arguments for the remarks he has quoted (88) "Patañjali was the first grammarian to give a spiritualistic colour to the speculations of grammar". This can be true of Paspasāhnikā

only which is an introductory section. We cannot make much capital out of the thirteen aims of the study of grammar as quoted and explained by Patañjali. These have been handed down traditionally and cannot be fathered on Kātyāyana. In the second chapter the influence of the Prātiśākhya on post-Pāṇinian grammarians is discussed. The author discusses at some length the cerebral nature of 'r' and how it came to be dental. The influence of Prātiśākhya on Kātyāyana is not clearly pointed out. Śrī Śarmā, with the help of Kaiyaṭa (on the Bhāṣya on Pā. 1.1.9) makes some remarks regarding the vocalic nature of 'r' and 'l'. In this context when Kātyāyana is dragged in with his Vārtikas on Pāṇini VI.1.102 Vār. 1-2, Śrī Śarmā ought to have clarified the traditional position regarding 'r' and 'l' which has been very ably put forward by Bhartṛhari in his Dīpikā (p. 148) on Bhāṣya on Pā. 1.1.9. The clarity and importance of Bhartṛhari's remarks can be proved from the fact that he is followed in this respect by Kaiyaṭa, Haradatta, Hemacandra and a host of other non-Pāṇinian commentators. In the later part of the chapter Patañjali's remarks on Ayogavāha and so on—contents of the second Āhnika of Mahābhāṣya—have found their way with some general statements regarding Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya. The third chapter supplies illustrations to the general remarks that Patañjali always has an eye for explaining the pertinent usage (Lakṣyaikacakṣuḥ). In chapter four the discussion centres round what words were in popular use in Kātyāyana's time and what were current in Patañjali's days. The remarks on 'ekārthibhāvasāmarthyā' and 'yugapadadhikaraṇavacanatā' have no relation with the discussion going on. At the end of the chapter we have some remarks about the status of women. Chapter five discusses the Uṇādisūtras. Here we have some very useful discussion regarding the antiquity of the Uṇādisūtras in the context of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana. Śrī Śarmā's remarks about the Uṇādisūtras not known to Pāṇini and Kātyāyana are worth pursuing further. But once again at the end of the chapter Śrī Śarmā departs from the discussion at hand and indulges in some very general statements regarding 'Śabdādvaita' and so on. He refers to his articles on them and promises that some of these will be taken up elsewhere. We shall wait for them.

Chapter six treats of Sanskrit language as a spoken language in Patañjali's time. Students of Patañjali's Bhāṣya will be glad to see some of the remarks of Bhāṣyakāra rendered in English. These should have been arranged in such a way that a particular topic clearly emerges out of them. Chapter seven gives us an idea of the Patañjalian technique of interpretation and how he handles it with the help of Paribhāṣās and Nyāyas. The discussion is incomplete. The concluding remarks in chapter eight which covers two pages do not go beyond praising Pāṇini and Patañjali. Some of Śrī Śarmā's remarks about Kātyāyana (179) are in need of further investigation and detailed study of the vārtikas. One cannot agree with him when he says (179) that 'Kātyāyana's method is tentative and static.'

The work was first attempted two decades ago. Although the discussion in the work will be found useful by the students of Pāṇini's grammar, the incompleteness of discussion at many places leaves the reader unsatisfied by the scholarship of Śrī Śarmā. His command of the Pāṇinian system lures him into making a statement in the Introduction that not much work has been done in this field. However, much water has flowed down the stream of time. In fact grammatical studies have received new impetus in the last twenty years and a number of scholars in India and in the west are working on Pāṇini and his system. It is surprising that Śrī Śarmā should complain about little work having been done about Bhartṛhari when a number of scholars in India and the west have taken up the study of the Vākyapadīya and the Dīpikā. It is high time that Śrī Śarmā should add his contribution to the studies of Bhartṛhari.

J. M. SHUKLA

'*The Meaning of the Sanskrit Term Dhāman*'—by J. GONDA. N. V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, Amsterdam, 1967, pp. 100 ; Price F. 15.

"Like Keith, Jan Gonda is a prolific and versatile writer on Vedism, having a firm command over an impressive array of bibliographical material ; unlike Keith, Gonda has definite view-point of his own, which has oriented all his writings." (R. N. Dandekar, *Vedic Religion and Mythology*, p. 51). And his present monograph under review is a good instance of the same. The contents are as follows :

I. Introduction ; various meanings attributed to the noun *dhāman* (pp. 5-10) ; II. Locations of the numinous, divine presence, manifestations of power, 'residences' and representations of a god in general ; *dhāman*—a location or receptacle of divine power and a particular way of its presenting or "projecting" itself, a hypostasis or refraction in which power is believed to be active ; etymological explanation (pp. 11-22) ; III. Occurrences of *dhāman*—in the R̥gveda and Atharvaveda (pp. 23-59) ; IV. The use of *dhāman*—in other divisions of Vedic literature (pp. 60-77) ; V. Occurrences in later literature (pp. 78-88) ; (VI). Compounds formed with *dhāman* ; conclusion (pp. 89-95). General Index (p. 96) ; Index of Sanskrit Words (p. 97) ; Index of Sanskrit Text-places (pp. 98-100).

"Among those ancient Indian terms which, while being of special interest for the historian of Vedic and Brahmanical religion, have up to this time been the subject of some controversial discussion is the neuter *dhāman*" (p. 5). It occurs in the RV and other Vedic texts, and in later Sanskrit literature also. Dr. Gonda not only notes the various traditional interpretations and the views of the modern Vedists ; but also discusses numerous passages from the RV, AV, other Vedic and later Sanskrit texts. Apropos of the meaning of the term

dhāman he opines that “*dhāman* may.....to a certain extent be described as a ‘location’ of a numen, of divine power, of a deity, i.e. not only or merely a ‘holder’ or ‘receptacle’ of divine power, a place, being or phenomenon in which a divinity sets or locates itself, functions or manifests or displays its power, or where its ‘presence’ is experienced, but also a particular way of presenting or revealing itself, of locating or ‘projecting’ a mode of its nature and essence, a hypostasis or refraction in which it is believed to be active.” (p. 19)

The interpretation of the term *dhāman* as proposed above with the massive array of citations of various texts, views of the various exegetists and the discussion thereon fail not to impress the reader who suspects at the same time whether the entire content of the meaning as suggested in this monograph was contemplated or not by the Vedic seers.

While reviewing this monograph A. Venkatasubbiah cites passages where *dhāman* occurs as an object of the verb *sac* “to follow”, and of the verb *mi* (*mināti*), “to injure”, and it (i.e. *dhāman*) means ‘law’ in this context. (*Vide* Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal, Vol. VI, 1969, pp. 147-150.) To the passages cited by A. Venkatasubbiah the following passage may be additionally cited where *dhāman* occurs as an object of *pra + √mi* (*mināti*): *yāḥ samānām nā pramināti dhāma*/RV. 7. 63. 3, i.e. “who does not violate his unchanging law”. (Velankar H. D., *Ṛgveda Maṇḍala VII*, 1963, p. 147. One wonders *en passant* why H. D. Velankar’s rendering of the term *dhāman* remains unnoticed.)

On p. 84, fn. 37, it is noted that “another term used in connection with *avatāras*—VāPur. 98, 38 in connection with Viṣṇu’s Nārāyaṇa, Narasiṃha and Vāmana *avatāras* is *divya sambhūti* “incarnation in heaven”, as opposed to the incarnations among men (Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, etc.)”. It may be mentioned that the Matsyapurāṇa 47. 241 also mentions Nārāyaṇa, Narasiṃha and Vāmana as *divyāḥ sambhūtayāḥ*; and also in 47. 237, 239 the form *sambhūtāḥ* is also used in this connection. In contrast to the above three *avatāras* the other seven *avatāras* are spoken of as *mānuṣāḥ śāpajāḥ* (Matsyapurāṇa 47.241; *vide* also Kantawala S. G., *Cultural History from the Matsyapurāṇa*, M. S. University, Baroda, 1964, p. 165). The phrase *divyāḥ sambhūtayāḥ* may be rendered as “divine incarnations” in contrast to *mānuṣāḥ sambhūtayāḥ* “human incarnations”.

Incidentally, an occurrence of the term *dhāman* in the Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda may also be mentioned: *triṣu dhāmasu yas tulyam* (1.22). It is rendered as *sthāna* by Śaṅkarācārya (Śaṅkarabhāṣya on the Gauḍapāḍakārikā, Gita Press, Gorakhpur, p. 77), “stages” by Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya (The Āgama Śāstra of Gauḍapāda, p. 12); “states” (R. D. Karmarkar, Gauḍapāḍakārikā, p. 7; Swami Nikhilanand, Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad with Gauḍapāda’s kārikā p. 87). It occurs also in the Mahimnastava, *viz. turīyaṃ te dhāma.....*/ 27 and it is rendered as “the fourth state” by W. Norman Brown (Mahimnastava, American Institute of Indian Studies, Poona, 1965, p. 17).

The monograph is nicely printed and well got up and is a very useful publication which should find a place in the University Libraries and Indological Institutes.

We offer our heartiest congratulations to the author for this learned publication and look forward for many more learned publications from his pen.

S. G. KANTAWALA

Tārūbāikālīn Kāgadapatre (Marāṭhī): Vol. I, Edited by A. G. PAWAR; Shivaji Vidyapeeth Historical Series No. 1; First Edition, 1969, Pp. 15+1+Preface+78+571+35+2, Price Rs. 10/-; Vol. II, Edited by A. G. Pawar: Shivaji Vidyapeeth Historical Series No. 2: First Edition, 1970, Pp. 12+3+52+336+26+2, Price Rs. 6/- Both Published by Shivaji University, Kolhapur.

The Shivaji University deserves compliments on its interest in starting two research work series namely, Sanskrit-Prakrit (Ancient) and Historical (Modern), with the object of publishing the source material in respective fields. The book under review—Tarabai Papers—comes as the first two historical research works and deals with “the age of Tarabai which ranges from 1680 to 1761 A.D.” (Dr. Pawar), an important period in the early Marāṭhā history.

In the Marāṭhā history, Tarabai distinguished herself as a vigorous lady, past master in intrigue and diplomacy and she therefore occupies an eminent position. After the death of Shivaji's son Sambhaji (1680-1689), Tarabai's husband Rajaram, another son of Shivaji, ruled as a *de facto* king from 1689 till his death in 1700, even though he was a regent. During the period, the affairs of the Marāṭhā Empire were managed efficiently with the assistance of the Aṣṭa Pradhāna and the Pratinidhi (Representative of the king himself). After the death of Rajaram, Tarabai at once assumed the reins of government with the unflinching support of Ramachandra Pant (Amātya), Sukaaji Narayan and Dhanaji Jadav (Senapati). She seated her infant son Shivaji II on the throne and herself became the regent. Till 1707 the Marāṭhā chiefs and generals like Dhanaji Jadav, Nimbalkar, Bhonsley, Thorat, Chavan, Shinde, Powar and Athavale under Tarabai's indomitable personality and skilful guidance successfully withstood Aurangzeb's final attempt to conquer the Deccan. The counter-offensive of the Marāṭhās in this period has been recognised as a “peoples war” or a “war of independence”. Visualising the gravity of situation, Tarabai assigned different parts of the Deccan to her generals and allowed them considerable freedom in their activities.

After Aurangzeb's death, Shahu, the son of Sambaji who was carried off to Delhi in 1690, was released by the Mughals with a view to divide the

Marāṭhās. With the appearance of Shahu in Mahārāṣṭra two parties, one of himself and another of Tarabai, emerged. In a battle in 1707, Tarabai was defeated. She retired to Kolhapur with her son Shivaji and founded an independent kingdom there. Shahu became the Chhatrapati at Satara.

In 1714, Tarabai's co-wife Rajasbai, contrived to put her and her son Shivaji in confinement and made her own son Sambhaji the ruler of the Kingdom of Kolhapur which he ruled till 1760. In 1730 Tarabai preferred to live under Shahu's protection at Satara agreeing to the same restraints upon her liberty that she had earlier. As Shahu had no male issue to succeed him, Tarabai about 1748 once more intrigued to secure regency for herself on behalf of the posthumous son of Shivaji II, Ramraja by name. After the death of Shahu in 1749, Tarabai managed to seat Ramraja on the throne in 1750. She remained at the helm of affairs till her death in 1761. This is in short the "age of Tarabai" to which the book under review is concerned.

Tarabai Papers Vol. I contains source material of the period between 1680 and 1720. It is in the form of letters, orders, poems, eulogies, agreements, sanads, treaties, grants etc. The topics are varied in nature. It consists of granting of Deshmukhi, different rights, lands, grants; commending valours and bestowing honours to the brave Sardars; asking the Sardars to march or join other army for invading the territories of the enemy, to put down disorders and to carry out land settlements in their lands etc. It is interesting to note that many documents have been collected from the members of Yadav, Bavada, Talbid, Satham and other leading families of the period. Many papers have been found from the Kolhapur Archives; Alienation Office, Poona; Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore and Mackenzie Collection, Fort St. George, Madras.

The noteworthy aspect of the Tarabai Papers is the Portuguese Papers which have been translated into Marāṭhī and incorporated here. The Portuguese Papers depict the political and other relations of the Portuguese with the Marāṭhās and the Moghals as well at the same time. Some of the Papers in this volume are indeed most striking and useful and throw new light on the course of history. For example, the land partition deed (Sr. No. 322, dated 5-10-1716, pp. 458-494) of the Yadav family decides *deshmukhi* of Karad between the two brothers, Swarupji bin Piraji Yadav and Girjoji bin Mudhoji Yadav. In this deed "Matushri Durgabai" has been mentioned as a queen of Sambhaji. Durgabai was detained by the Mughals at Daulatabad and king Sambhaji had entrusted the work of her release to Girjoji, who failed to accomplish it. This document is the first to reveal this fact. It is remarkable that one letter (No. 72, dated 21-2-1699, p. 106) bears Tarabai's hand-writing. In a dispute between Dhanaji Jadav and Girjoji Jadav, about the rights of receiving the offerings of Pāli Yātrā (the fair of Khaṇḍobā at Pāli near Umbraj, District Satara), Tarabai

showed courage to give decision in favour of Girjoji against Dhanaji, even though the latter was her staunch supporter.

Tarabai Papers Vol. II contains historical material of the period between 1721 and 1749. In contrast with the first volume, no outstanding political events figure in these papers, but there are some references of political events. Few papers throw light on the different types of *Watans* and other economic and social matters. Some of the documents are more useful. Dr. Pawar remarks that the partition deed (No. 19, dated 25-5-1723, pp. 21-35) between Bhagwant-rao, Appajirao and Shivram, the sons of Ramchandra Pant (Amātya) has been traced out for the first time. Hence it is of great significance. As said previously, Ramchandra Pant played eminent part in the war of independence. This deed contains a list of partitioned articles and includes cash, precious stones, ornaments, weapons, cows, bullocks, books, etc. all of which give a glimpse of the estate of a nobleman like Ramchandra Pant.

In one document (No. 3, dated, 2-5-1721, pp. 2-9) the construction of a sea-fort of Sindhudurg (Janjira) at Malwa, on the 25th November 1664 by Shivaji has been described vividly. Another document (No. 21, dated 8-11-1823, pp. 37-40) describes how the image of the famous deity of Mahālakṣmī at Kolhapur came to be reinstalled by Sidhoji Hindurao Ghorpade on the 27th September, 1715. From some documents, the references about some of the high officials and other dignitaries at the court of Sambhaji of Kolhapur are also found.

Dr. Pawar, known for his erudition, has edited the papers with meticulous care and scholarship. He has taken great pains in giving gist of all the documents in the form of 'Summary' in both the Volumes before the actual text begins. This serves a good guide to the researcher who is in need of such material. Indexes and Corrigendums are also given at the end of each volume.

In the beginning Dr. Pawar has said that the age of Tarabai ranges from 1680 to 1761 A.D. But the second volume ends with the letter dated 23rd March 1750 (No. 248, pp. 325-330). So the papers dealing with the period between 1750 and 1761, remain to be searched out and published. It would give a complete idea of the source material of this period.

It is hoped that the Shivaji University will soon complete the Tarabai papers bringing it to 1761 A.D. and maintain the tradition it has begun, by publishing such useful and valuable historical material in future.

R. G. PARIKH

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1. *Histoire Secrete Des Mongols* : Edited by LOUIS LIGETI Pub. by: Akademiai Kiado, Budapest, 1971; Pp. 268; Price \$ 4 = 80.
2. *Vedic Concept of "Field" and the Divine Fructification* : Edited by S. A. Dange; Pub. by University of Bombay, Bombay-32; Pp. 14 + 235; Price Rs. 25 = 00.
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JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

(To be published in the first issue every year after the last day of February)

FORM IV

(See Rule 8)

- 1 *Place of the Publication :* Oriental Institute,
M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda.
- 2 *Periodicity of its Publication :* Three months—September, December,
March, June.
- 3 *Printer's Name :* Shri B. M. Shah
Nationality : Indian
Address : Vidya Vilas Building, near Tarkeshwar
Mahadeo, Raopura, Baroda
- 4 *Publisher's Name :* Dr. B. J. Sandesara
Nationality : Indian
Address : 'Samvad', 6 Shreyas Society,
Race Course Circle (West), Baroda-7
- 5 *Editor's Name :* Dr. B. J. Sandesara,
Nationality : Indian
Address : 'Samvad', 6 Shreyas Society,
Race Course Circle (West), Baroda-7
- 6 *Names & addresses of Individuals who own the newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one percent of the total capital* The M.S. University of Baroda, Baroda.

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PRASNAVIDYA OF BADARAYANA

INTRODUCTION

The text of Bādarāyaṇa's *Praśnavidyā* with the *Cintāmaṇi* commentary of Bhaṭṭotpala is based upon a single manuscript deposited in the library of the Oriental Institute, Baroda. The details of the ms. are as follows:—

- 1 Place of deposit :—Baroda, Oriental Institute.
- 2 Acc. No. :— 9308.
- 3 Title :— *Praśnavidyā Cintāmaṇiṭīkāśamvalitā*.
- 4 Author :— Bādarāyaṇa—Commentator :—Bhaṭṭotpala.
- 5 Date :— Undated.
- 6 Folios :— 22.
- 7 No. of lines in each folio :— 12.
- 8 No. of letters in each line :— 30.
- 9 Material :— Paper.
- 10 Script :— Devanāgarī.
- 11 Style :— Written in one uniform hand-writing.
- 12 Size :— 9.3" × 5.6".
- 13 Condition :— Good.

Mss. of this work are available in the libraries of Indian institutes. As the text consists of 76 verses only and as its antiquity required its immediate publication ; the long process involving procuring of mss. from other institutes and collating them was not deemed necessary. Scribal errors have been silently corrected while preparing the press-copy and suggestions have been given within brackets.

The work is attributed to the celebrated sage Bādarāyaṇa. He is referred to as an authority with great reverence by Varāhamihira in his *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 40.1 ; [श्विकवृषप्रवेशे जानीये बादरायणेनोक्ताः ॥ श्रीभृशरत्नस्वानां सदसयोगाः कृतास्त इमे ॥] and he is quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala and other commentators at several places. Nothing else is known about him or about his work.

The text :—

The present text consisting of 76 verses is only a chapter of the *Saṃhitā* of

Bādarāyaṇa. It deals with *Praśnas*. Bhaṭṭotpala refers to it in his commentary in the following words :—

- (१) इत्याचार्यो बादरायणः स्वसंहितायामेकमध्यायं लोकानुग्रहार्थं चिकीर्षुस्तत्रादावेव तत्प्रयोजनप्रदर्शनार्थमाह ।
- (२) प्रश्नेऽस्मिन्नपि बादरायणकृते ।
- (३) दृष्ट्वा गर्गसिष्ठदेवकृतां पाराशरीं यावनीमन्यां चापि हि बादरायण इमां यां प्रश्नविद्यां व्यधात् ॥
- (४) बादरायणकृतेऽस्मिन् प्रश्नशास्त्रमहोदधौ ॥

Greek words like *Meṣūraṇa* are used in the text. The earliest limit of the date of the text cannot be fixed for want of sufficient conclusive evidence. The text is earlier than the date of Bhaṭṭotpala (966 A.D.)

Praśnavidyā has been prevalent in India since Vedic times. The *Mādhyandina Samhitā* of the *Śukla Yajurveda* refers to *Praśnin* and *Praśnavivāka*. (प्रज्ञानाय नक्षत्रदर्शमाशिक्षायै प्रश्निननुगशिक्षाया अभिप्रश्निनं मर्यादायै प्रश्नविवाकम् मा. सं. ३०.१०). However, works of earliest known authors are known only in name. The earliest known work available exclusively on the subject is Bhaṭṭotpala's *Praśnasaptati*. The publication of the present work, therefore, will be highly appreciated and welcomed by scholars interested in astrology.

श्रीः

बादरायणविरचिता

प्रश्नविद्या

उत्पलाचार्यकृतविवरणसहिता

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।

केशाजार्कनिशाकरक्षितिजविज्जीवाम्फुजित्सूर्यजान्

विभ्रेशं स्वगुरुन् प्रणम्य शिरसा देवीं च वागीश्वरीम् ॥

प्रश्नेऽस्मिन्नपि बादरायणकृते स्पष्टार्थसत्प्रत्यये

शिष्याणां हितकाम्यया द्विजवरष्टीकां करोत्युत्पलः ॥ १ ॥

कानीह शास्त्र (स्त्रे) सम्बन्धाभिधेयप्रयोजनानि भवन्तीत्युच्यन्ते । आब्रह्मादि-
विनिस्तमिदं वेदाङ्गम् । उपायोपेयवाच्यवाचकलक्षणो नाम सम्बन्धः । उपायः शास्त्रम् ।
उपेयं ज्ञानम् । वाचकः (कं) शास्त्रम् । वाच्यो (च्यं) ज्ञानम् । त (तल्) लभतन्नवां-
शकग्रहयोगग्रहेक्षणवशालाभालाभसुखदुःखजयपराजयजीवितमरणादिज्ञानमभिधेयम् । सत्पात्र-
विषये सत्यकथनादिहलोकसिद्धिरिति प्रयोजनम् । किमेभिरुक्तैरित्यत्रोच्यते ।

सिद्धिः श्वोर (श्रोतृ) प्रवृत्ता (ची) नां सम्बन्धकथनाद्यतः ॥

तस्मात् सर्वेषु शास्त्रेषु सम्बन्धः पूर्वमुच्यते ॥ २ ॥

(मीमांसाश्लोकवार्तिकम् १-१९)

सर्वस्य (स्यैव) हि शास्त्र (स्य) कर्मणो वाऽपि कस्यचित् ॥

यावत् प्रयोजनं नोक्तं तावत्तत् केन गृह्यते ॥ ३ ॥

(मीमांसाश्लोकवार्तिकम् १-१२)

इति । कस्य शास्त्रे अधिकारः । उच्यते । द्विजस्यैव । यतस्तेन षडङ्गवेदोऽध्ये-
तव्यश्च । कानि षडङ्गानीत्युच्यते ।

शिक्षा कल्पो व्याकरणं निरुक्तं ज्योतिषमिति (षां गतिः) ॥ छन्दसां चेति
(न्दोविचिति) इत्याह (रित्येतैः) षडङ्गो वेद उच्यते ॥ ४ ॥

इत्याचार्यो **बादरायणः** स्वसंहितायामेकमध्यायं लोकानुग्रहार्थं चिकीर्षुस्तत्रा-
दावेव तत्प्रयोजनप्रदर्शनार्थमाह ।

पूर्वं परीक्ष्य जीवितमन्यत् पश्चात् शुभाशुभं पुंसां ।

जगदभ्युद्यतमखिलं करोति किं प्राप्तकालस्य ॥ १ ॥

पूर्वमादौ पुसां नराणां **जीवितमायुः** प्रमाणं **परीक्ष्य** पर्यालोच्य ज्ञात्वेत्यर्थः ।
तस्माज्ज्ञानात् **पश्चादनन्तरमन्यदपरं शुभाशुभं** (शुभमशुभं) वा फलं **परीक्ष्य** ।
लाभजयजीवितसुखबोधनादि शुभम् । अलाभपराजयमरणदुःखव्याधिप्रादुर्भावादिकमशुभम् ।
यस्माद् ज्ञः (**जगत्**) त्रैलोक्यमखिलं समग्रमभ्युद्यतं गन्तुं प्रवृत्तं कालमृत्योः समीप-
गतस्य **प्राप्तकालस्य** दैवं किं करोति किं दधाति । प्राप्तः कालो यस्यासौ प्राप्तकाल
इति ॥ १ ॥

पुनरप्येतदेवाह ।

ज्ञात्वायुषः प्रमाणं मरणनिमित्तं मृतस्य गमनं च ॥

स्थानं च मरणकाले ततो नृणां चैव निर्देश्यम् ॥ २ ॥

आयुषो जीवितस्य **प्रमाणं** वर्षादिसंख्यं **ज्ञात्वा** बुधः तथा मरणे जीवितक्षये
निमित्तं कारणं हुतवहजलशस्त्रज्वरामयतृट्क्षुत्क्षतानामन्यतमं तथा **मृतस्य** प्राणैर्वियुक्त
(स्य) **गमनं** गतिः सुरपितृतिर्यङ्मनस्कमोक्षाणामन्यतमं तथा **मरणकाले** मृत्युसमये
स्थानं परदेशं तन्मध्ये वा **ततः** पश्चान् **नृणां** पुरुषाणां शेषमन्यत् शुभाशुभं निर्देशं (श्यं)
यत् ब्रूयादिति ॥ २ ॥

अथ दैवस्य प्रेरकत्वमाह ।

दैवेन चोद्यमानश्च शुभेनाशुभेन वा नरः सर्वः ॥

सहसा गच्छत्यवशाद् दैवज्ञसमाश्रयं यस्मात् ॥ ३ ॥

दैवं प्राक्कर्मेत्यर्थः । तेन **चोद्यमानः** प्रेर्यमाणः । किंभूतेन (**शुभे**)
अ (ना) **शुभेन** वा दुष्कृतसुकृताख्येन **सर्वो** निःशेषो **नरो** मर्त्यजनः । यस्माद्
यतो हेतोः **सहसा** झटित्येवा [**वशादे**] कंत (कान्त) हेतोः [**दैवज्ञ**] समाश्रयं
कालविदः स्थानं **गच्छतीत्यर्थः** ॥ ३ ॥

प्रश्नजातकयोर्मुनिमतेन साम्यमाह ।

अगृहीतजातकस्य तु पृच्छाकालोऽपि जन्मसमयस्यः (यः स्यात्) ॥

भवतीति कमलयोनिर्वदति तथापरे मुनयः ॥ ४ ॥

अगृहीतजातकस्यालिखितजन्मसमयस्य पृच्छाकालः प्रश्नसमयोऽपि जन्मजातकतुल्यो भवति । इति कमलयोनिर्ब्रह्मा कथयति । तथा तेनैव प्रकारेणापरे मुनयोऽन्ये परमर्षयस्तत्समयं जातकतुल्यं वदन्ति । तथा चोक्तमाचार्यवराहमिहिरेण । जन्मन्याधाने प्रश्नकाले चे(वे)ति (लघुजातकम् ३-२)

अत्रैवाचार्य मा(आ)ह ।

जन्मसमये यदुक्तं शुभाशुभं दिव्यदृग्भिराचार्यैः ॥

पृच्छाकालेऽपि नृणां तदेव भवतीति विज्ञेयम् ॥ ५ ॥

आचार्यैः शास्त्रकौरैर्नारायणोक्त(त्थ)वसिष्ठपराशरप्रभृतिभिर्जन्मसमये जातककाले यच्छुभाशुभं कथितं जन्मलभ्यवशात् नृणां पुरुषाणां प्रश्नोद्यतानां जन्मफलतुल्यफलं भवतीति विज्ञेयं ज्ञातव्यम् । इतिशब्दो निश्चयार्थे ॥ ५ ॥

आदावेवायुर्ज्ञानं व्याख्यामीत्याह ।

यस्मादतीन्द्रियमिदं जीवितमरणं समुच्यते मुनिभिः ॥

तस्मात्तदेव पुंसां वक्ष्यामि विशेषतः पर(प्रथ)मम् ॥ ६ ॥

मुनिभिर्गर्गादिभिः कालदर्शिभिर्यस्माद् यतो हेतोरितं(दं) जीवितमरणमायुर्मृत्युश्चातीन्द्रियमिन्द्रियाण्यतिक्रम्य वर्तते तदतीन्द्रियं प्रत्यक्षं समुच्यते सम्यगभिधीयते तस्माद्धेतोः पुंसां पुरुषाणां तदेव जीवितमरणं विशेषेण प्रथममादौ कथयिष्यामि ॥ ६ ॥

अधुना सर्वप्राणिनां परमायुःप्रमाणमाह ।

परमायुर्नृगजानां विंशत्यधिकं शतं सपञ्चदिनम् ॥

चतुरधिकाऽपि च विंशतिरायुर्गोमहिषयोः सदिनम्(ना) ॥ ७ ॥

अविकाजानां षोडश पञ्चयुता विंशतिः खरोष्ट्राणाम् ॥

द्वादश वर्षाणि शुनां कथिता द्वात्रिंशदध्वानाम् ॥ ८ ॥

नृगजानां पुरुषाणां गजानां च परमायुः परं प्रकृष्टं जीवितं विंशत्यधिकं वर्षशतं (स)पञ्चदिनं पञ्चभिरहोरात्रैः सहितं ज्ञेयम् । गोमहिषयोः गोश्च महिषस्य च चतुरधिका विंशतिर्वर्षाणां सदिना । चतुर्विंशतिवर्षाणि दिनमेकं च तयोः परमायुरित्यर्थः । सह दिनेन वर्तत इति सदिना । अपि च तद्वृत्त्य (त्त) पूरणाय समूहः समुच्चयो वा । अविकायः (जाः) पशवः । अजाश्लागाः । अविका-ग्रहणं मृगादीनामप्युपलक्षणार्थम् । तेषामविकाजानां षोडश वर्षाणि परमायुः । खरोष्ट्राणां गर्दभकरभाणां पञ्चयुता विंशतिर्वर्षाणि परमायुः । [शुनां द्वादशवर्षाणि] एवं सर्वेषां परमायुः कथितम् । अथ हयानामेव द्वात्रिंशत् कथितेति सम्बन्धः ॥ ७-८ ॥

अथ परमायुः परिज्ञानाय सूर्यादीनां गुणकानाह ।

पञ्चैकसहिताविंशतिमनुरन्ध्रवसुत्रिकेशसमसंख्याः ॥

क्रमशः कालार्थमिमे गुणकारा दिनकरादीनाम् ॥ ९ ॥

रव्यादिशन्यन्तानां ग्रहाणां क्रमशः परिपाठ्या कालार्थं कालज्ञानाय इमे गुणकारा ज्ञेयाः । तत्र रवेः (पञ्च) ५ । चन्द्रस्यैकसहिता विंशतिः २१ । मनवश्चतुर्दश १४ भौमस्य । रन्ध्रसंख्या नव (९) बुधस्य । वसवोऽष्टौ ८ गुरोः । त्रिक संख्या त्रयः ३ शुक्रस्य । ईशा एकादश शनेः ११ ॥ ९ ॥

अधुनाऽयुः प्रमाणानयनमाह ।

उद्गतकलसमूहं परमायुः प्रस्ताडितं समुद्धृत्य ॥

मण्डलकलाभिराप्तो वर्षादिरथायुष कालः ॥ १० ॥

यस्मिन् काले प्रष्टा नष्टजन्मपृच्छां करोति तस्मिन् काले न स्फुटं न मन्त्रेण कालमुपलभ्यते घटिकादिकं (यः स्फुटममन्त्रेण काल उपलभ्यते घटिकादिकः) तत्कर्मणा त्रिप्रश्नगदितेन लग्नं कार्यम् । तस्य राशयस्त्रिंशता संगुण्य भागान् संयोज्य ततः पुनः षष्ठ्या संगुण्य लिप्ताः संयुज्य उद्गतः उदितः कालः (कला) समूहो यस्य नरादिजन्मकाल-लग्नस्य सः । तं परमायुषा ताडितं मण्डलकलाभिश्चकलित्वाभिः २१६०० समुद्धृत्य भक्त्वा (क्तो) वर्षादिः वर्षमासदिनघटिकापलात्मक आयुषः कालः स्यात् ॥ १० ॥

अथ तस्य स्फुटीकरणमाह ।

उदयसमीपं (प) गृहम् [ह] स्थानाभ्यस्तं तदायुर्हृतशेषः ॥

शुद्धांश (द्वोध) स्वेकतरो यो यस्या(स्य) भव(वे) तथासन्नः ॥ ११ ॥

उदयं लग्नं तस्य समीपं निकटं द्वादशस्थानमित्यर्थः । यतोऽस्तीतं द्वादशाद्वर्तमानं लग्नादागामि द्वितीयं ज्ञायं (य) त [इति] दैवविदामागमः । तत्रोदयसमीपे द्वादशस्थाने यद्गृहं मेषादिकं वर्तते तस्य यो ग्रहः स्वामी ख्यादिकः । तथा पञ्चैकसहिता विंशतिरित्यनेन ग्रन्थकारेण यो गुणकारः उक्तः तया गुणकारगुणनयाऽभ्यस्तं गुणितं सविकलं कृत्वा ततोऽधः प्रकृतिस्थच्छेदैर्भागमपहृत्य यल्लब्धं तदुपरि योजयेत् । शेषं यथास्थितमेव । तत्रोपरि वर्षस्थानं तदायुषो यस्य जन्तोर्जन्मान्विष्यते तत्परमायुषा भागो हार्यः । लब्धं त्याज्यं तेन प्रयोजनं नास्ति । यच्छेशं तद्वाह्यम् । ततस्तदायुर्हृतशेष-शुद्धोधः अधो यच्छेदः परमायुस्तस्मात्तदेव शेषं वर्षादि शोधयेत् पातयेत् । तयोर्द्वयोर्मध्यादेकतरः एकः । तथा तेन प्रकारेण तस्य नरादेरासन्नो निकट उपरिष्टादधस्ताद्वा यदश्मी(नुमी)यते. ..संभवेत् । तयोर्द्वयोरनुमानेन वक्ष्यमाणविधानेनेति ॥ ११ ॥

त्रिनवषट्कसमुत्थं क्रमशो बालादिमध्यवृद्धानाम् ॥

पुंसां जन्मकालः समतीतः समभिधातव्यः ॥ १२ ॥

त्रिनवषट्काः प्रसिद्धाः । ३ । ९ । ६ । एभ्यः समुत्तिष्ठतीति त्रिनवषट्क-समुत्थं क्रमशः क्रमेण परिपाठ्या बालादिमध्यवृद्धानां पुंसां नराणां स जन्मकालो जन्मसमयः समतीतोऽतिनिष्क्रान्तो वर्षाधिकः समभिधातव्यो वक्तव्यः । एतदुक्तं भवति । यदि बालादेर्जन्तोर्वार्षिकात्प्रभृति वर्षचत्वारिंशतं यावत् पूर्वायुष्यमानं न संवदति तदा तत्र त्रिके देयं । शोध्यं द्वा(द्वि)वर्षस्य [ते] न ततः संपद्यते । एवं मध्यस्य नव नव शोधनेन च वक्तव्यम् । एतच्च सत्यरूपं भवतीति ॥ १२ ॥

एवमतीतकालमभिधायाधुनैष्यकालस्यायुःप्रमाणज्ञानमाह ।

पुनरपि स एव कालो वर्षादिर्यः पुरागतो लग्नात् ॥

विश्लिष्टः स्वादायादेष्यग्रहगुणहतः कार्यः ॥ १३ ॥

परमायुर्हृतशेषः कालः स च देहिनामेष्यः ॥

उभयोरपि संयोगो यः स नृ(नरा)णामायुषः कालः ॥ १४ ॥

उद्गतकालसमूहमित्यनेन प्रकारेण यः पुरा पूर्ववर्षादिरायुषः कालो लग्नादागतः स स्वादायादायुषो विश्लिष्टो ह्येनः कार्यः । तस्मात् स शोधनीय

इत्यर्थः । ततो यः शेषकालः **एष्यग्रहगुणहतः कार्यः** । **एष्य** आगामी लब्धाद् द्वितीयं स्थानं तस्य यो (ग्रहः) स्वामी तथा वर्षं तस्य प्रागुक्तो **गुणो** गुणाकारः तेन हतस्ताडितः **कार्यो** गुणनीयः सविकल इत्यर्थः । ततः स्वच्छेदेरु (दस्यो) पर्युपरि लब्धं संयोज्य वर्षस्थाने परमायुषो भागो हर्तव्यः । लब्धेन प्रयोजनं नास्तीति **शेषः कालः स देहिनां प्राणिनामेष्ट्यः** । तावत् कालं तस्य जन्तोरायुषः शेषोऽस्तीति विज्ञेयम् । **उभयोर्द्वयोरतीतेष्वयोः** कालयोः संयोगादैक्यात् प्रभवति । **स नराणां** पुरुषाणां सर्वकालः । नरग्रहणमन्योपलक्षणार्थम् । अन्येषां प्राणिनामपीति ॥ १३-१४ ॥

अत्रैव प्रकारान्तरदर्शनमाह ।

लब्धादित्याद्वाप्यतिशयवीर्याद्ग्राह्यापि ॥

पूर्ववदायुः प्रवदेन् मतिमान् सर्वजन्तू (सत्त्वा) नाम् ॥ १५ ॥

उद्गतकाल(कला)समूहमित्यत (१०) आरभ्य पुनरपि स एव कालो वर्षादिर्यः पुरागतो लग्नादि (१३) स्येतदनन्तरं यत्कर्माभिहितं तल्लगनात् कार्यम् । आदित्यं लग्नरूपं परिकल्प्य तस्मात् कार्यम् । अथवाऽतिशयवीर्यान्वितात् ग्रहात् सबलोपेतात् ग्रहात् तात्कालिकाद्वा कार्यम् । **पूर्ववत्** पूर्वोक्तेन प्रकारेण **मतिमान्** पण्डितः **सर्वसत्त्वानां** सर्वप्राणिनां नरादीनामित्यर्थः । इति (अपि) शब्दो निश्चयार्थः ॥ १५ ॥

अथ प्रकारान्तरेणाह ।

उदयकलोद्गमने तद्गुणिते त्रिंशताहते लब्धाः ॥

वर्षायनर्तुमासा दिनानि नाड्यस्तथा प्रसवे ॥ १६ ॥

अस्यार्थः । **उदयं** लग्नं तस्य कला **उदयकलाः** तासामुद्गमने उदयकाल उद्गमनं तस्मिन् । एतदुक्तं भवति । प्राग्वा तात्कालिकं लग्नं संसाध्य राशीनपास्य शेष-भागान् लिप्तीकृत्य यद्भवति स उदयकाल उच्यते । तस्मिन्नुदयकाले उद्गमने तद्गुणितेन तदित्यनेन लग्नस्य परामर्शः । तस्य गुणस्तद्गुणः । अयमर्थः । लग्नस्पर्शो (स्येशो) ग्रहः स्वामी तस्य यः प्रागुक्तो गुणकारस्तेनोदयकालो गुणनीयः सविकलः स यथाका (क) ल-मुपहृत्योपरि योजयेत् । तत्र त्रिंशता भागो हर्तव्यः । लब्धं वर्षाणि । शेषं द्वाभ्यां गुणयेत् । तत्र द्वयनप्रमाणं वर्षम् । तत्त्रिंशता भागमपहृत्य लब्धं तदयनम् । न कश्चिदुभ्यते तदुत्तरायणम् । अथैको लभ्यते तद्दक्षिणायनम् । एवमन्यत्रापि परिभाषा ज्ञेया । अयनं वर्षाणामधः स्थाप्यम् ।

एवं शेषं त्रिंशता षष्ठ्या संगुण्य लब्धं दिनघटिकापलान्तं मासादधः स्थाप्यम् । उत्तरायणतूनां
शिशिराद्या गणना । दक्षिणायनस्य वर्षाद्या । मासदिनानां स्वप्रारम्भात् । एवं वर्षाकालो-
त्पन्नप्रसवे जन्मनि ज्ञेयम् । जन्मकालात् प्रभृति वर्षमानं यावदतिक्रान्तमित्यर्थः । एवमतीतं
कालं ज्ञात्वा तत्रार्कादयो ग्रहास्तात्कालिकाः कार्याः । तेभ्यो यथाभिहितजातकर्मणाऽऽयुर्ग्रहणं
नीयत इति ॥ १६ ॥

अधुना तात्कालिकग्रहेभ्य आयुषो विधानमाह ।

भवननवांशकयोगाद् ग्रहाः प्रयच्छन्ति देहिनामायुः ॥

उदितांशसमं होरा सा राशिसमं च वीर्ययुता ॥ १७ ॥

अस्यार्थः । ग्रहा ख्यादयो देहिनां जन्तूनां भवननवांशकयोगादायु-
र्जीवितं प्रयच्छन्ति ददति । यस्मिन्नवांशके ग्रहो वर्तते स यस्य राशेः सम्बन्धी स च
मेषादिगणनया यावत्संख्यो भवति तावन्ति वर्षाणि स ग्रह आयुर्ददाति । किञ्च भुक्तनवांशका
ग्राह्या वर्षसंख्यया । भोग्येन नवांशकेनानुयातः कार्यः । अयमर्थः । तात्कालिकं स्फुटं ग्रहं
लिप्तं पिण्डीकृत्य शतद्वयेन भागमपहृत्यावाप्तमंशकसमूहः । तस्य द्वादशभिर्भागमपहृत्य लब्धं
त्यक्त्वा शेषं स्थाप्य तानि वर्षाणि शेषं विलिप्ताभ्यो यत् स्थितं तत् सविकलं द्वादशभि-
स्त्रिंशता षष्ठ्या च संगुण्य शतद्वयेन विभज्य मासदिवसघटिकाविघटिका वर्षाणामधः स्थाप्याः ।
अथ भवननवांशकयोगाद् ग्रहा देहिनामायुः प्रयच्छन्ति । उदितां-
शसमं होरेति । होरा लग्नमुदितांशसममायुः प्रयच्छति । ग्रहवयोभुक्ते (न)
लग्नेन नवांशकतत्संख्यावर्षाणि ददाति । भुज्यमानग्रहवदनुयातः कार्यः । एवमुदितां-
शसमं होरा राशिसमानं च वीर्ययुता होरा लग्नं यदि वीर्ययुता होरा
स्वामिगुरुज्ञवीक्षितयुता नान्यैश्च वीर्योत्कटा (बृहज्जातकम्-१-१९) इत्यनेन
प्रकारेण सबला भवति तदा प्राग्दत्तस्यायुष उपरि राशिसमानमायुर्ददाति । यावन्तो राशयो
लग्नेन भुक्तास्तावत्संख्यानि वर्षाणि प्राग्लग्न्यायुषि वर्षस्थाने योजयेत् । भागैः सहानुपातः
कथमुच्यते । भागादिकं लिप्तीकृत्य द्वादशभिस्त्रिंशता षष्ठ्या च संगुण्याष्टादशाभिः शतै-
र्विभज्याप्तमासदिनघटिकाविघटिकाः स्थापितायुषि संयोज्य लग्नयुर्भवति ॥ १७ ॥

तस्य संस्कारमाह ।

स्वदृक्काणनवांशकस्थिता द्विगुणमायुः [स्वोच्चे स्थिताश्च] ॥

वक्रं च गतास्त्रिगुणं युगपद् गृहवक्रगास्तद्वत् ॥ १८ ॥

जन्मकाले यो ग्रहः स्वदृक्काणस्थितस्तद्वत्तमायुर्द्विगुणं कार्यम् । तत्र स्वोच्चराशिस्थितस्यापि द्विगुणं कार्यम् । यश्च स्वनवांशके आत्मीयनवभागे स्थितस्तस्य त्रिगुणं कार्यम् । यः स्वोच्चे स्थितस्तस्यापि त्रिगुणं कार्यम् । अत्रापि त्रिगुणत्वे प्राप्ते सकृदेव त्रिगुणं कार्यम् । युगपद् गृहवक्रगास्तद्वदिति । युगपद्गृहे राशौ वक्त्रे च तुल्यकालमुपागमान् ग्रहास्तद्वत् त्रिगुणमेव प्रयच्छन्ति । स्वदृक्काणनवांशकवर्गोत्तमे वक्रिता उच्चगताश्चासकृदेकवारं त्रिगुणमेव प्रकुर्वन्ति ॥ १८ ॥

अथायुषो हानिप्रदर्शनार्थमाह ।

नीचास्तमयोपगता हरन्ति पुंसां स्वायुषाद्धानि ॥

अरिभवनसन्निविष्टास्त्रिभागमुशन(आ किं वै)मुख्याः ॥ १९ ॥

ये ग्रहा जन्मनि स्वनीचराशौ स्थितास्ते स्वादायुषोऽर्द्धं हरन्ति । यदायुस्तैर्दत्तं तस्मादर्धमपनयन्तीत्यर्थः । एवं येऽस्तोपगतास्तेऽप्यर्धं हरन्ति । किन्तूशना(नो)किं वैमुख्याः । उशनाः शुक्रः । आर्किः शनिः । ततो वैमुख्या वियोगो येषां तथाभूता अपहरन्ति । शुक्रशनिव्यतिरिक्ता अस्तमिता ग्रहा अर्द्धमपहरन्तीत्यर्थः । यद्यप्यत्र सामान्येनोक्तत्वात् सर्वासु हानिष्वनयोर्वैमुख्यत्वात् (यत्वं) प्राप्तं तथाप्यस्तमये केवल एव नान्यस्मिन्नित्याग[म]विदः । तथा चाचार्यवराहमिहिरः । नास्तं यातौ रविजशुक्रौ इति (लघुजातकम्-६-४) । अरिभवनसन्निविष्टा इति । अरिभवने शत्रुक्षेत्रे सन्निविष्टाः स्थिताः स्वादायुषस्त्रिभागं च तृतीयांशमुपनयन्तीत्यर्थः ॥ १९ ॥

[cf. यस्माद् बादरायणः ।

भूम्याः पुत्रं वर्जयित्वा रिभस्था हन्युः स्वात् स्वात् स्वायुषस्ते त्रिभागम् ॥ अस्तं याताः सर्व एवार्धहानिं कुर्युर्हित्वा दैत्यपूज्यार्कपुत्रौ ॥ quoted by Ruda in his *vivarāṇa* on Varāhamihira's *Horāśāra* 7.2]

अधुना चक्रपातार्धहानिमाह ।

अर्धं व्यये स्वदा[याद] र्धादप्यर्धमायभवनगताः ॥

कर्मस्थाने षष्ठं पुनरपि च तदष्टमं नवमे ॥ २० ॥

निर्याणगता दशमं सप्तमगा घ्नन्ति तद् द्वियुतम् ॥

ग्रहसंख्यासममंशं तेषामेकैकशः स हरेत् ॥ २१ ॥

एष्वपि (ष्वेव) सन्निविष्टाः पापा द्विगुणं विनिष्क्रान्ति ॥

एकक्षोपगतानां सो (स) भवति बलाधिको विशेषेण ॥ २२ ॥

यद्यप्यत्र सामान्येनोक्तं तथापि सौम्यग्रहा व्यये द्वादशस्थाने स्थिताः स्वदायादात्मीयायुषोऽर्धं व्यपहरन्ति । आयभवनगता एकादशस्थाने स्थिता [अर्धादप्यर्धं चतुर्थभागमपहरन्ति । कर्मस्थाने दशमस्थाने स्थिताः] षड्भागं हरन्ति । नवमे स्थाने स्थिताः पुनरपि च भूयस्तदष्टमं तस्मादायुषोष्टमं भागं हरन्ति । निर्याणस्थानमष्टमं तत्र गताः स्थिता दशमं भागं हरन्ति । सप्तमगाः सप्तमस्थानस्थिताः तद्दशमभागद्वियुतं द्वादशं भागमपहरन्तीत्यर्थः । पापा एष्वेव सन्निविष्टाः समवस्थिता एतदेव द्विगुणमपहरन्ति । तेनैतदुक्तं भवति । पापग्रहा द्वादशे स्थाने समवस्थिताः स्वदायमपहरन्ति । एकादशेऽर्धं दशमे त्रिभागं नवमे चतुर्थं भागमष्टमे षष्ठ्यं भागं सप्तमे षड्भागमिति । तथा च बराहमिहिरः । सर्वार्धत्रितुर्यं (चतुरि)न्द्रिय(तु) भागान् व्ययाद्धरन्त्यशुभाः । सन्तोऽर्धमतो वा[म]म् । इति । (लघुजातकम् ६-५) । एकक्षोपगतानामिति । तत्र द्विधा-दीनामेकक्षोपगतानामेकस्मिन् राशौ स्थितानां मध्याद् यो ग्रहो विशेषेणातिशयेन बलाधिको भवति वीर्यवान् स चैकग्रहे (हसंख्या) सममंशं ग्रहाणां यावत् (ती) संख्योक्ता अर्धं व्यये स्वदायादित्यादिना तत्सममंशे (शं) [ते] न तुल्यं भागमेकैक[शः] स एकैकस्मात् स्थानाद्धरद (दर्धादिर) पनयेदित्यर्थः । शेषास्तत्रस्था अपि ता(ना) पहरन्ति । बराहः । बलवानेकक्षेष्वा (क्षंगो ह्ये) क इति (लघुजातकम् ६-५) ॥ २०-२२ ॥

इदानीं लाभालाभजयपराजयादीनां भावपरिज्ञानमाह ।

पूर्वविलम्बो राशिस्तत्कालछायया समभ्यस्तः ॥

सप्तोद्धृतावशेषे (षो) ग्रहगुणकारेण गुणनीयः ॥ २३ ॥

पूर्वविलम्बो प्राग्विलम्बो राशिः प्राग्विधिना लिप्तः पिण्डीकृतस्तत्काल-छायया समभ्यस्तः कार्यः । तत्कालप्रश्नसमये द्वादशाङ्गुलशङ्कोर्या छाया तया गुणनीयः । तत्तस्य राशेः पृथक्स्थस्य सप्तभिर्भागमपहरेत् । लब्धेन प्रयोजनं नास्ति । अवशेषं यत् तद्गुणकारेणेष्वराशिर्गुणनीयः । तत्रैकावशेषे आदित्यो द्वाभ्यां चन्द्रः इत्यादिना पूर्वोक्तपूर्वोक्तशेषे सौरो ज्ञेय इति ॥ २३ ॥

अथ ग्रहगुणकारानाह ।

पञ्चैकविंशे मनवो नवाष्टदहनाः शिवाक्षाः (रुधाः) स्युः ॥

सूर्यादीनां क्रमशो गुणा (ण) काराः सर्वपृच्छासु ॥ २४ ॥

सूर्यादिनामादित्यादीनां ग्रहाणां क्रमशः परिवाद्या (पाठ्या) सर्वपृच्छासु
समस्तप्रश्नेषु लाभालाभजयपराजयाया (त्रा) दिष्वमी **गुणाकाराः** । तत्र पञ्च कस्य । ५ ।
एकविंशतिश्चन्द्रस्य । २१ । चतुर्दश भौमस्य । १४ । रन्ध्रसंख्या नव बुधस्य । ९ ।
अष्टौ गुरोः । ८ । **दहनास्त्रयः शुक्रस्य** । ३ । **शिवाख्या** एकादश सौरस्य । ११ ।
एते पूर्वोक्ताः । पुनः कथनमेषां भ्रान्तिनिरसनाय । एषामन्यतमेन गुणकारेण राशिर्गुणनीय
इति ॥ २४ ॥

इदानीं लाभालाभजयपराजयादीनां भावाभावमाह ।

पुनरपि सप्तविभक्ता यदि सौम्यस्योपजायतेऽभ्युदयः ॥

प्रष्टुः कार्यं सिद्धं ब्रूयात् क्रूरग्रहे नैवम् ॥ २५ ॥

पुनस्तस्य गुणाकाराहतस्य राशेः पृथग् भक्तस्य सप्तभिर्भागो हार्यः । लब्धेन
प्रयोजनं नास्ति । यच्छेषं तदेव गृह्यते । तस्मात् सप्तभिर्भक्तात् **सौम्यस्योदयो यदि**
जायते उत्पद्यते । यदि चन्द्रजीवबुधसितानामन्यतमोऽवशिष्यते तदा **प्रष्टुः** पृच्छकस्य
कार्यप्राप्तिमभीष्टार्थलाभं ब्रूयाद् वदेत् । **क्रूरग्रहे नैवम्** । आदित्याङ्गारकशनै-
श्चराग्रशेषे नास्तीति ब्रूयात् ॥ २५ ॥

अधुना कालज्ञानपरीक्षामाह ।

वर्गसमुदायभक्तं तद्गर्गशोधितं पुनस्तस्मिन् ॥

तत्र तु यस्य वर्गो न विशुद्धस्तद्वशात् कालः ॥ २६ ॥

वर्गशब्देन गुणकारा उच्यन्ते । तेषां **समुदाय** एकीभावः प्राक्स्थापितो
योऽवसानेष्टराशिस्तद्गर्गसमुदायेन **भक्तं** विहृतं कार्यम् । **वर्गसमुदाय** एकसप्ततिः । ७१ ।
अनेन भागमपहृत (त्य) लब्धेन प्रयोजनं नास्ति । यच्छेषं तद्गृह्यते । तस्माच्छेषात्तद्गर्ग-
गुणकारक्रमेण रुधादीनां संशोध्य **तत्र** शेषं **यस्य** ग्रहस्य **वर्गो** गुणकारो **न विशुद्धो**
न पतितस्तद्वशात् कालः समयो लाभालाभजयपराजयादीनां वाच्यः ॥ २६ ॥

अधुना ग्रहाणां कान (ल) नियममाह ।

आरदिवाकरशेषे दिवसाः पक्षाश्च शुकेन्द्रोः ।

मासा गुर्ववशेषे सौम्ये हृतवः शनैश्चरेष्टाः (रअद्वाः) स्युः ॥ २७ ॥

तत्रादित्यचन्द्रयोर्वर्गे शुद्धे यद्यारस्य वर्गो न शुध्यति तदा यावत् संख्याशुद्धशेषो-
द्धारितस्तावद्धिर्दिनैः प्रष्टुरभीष्टं वाच्यम् । एवं यदि दिवाकरस्य आदित्यस्य वर्ग आरादेव
न शुद्धति तदा तावद्धिरेव दिवसैर्वाच्यम् । एवं भृगुशशिनोः शुक्रचन्द्रयोः [पक्षाः ।
गुरौ] शेषतुल्या मासा वाच्याः । सौम्ये बुधे ऋतवो मासद्वयात्मका वाच्याः ।
शनैश्चरे अद्वा वर्षाणि स्युः ॥ २७ ॥

कालेन वक्रव्यमित्याह ।

[आधाने सम्पत्तौ गमनागमे पराजये च जये ॥

शत्रूणां च विनाशे कालं यथोदितं ब्रूयात् ॥ २८ ॥]

आधाने सम्पत्तौ समृद्धौ गमने प्रवासे आगमे प्रवासनिवृत्तौ पराजये
अभिभवे जये वर्षाणां (र्णानां) मभ्युदये तथा शत्रूणां विनाशे क्षयकरणे कालं
समयो (यं) यथोदितं येन प्रकारेण कथितं तं ब्रूयाद् वदेत् । आरदिवाकरशेषे
दिवसा (२७) इति ॥ २८ ॥

इदानीं पृच्छकविशेषमाह ।

राशिं चरमुदयगतं (न्तं) पश्येद्यदि पापसंज्ञे (जिते) ष्वेव (कः) ॥

एषां मध्यादेकतमं कार्यं गच्छति नाशं तथार्थं मनुष्याणाम् ॥ २९ ॥

चरा मेषकर्कतुलामकराः । एषां मध्यादेकतमराशिमुदयन्तमुद्गच्छन्तं
प्राग्भ्रगतं प्राप्तं पापसंज्ञि [तेषु] पापग्रहेष्वादित्याङ्गारशनैश्चरेषु मध्यादेकः । य
एवं पश्येदवलोकयेत् । तदा प्रष्टुका (ष्ट)णां कार्यं करणीयं तथा शिवं श्रेयः अर्थं
धनं विनाशं गच्छति क्षयं प्राप्नोति ॥ २९ ॥

अथ रोगार्तस्य पृच्छामाह ।

रोगार्ते जन्मर्क्षे (क्षं) पश्येत् पापो न तस्य शिवमस्ति ॥

लग्नान्निधनगतः पृच्छाकाले शुभं हन्यात् ॥ ३० ॥

रोगो ज्वरादिव्याधिस्तेनार्तः पीडितस्तस्मिन् रोगार्ते । जन्मर्क्षं जन्मराशि-
स्तात्कालिकलग्नमित्यर्थः । यत उक्तम् ।

अगृहीतजातकस्य पृच्छाकालो जन्मसमयः । इति । (४)
तज्जन्मर्क्षं यदि पापः पापग्रह इति । यदि पश्येद् विलोकयेत् । तदा रोगार्तस्य

शिवं श्रेयो नास्ति न विद्यते । अथवा स एव पापो लग्नात् पृच्छालग्नात् निधन-
गतोऽष्टमस्थानगतः पृच्छाकाले प्रक्षसमये तदा शुभं हन्यात् नाशयेदित्यर्थः ॥ ३० ॥

अन्यप्रश्नान्तरमाह ।

दुश्चिक्क्यनवमनिधनत्रिकोणकेन्द्राश्रिताः पापाः ॥

कुर्वन्ति कार्यनाशं घातं चार्थस्य जातस्य ॥ ३१ ॥

दुश्चिक्क्यं तृतीयं नवमं प्रसिद्धं निधनमष्टमं त्रिकोणं नव[मं] पञ्चमं
केन्द्राणि लग्नचतुर्थसप्तमदशमानि । एतेषु यदि पापसंभवः (श्रयः) । यदि पापा
रविभौमसौराश्चाश्रिताः स्थिताः कार्यस्य करणीयस्य नाशं हानिं जातस्य
समुत्पन्नस्य चार्थस्य घातं क्षयं कुर्वन्ति विदधतीत्यर्थः ॥ ३१ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

द्विपदे चतुष्पदे वा राशानुदये यदा ग्रहः पापः ॥

सदृशं क्षपयत्यर्थं शुभो हि तं चैव वर्धते ॥ ३२ ॥

द्विपदराशयो मिथुनकन्यातुलाकुम्भाख्याः । चतुष्पदा मेषसिंहधनुषः । द्विपद-
पृच्छायां द्विपदराशानुदये प्रागल्भ्यात् प्राप्ते यदि पापग्रहः समवस्थितः तदा सदृशं
समानार्थं क्षपयति । द्विपदे द्विपदं पुरुषादिकं चतुष्पदे चतुष्पदादिकं गवादिक-
मित्यर्थः । शुभो हि शुभग्रहस्तत्र समवस्थितः सद्विगुण (स द्विपद)मिदं चतुष्पदं वा
वर्धते वृद्धिं नयतीत्यर्थः ॥ ३२ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

भवति स आश्रयणीयो द्वितीयसप्तमाष्ट(म)ल्लनेषु ॥

यदि सन्ति शुभाः पुंसां धनमारोग्यं सुखं दद्युः ॥ ३३ ॥

द्वितीयं प्रसिद्धं सप्तमाष्टमावपि प्रसिद्धौ । तेषु सप्ताष्टमेषु द्वितीयल्लनेषु (तेषु
द्वितीयसप्तमाष्टमल्लनेषु) राशिषु पृच्छालग्नात् यदि सन्ति शुभा भवन्ति
तदा नृपादिकमाश्रयणीयं भवति । विद्यत एवाश्रयः सफलो भवतीत्यर्थः । न केवलं
यावत् पुंसां पुरुषाणां ते च सौम्यास्तत्र स्थिता धनं वित्तमारोग्यमारोग्यतां सुखं
शमं दद्युः ॥ ३३ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

उदयं द्वितीयभवनं जामित्रमथा(थवा)ष्टमं तथा पापाः ॥

आश्रयणीयविनाशं मरणं सम्प्रयच्छन्ति ॥ ३४ ॥

अथ वा शब्दः प्रकारान्ताराय । उदयं लभं द्वितीयं प्रसिद्धं जामित्रं सप्तमम् । एतेषु स्थानेषु तथा तेनैव प्रकारेण यदि पापाः समाश्रितास्तदाऽऽश्रयणीयस्य नृपादेर्विनाशं मरणं वा सम्प्रयच्छन्ति ददतीत्यर्थः ॥ ३४ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

हिबुकं द्वितीयमथवा शुभस्तृतीयं समाश्रितो भवनम् ॥

आनयति नष्टमर्थं गन्तुं शक्नोति नैव दूरतरम् ॥ ३५ ॥

हिबुकं चतुर्थमथवा द्वितीयस्थानं तृतीयं वा पृच्छालम्नात् यदि समाश्रितः समवस्थितस्तदा नष्टमपहृतमर्थमानयति प्राप्यते (मोति) इत्यर्थः ॥ ३५ ॥

अथ प्रवासिनः पृष्टा(च्छा) ।

लम्नाद् द्वितीयभवनं तृतीयं वै (वा) ग्रहेण संयुक्तम् ॥

दूरगतस्यागमनं प्रवृत्तिमथवा प्रदर्शयति (विनिर्दिशति) ॥ ३६ ॥

लम्नात् पृच्छालम्नात् द्वितीयं भवनं दुश्चिक्क्यं तृतीयं वा ग्रहेण येन केनचित् संयुक्तं समेतं भवति दूरगतस्य विदेशस्थस्यागमनं भावेनम(ना)वर्तनं प्रवृत्तिः प्रवर्तनमथवा से(वि)निर्दिशति समादिशतीत्यर्थः ॥ ३६ ॥

अथ नष्टप्रवासिनां प्रश्नार्थमाह ।

लम्नाद्रसातलाद्वा शुभो द्वितीयेऽथवा तृतीयस्थः ।

ब्रूयान् नष्टप्राप्तिं प्रवासिनश्चाप्यथागमनम् ॥ ३७ ॥

लम्नात् प्रश्नलम्नाद् रसातलाद्वा चतुर्थस्थानात् शुभः सौम्यग्रहो द्वितीयो भवत्यथवा तृतीयस्थः । लम्नाद् द्वितीयतृतीयपञ्चमषष्ठस्थानानामन्यतमस्थानस्थो भवति तदा नष्टेऽपहृतेऽर्थे लब्धिं प्राप्तिं ब्रूयाद् वदेत् न केवलं प्रवासिनो विदेशस्थस्यागमनं सम्प्राप्तिं ब्रूयात् ॥ ३७ ॥

अथ वृष्टिप्रश्नमाह ।

पृच्छाकाले वर्षे द्वितीयदुश्चिक्क्ययोर्यदेकतरः ॥

राशिर्जलजस्तस्मिन् जलग्रहो वा वदेद् वृष्टिम् ॥ ३८ ॥

पृच्छाकाले वर्षप्रश्नसमये **द्वितीयदुश्चिक्वयोर्लम्बाद्** द्वितीये तृतीये वा स्थाने **एकतर एको राशिर्जलजस्तत्र** भवति । जलचरो वा ग्रहस्तत्रस्थस्तदा वर्ष **वृष्टिं** ब्रूयाद् **वदेत् ॥ ३८ ॥**

अथ राशीन् ग्रहांश्च जलदसंज्ञानाह ।

वृश्चिकलघ्नवृश्चिक(वृश्चिकवृष)कर्कटकाः सप्तममृगमत्स्यकुम्भधराः ॥

जल(सजला)राशय एते शेषा अजलाः समाख्याताः ॥ ३९ ॥

शुष्काः कुजरविसौरा भृगुचन्द्रमसौ जलाश्रयौ(श्रयौ) ज्ञेयौ ॥

आश्रयतो गुरुसौम्यौ ग्रहास्तु शेषा यथा प्रोक्ताः ॥ ४० ॥

वृश्चिकवृषकर्कटकाः प्रसिद्धाः । **सप्तमस्तुला मृगो** मकरो **मत्स्यो** मीनः **कुम्भधरः** कुम्भः । **एते राशयः सजला** जलयुक्ताः **शेषा** ये परिशिष्टा मेघसिंहधनुःकन्या[मिथुना] **अजला** जलरहिताः **समाख्याताः ॥ ३९ ॥**

शुष्काः कुजरविसौरा इति । कुजोऽङ्गारको रविरादित्यः सौरः शनिरेते शुष्काः । **भृगुः** शुक्रः **चन्द्रमाः** शशी । एतौ **जलाश्रयौ** ज्ञेयौ । जलमुदकमाश्रयं संज्ञेयौ । सजलावित्यर्थः । **गुरुर्जीवः सौम्यो** बुध एनावाश्रयतः आश्रयौ ज्ञेयौ । यदा जलराशौ स्थितौ जलचरग्रहेण वा संयुक्तौ तदा सजलौ । अन्यथा शुष्कौ । मिश्रत्वाद् व्यामिश्रौ । येऽर्थ(र्थात्)शिष्टा अनयोर्येऽन्ये ग्रहा यथा येनैव प्रकारेण **प्रोक्तास्तेनैव** ज्ञेयाः । शेषा अन्ययोगान्न विशेषा इत्यर्थः ॥ ४० ॥

अथ नदीपूरणज्ञानार्थमाह ।

राशीश्वरो द्वितीये दुश्चिक्वे वा शुभग्रहोपगते ॥

भवति तदा नदीपूरं सप्तविंशे दिने वर्षम् ॥ ४१ ॥

पृच्छाकाले यो **राशिर्लग्नगतस्तस्य** य ईश्वरः स्वामी स एव यदि लम्बाद् **द्वितीये** स्थाने तृतीये वा भवति तथा च तस्मिन् **द्वितीये** तृतीये स्थाने **शुभग्रहोपगते** शुभग्रहाणामन्यतमेन संयुक्ते **तदा** तस्मिन् काले वक्तव्यम् । यथाऽद्यतनदिवसात् **सप्तविंशे दिने वर्षं** वृष्टिं नदीं पूरयतीति **नदीपूरं** प्रचुरवर्षं भवतीति वदेत् ॥ ४१ ॥

अथ चतुष्पदागमनमाह ।

भवने तिर्यग्योनौ द्वितीयदुश्चिक्वयोस्तथैकतरः (रे) ॥

आगमनं तिरश्चां तु शुभसंयुक्ते वदेत् प्राज्ञः ॥ ४२ ॥

भवने तात्कालिके लभे तिर्यग्योनौ मेषवृषमृगाणामन्यतमे तिर्यग्जातीये
तथा तेनैव प्रकारेण द्विती (यदुश्चिक्य) योर्मध्यादेकतरे एकस्मिन्नपि तिर्यग्योनौ
शुभसंयुक्ते शुभग्रहाधिष्ठिते सति प्राज्ञः पण्डितस्तिरश्चां तिर्यग्वाजि (ग्जाती) नां
प्राणिनां पशुगवादीनामागमनं संप्राप्तिं वदेन् ब्रूयादिति ॥ ४२ ॥

अथ जन्मलग्नराश्योः परिज्ञानार्थमाह ।

यस्माद्राशेर्भानुद्वितीयमथवाऽऽश्रयेत् स दुश्चिक्यम् ॥

जन्मनि तज्जन्मलग्नं हिवुक् यत्तत् मनुष्यग्रहम् ॥ ४३ ॥

यस्माद्राशेर्यतः पृच्छालग्नानुः सूर्यो द्वितीयं स्थानं समाश्रयेत् । सूर्य-
स्तत्रस्थो भवतीत्यर्थः । अथवा तृतीयं दुश्चिक्यमाश्रयेत् । [स] राशिस्तस्य प्रपु-
जन्मनि जन्मसमये जन्मलग्नं ज्ञेयम् । तस्मिन् लग्नगते स जात इत्यर्थः ॥ ४३ ॥

अथ गमनप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

उदयगते चरराशौ भृगुबुधगुरुभास्करेषु चैकतरः ॥

गमनमुपदिशति पुंसां निवर्तनं वर्त्मनोऽन्यसंस्था वा ॥ ४४ ॥

चरराशौ चरलभे उदयगते लग्नतां पाप्ते भृगुः शुक्रो बुधः सौम्यो गुरु-
र्जीवो भास्करः सूर्यः । तत्र चरलभे एषां मध्यादेकनरः स्थितो भवति तदा वर्त्मनो
निवर्तनमुपदिशति ॥ ४४ ॥

अथ गमनचिन्तामाह ।

ग्रहयोः सौराङ्गिरसोः पश्येदेकः स्थिरं समुद्यन्तम् ॥

गमनं गन्ताऽऽगमनं नास्तीति वक्तव्यम् ॥ ४५ ॥

सौरः शनैश्चरः । अङ्गिरा जीवः । अनयोर्ग्रहयोर्मध्यादेकः स्थिरं
स्थिरराशिं समुद्यन्तं लग्नगतं पश्येदवलोकयेत् । गन्ता गमनशीलो यदि गमनं
प्रवासं प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं प्रश्नं करोति । आगमनं वा कस्यचित् पृच्छेत् तदा नास्तीति न
भवतीति तस्य वक्तव्यं कथनीयम् ॥ ४५ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

शुभदा दुरधर (धुरुधुरा) योगे गमनं पुरुषस्य नास्ति रोधोऽस्ति ॥

अथवा गमनागमने गतस्य योगे च तद्वाच्यम् ॥ ४६ ॥

शुभदाः शुभग्रहास्ते यदि **दुरुध(धुरुधु)रायोगे** स्थिताश्च[न्द्र]स्य द्वि[तीय]द्वादशस्थानयोरपि यदि स्थिताः ।

उभयस्थितैर्दुरुधुरा । इति । (लघुजातकम् । ९.१) एवंविधे पृच्छालम्ने योगे सति **पुरुषस्य** नरस्य **गमनं नास्ति** न विद्यते । **अथवा** पक्षान्तरे **गमनागमने** गमने तथाऽऽगमने । यः कश्चिद् गन्तुं प्रवृत्त आगन्तुं यातस्यापि **तद्वाच्यम्** । तदेव रोधमुपधातं वक्तव्यम् । **अथवा गतस्य** निर्गतस्य याने गमने तदेव रोधं बध्यते ॥ ४६ ॥

अथ द्रव्यादिस्थाननिमित्तं राशीनां लक्षणमाह ।

हरिणझषाः सकुलीरा जले बिले वृश्चिकोऽथ कर्कटकः ॥

शेषाः स्थलप्रकाराः क्रतं (कृता) मनुष्यं (ष्या) तिरंश्चा (स्तिरश्चो)

ऽन्ये (४७ ॥

हरिणो मकरो **झषो** मीनः । मीनस्य द्वित्वाद्धरिणझषा इति बहुवचन-निर्देशः । एते **सकुलीराः** कुलीरेण कर्कटकेन सहिताः । **जले** जलप्रदेशे प्रकाराः । **शेषा** येऽन्ये नरा **मनुष्याः** पुनर्गृहनिवासिनः । एते हतनष्टादौ स्वं स्वं स्थानं द्रव्यस्य चौरस्य वाच्यं जनयन्तीत्यर्थः ॥ ४७ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

यद्यपि पापो निधने लग्नाच्चैकादशेऽपि वा प्रष्टुः ॥

आदिशति वर्तमानं व्याधिं दुःखस्य वा प[त]नम् ॥ ४८ ॥

लग्नात् पृच्छालग्नात् यद्यपि **निधनेऽष्टमे** स्थाने **पापः** पापग्रहो भवति । **एकादशेऽपि** वा स्थाने । तदा **प्रष्टुः** पृच्छकस्य **वर्तमानं** सपदि **व्याधिं** ज्वरादिकं **दुःखस्य** कृच्छस्य वा **पतनमाप्तिमादिशत्युपदिशति** ॥ ४८ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

व्याधिं स्वभवनलम्ने जामित्रे निधनेऽस्ति मरणं वा ॥

कलहं प्रष्टुरुपये (पेयाद्) व्ययं पृच्छके तु वदेत् ॥ ४९ ॥

यद्यपि पापो निधन (४८) इत्यस्मात् पापग्रहणमनुवर्तते । पृच्छकस्य यद्भवनं राशिर्यच्च लग्नं जन्मलग्नं स्वभवनं च लग्नं च तत् **स्वभवनलग्नं** तस्मिन् पृच्छालम्ने **जामित्रे** सप्तमे स्थाने स्थिते **व्ययमित्यर्थः** । क्षयं वदेदिति ॥ ४९ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

उदयगतं शशितनयं शशिनं वा प्रागल्भ्यमापन्नम् ॥

पश्यति वा यदि पापो व्याधिं तस्यादिशेत् प्राज्ञः ॥ ५० ॥

शशितनयं चेदुदयगतं लग्नस्थं शशिनं चन्द्रं वा प्रागल्भ्यमापन्नं तात्कालिके पृच्छालभ्ये समवस्थिते । वा शब्दोऽत्यर्थे न विकल्पे । बुधं चन्द्रं लग्नगतं यदि च पापः पपग्रहः पश्यति विलोकयति । तदा प्राज्ञः पण्डितस्तस्य प्रष्टुः व्याधिमादिशेत् ॥ ५० ॥

उदयगतं शशितनयं शशिनं वा प्रागल्भ्यमापन्नम् ॥

भृगोर्यदि पुत्रो लभते वा पश्यति च पृच्छकाले स्त्रियश्चेष्टाः ॥ ५१ ॥

पूर्वलभ्ये सोममुतं बुधं सोमं चन्द्रं वा पूर्वलभ्ये स्थितं प्रागल्भ्ये स्थितं यदि भृगोः पुत्रः शुक्रः पश्यत्यवलोकयति तदाः पुरुषः पृच्छाकाले प्रश्नसमये इष्टा अभिमताः स्त्रियो योषितो लभते प्राप्नोति ॥ ५१ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

उदयगतं शशितनयं व्यालः पश्येदनुष्णाकिरणं वा ॥

अर्थाव्याप्तिर्विजयो न चाशुभमस्तीति नो ब्रूयात् ॥ ५२ ॥

शशितनयं बुधमुदयगतं प्राग्विलग्नस्थमनुष्णाकिरणं शीतरश्मिं चन्द्रं यदा गतं व्यालः पश्येत् । पापग्रहोऽवलोकयेत् तदा प्रष्टुर्ब्रूयाद् वदेद् यथाऽर्थानाम-
वाप्तिः प्राग्विजयोऽभ्युदयः शुभं कल्याणं न च ते तवास्ति विद्यादिति सर्वमशुभ-
मित्यर्थः ॥ ५२ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

सोमायुतभौमं वा ।

अथ स्त्रीकलहार्थमाह ।

भौमः शुक्रं पश्येत् कलहं स्त्रीभिर्वदेदुदये ॥

गर्भविपत्तिः (त्ति) सौरः करोति पत्न्यास्तवेति वदेत् ॥ ५३ ॥

शुक्रं भार्गवं लग्नस्थितं यदि भौमोऽज्ञारकः पश्येदवलोकयेत् तदा प्रष्टुः कलहं विवादं स्त्रीभिर्नारीभिः सह वदेद् ब्रूयादिति । अथ तथाभूतं शुक्रं सौरः

शनैश्चरः पश्येदवलोकयेत् तदा प्रष्टुर्वक्तव्यं तव पत्न्या जायाया गर्भविपत्तिं गर्भनाशं करोति योगस्थः सौर इति वदेत् ॥ ५३ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

केन्द्रगते(तं)यद्यरुणं पश्येत् सौरः करोति चोरभयम् ॥

आपदमतिघोरां वा कलहं स्त्रीभिर्विनिर्दिशेन्नियतम् ॥ ५४ ॥

केन्द्रगतं लग्नचतुर्थसप्तमदशमानामन्यतमे स्थिमादित्यं सौरः शनैश्चरः पश्येदवलोकयेद् यदि तदा चोरभयं भीतिं करोति विदधाति । अथवाऽतिघोरां भयप्रदामापदं विपदं करोति विदधाति । तथा नियतं निश्चितं स्त्रीभिः कलहं विवादं करोति विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ ५४ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

व्याधिर्नाशो यस्व च भयमतुलं भास्करिर्यदा पश्येत् ॥

यद्युदये वाऽथ रविर्भवतीति वदेदसन्दिग्धम् ॥ ५५ ॥

रविः सूर्यः । उदये लगे स्थितं यदि भास्करिः सौरः पश्येदवलोकयेत् । तदा प्रष्टुर्व्याधिज्वरो तथान्य(न्योन)र्थ(र्थो)वार्थस्य ततो नाशो हानिरतुलमसमं भयं भीतिर्भवतीत्यसन्दिग्धं निस्संशयं वदेत् । अथवेति विकल्पार्थः ॥ ५५ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

स्वोच्चत्रिकोणभवनस्य च भं च यन् मित्रसंज्ञितं तस्य ॥ ५६ ॥

स्वोच्चं खेरुच्चं मेषः । अस्य त्रिकोणं सिंहः । स्वराशिः सिंह एव । तथा तस्य यन् मित्रसंज्ञकं तात्कालिकमित्रक्षेत्रम् । एषां मध्यादेकतमलग्नस्थौ ग्रहावनन्तरप्रवृत्तौ भौमसौरौ पश्यन्तौ तथा तेनैव प्रकारेण प्रष्टुर्वक्तव्यं ते तव प्रश्ने श्रेयो नास्ति ॥ अत्र त्रिकोणस्वभवनयोर्विशेषः । विंशतिरंशाः सिंहस्त्रिकोणमपरं च स्वभवनं च सूर्यस्येति ॥ ५६ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

वृद्धिं विजयार्थं च करोति वा मैत्रीं समानयति कार्यम् ॥

यद्वा (लाभ)मर्थादिकानां जयमभ्युदयम् ॥ ५७ ॥

एतौ तथाऽर्थं धनम् । वाशब्दोऽत्र चार्थे । वृद्धिं विजयार्थं च करोति । तथा मैत्रीं मित्रतां समानयति कार्यं करणीयं समानयति । तथा नष्टस्यापहृतस्य लाभमिति ॥ ५७ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

रिपुदर्शे रिपुवृद्धिं भ्रंशोऽथवा स्थानतश्च नाशश्च ॥

नष्टस्य[न]चाप्तिर्भवति नराणां च मित्रविप्रीतिः ॥ ५८ ॥

यः कश्चिद् ग्रहो रिपुराशिं शत्रुभवनं लग्नगतं दर्शं दर्शनं तस्मिन् रिपुदर्शे रिपुवृद्धिं शत्रुवृद्धिं वदेत् । अथवा स्थानतः स्वस्थानभ्रंशश्च । धनं(नस्या)र्थस्य नाशः । नष्टस्यापहृतं(तस्य)तस्य वित्तादिकस्य न चाप्तिर्न प्राप्तिर्भवति । तथा मित्रैः सुहृद्भिः सह विप्रीतिर्[न]सखेह इति प्रष्टुर्वदेत् ॥ ५८ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

भृगौ(गु)जीवौ यदि षष्ठौ बुध उदये न(भसि)चाश्रितो रुधिरः ॥

स्थानं धनं च विजयं राज्यं वा पृच्छको लभते ॥ ५९ ॥

भृगुः शुक्रः । जीवो बृहस्पतिः । एतौ यदि पृच्छालम्भात् सप्तमे(षष्ठे)स्थाने स्थितौ भवतः । बुधः सौम्य उदये प्राग्लभे । नभसि च दशमस्थाने आश्रितः समवस्थितो रुधिरो भौमः । एवंविधे योगे पृच्छकः प्रष्टाऽवस्थितिर्धनं वित्तं विजय-मभ्युदयं राज्ञो राज्यं लभते प्राप्नोति । वाशद्वोऽत्रार्थे ॥ ५९ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

उदयोगिरिसु(येऽङ्गीराश्च) सूर्यो मेषूरणसंस्थितोऽपि वा ॥

प्रष्टा लभते विजयमविकलं राज्यमैश्वर्यमन्यद्वा ॥ ६० ॥

उदये प्राग्लभे चेद्यज्ञिरा गुरुर्भवति । सूर्य अदित्यो मेषूरणे दशमे स्थितोऽपि चेति प्रकाशो यः प्रष्टा पृच्छको विजयमभ्युदयमविकलं परिपूर्णं राज्यं नृपत्वमथैश्वर्यमीश्वरत्वमन्यद्वा सुखादिकं लभते प्राप्नोति ॥ ६० ॥

अन्यप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

सूर्येऽम्बरमध्यगते गुरुर्विलभे चन्द्रमा हिवुके ॥

तिष्ठति जामित्रे वा लभते ना सद्य एवार्थम् ॥ ६१ ॥

सूर्य आदित्य अम्बरमध्यास्थिते दशमस्थानावस्थिते सति यदि गुरुर्जीवो विलभे प्राग्लभे भवति । अथवा चन्द्रमाः शशी यदि हिवुके चतुर्थस्थाने तिष्ठति । जामित्रे दशमे शशी तिष्ठति । ना मनुष्यः सद्यस्तस्मिन्नेवाहनि । अर्थादि धनानि लभते प्राप्नोति ॥ ६१ ॥

अथान्यप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

शुभयोरुदयास्तगयोर्दशमायतृतीयगेषु पापेषु ॥

प्रणमन्ति शत्रुसङ्घा लभते ना सारमर्थस्य ॥ ६२ ॥

शुभयोर्जीवशुक्रयोरुदयास्तगयोः । तन्मध्यादेक उदये लभे द्वितीयोऽस्त-
मये सप्तमस्थाने । तथा **पापेषुर्कर्मभौमशनैश्चरेषु दशमायतृतीयगेषु ।** एतेषु यदि
पापग्रहाः समवस्थिता भवन्ति तदा **शत्रुसंघा** अरिसमूहाः **प्रणमन्ति** नमस्कुर्वन्ति ।
ना मनुष्योऽर्थस्य धनस्य **सारमुत्कृष्टं लभते** प्रप्नोति ॥ ६२ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

उदयादेकादशमे भृगुबुध[गुरु]भास्करेषु चैकतरः ॥

नगराधिपस्य विजयं करोति दशमे तथा अंशम् ॥ ६३ ॥

भृगुः शुक्रः । **बुधः** सौम्यः । **गुरुर्जीवः** । **भास्करः** सूर्यः । एषामन्यतमो
उदयात् लमादेकादशे स्थाने समवस्थितो भवति । तदा **नगराधिपस्य** पुरप्रभो-
र्विजयमभ्युदयं करोति विदधाति । अथ चैषां मध्याद् दशमस्थाने भवति तदा
नगराधिपस्य पुरप्रभोर्भ्रंशं **करोति** विनाशं करोति ॥ ६३ ॥

अथ परचक्रागमनमाह ।

पापास्तृतीयपञ्चमषष्ठैकान्त्ये(षु) भवन्ति यदि लग्नात् ॥

आगच्छति तदा परचक्रं चतुराशौ न तच्चास्ति ॥ ६४ ॥

पापाः प्रसिद्धाः । **यदि लग्नात्** पृच्छालग्नात् **तृतीये पञ्चमे षष्ठे एक-**
स्मिन् पृच्छालग्नात् प्रथमे विलम्ब इत्यर्थः । **अन्त्ये** द्वादशस्थाने **भवन्ति** तदा
परचक्रं शत्रुसमूहः **समागच्छत्यायाति** । लग्नाच्चतुर्थराशौ यदि भवन्ति तदा न
तच्चास्ति तत्परचक्रं नायातीत्यर्थः ॥ ६४ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नान्तरमाह ।

आरोऽप्यर्कसुतो वा रसातले भास्करोपि वा भवति ॥

नागच्छति पर(रिपु)सेना गुरुबुधशुक्रैस्तु विपरीतम् ॥ ६५ ॥

आरोऽङ्गारकः । आर्कसुतोऽपि सौरः । भास्करो वा सूर्यः । एषां
मध्यादेकतमो **रसातले** चतुर्थस्थाने यदि **भवति** पृच्छालग्नात् तदा **रिपुसेना** शत्रु-
वाहिनी **गच्छतीत्यर्थः** ॥ ६५ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नाभ्यन्य(र्थ)माह ।

द्वादशदशमैकादशलक्षेश्वरो(प्वेको)पि वा वसति पपः ॥

हरति पुरं दद्याद्वा शुभोऽपि चैतेषु संवसति ॥ ६६ ॥

द्वादशदशमैकादशलक्षानि सं(सु)प्रसिद्धानि । एतेषु स्थानेषु **चैकोऽपि पापः** पापग्रहो **वसति** यद्यस्ति तदा प्रष्टुः **पुर(रं)** पनेरि(हरेदि)त्यर्थः । एतेषु द्वादशा[दि]स्थानेषु यदि **शुभः** सौम्यो ग्रहः **संवसत्यास्ते** तदा **पुरं दद्यात्** प्रयच्छेत् ॥ वाशब्दोऽत्र पादपूरणार्थे ॥ ६६ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

उदये वा जामित्रे मेघूरणसंस्थितेषु सौम्येषु ॥

नगराधिपस्य विजयं प्रवदेन्नास्त्यत्र सन्देहः ॥ ६७ ॥

उदये प्रश्नलक्ष्मे **जामित्रेऽथवा मेघूरणे** दशमे वा । एतेषु स्थानेषु **सौम्येषु** शुभग्रहेषु **स्थितेषु** रस्तु **नगराधिपस्य** पुरप्रभोर्विजयमभ्युदयं **प्रवदेद्** ब्रूयात् । **न सन्देहः** संशयो न विद्यत इति ॥ ६७ ॥

अथ युद्धप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

भवनं पापमुगतं पूर्वविलम्बं समाश्रितं वाऽपि ॥

युद्धं दिशति वोरं पश्यन्तः पापतः पापाः ॥ ६८ ॥

भवनं राशिं **पापमुगतं वाऽपि** । पापराशिमेषसिंहवृश्चिकमकरकुम्भानामन्य-
तमलक्षं **मतं** प्राप्तम् । अथवा **पूर्वविलम्बे** पापग्रहसमाश्रितं समवस्थितं तदा **घोर-**
मतिव्यं (तीव्रं) **युद्धं** संग्रामं **दिशत्युपदिशति** । **पापाः** क्रूराः पूर्वग्रहाः **पश्यन्तो**
लक्ष्मवलोक्तयन्तः **पापतः** पापकर्मणाऽर्थाद्येन **युद्धं** दिशन्ति मुनयः ॥ ६८ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नमाह ।

हिबुक[वि]लम्बेऽपि तथा दशमे च तयोश्च यदि पापाः ॥

ययान्(यी) नगरविनाशी भवति वदेदसन्देह[दिग्ध]म् ॥ ६९ ॥

हिबुकं चतुर्थं **विलम्बं** प्राग्लम्बं **हिबुकं विलम्बं** तद्विबुकविलम्बं तस्मिन् **हिबुक-**
विलम्बे च यदि पापः पापग्रहो भवति । तथा तेनैव प्रकारेण **दशमे** स्थाने पापो
भवति । अथ **तयोश्च** हिबुकविलम्बदशमयोः पापौ भवतः । **केचिद्** हिबुकविलम्बं
चतुर्थमेवेति । तदा **यायी** गन्ता **नगरविनाशी** नगरं विनाशयतीति । **तच्छीलो**
भवति । **इत्यसन्दिग्धं** निःसंशयं **वदेत्** ॥ ६९ ॥

अन्य[प्रश्नमाह] ।

उदयगतेऽर्के पुसां दशमे तयोस्तु यदि सौम्यः ॥

भवति योगसिद्धिर्विज्ञातव्या मनुष्येण ॥ ७० ॥

अर्के आदित्ये **उदयगते** प्राग्लम्बस्थे अथवा **दशमस्थेऽर्के** तयोश्चोदय-
दशमयोर्यदन्यः शुभः सौम्यग्रहो भवति । तदा **मनुष्येण** पुरुषेण दैवज्ञेन **पुसां** पुरुषाणां
योगसिद्धिर्विज्ञानप्राप्तिर्विज्ञातव्येत्यर्थः ॥ ७० ॥

अथ बन्धनयोगमाह ।

हर(रि)तुरगमेषवृषभा हिबुकस्थाः प्राग्विलम्बमारूढाः ॥

रिक्ता ग्रहसहिता वा शंसन्ति बन्धनं शत्रोः ॥ ७१ ॥

हरिः सिंहः **तुरगो** धन्वी **मेषोऽजः** **वृषभो** वृषभ एव । एते **हिबुकस्थाः** ।
एषामन्यतमश्चतुर्थो भवति । अथ **प्राग्विलम्बं** पूर्वलम्बमारूढास्तत्र स्थिताः । एषामन्य-
तमो विलम्बगो भवति । **रिक्ता** ग्रहविरहिता ग्रहैर्वा सहिताः । तथापि **शत्रोररेर्निबन्धनं**
शंसन्ति मुनय इति ॥ ७१ ॥

अधुना गमनागमनप्रश्नमाह ।

उदयं वा चरराशौ करोति यदि भास्करिर्गुरुर्वापि ॥

गमनं वाऽऽगमनं वा स्कन्धावारस्य निर्देश्यम् ॥ ७२ ॥

भास्करिः सौरो **गुरुर्जीवः** । अनयोरन्यतरश्चरराशा **उदयं करोति** ।
चरा मेषकर्कितुलामकरा णा(एषा)मन्यतमे लवलग्रेष्वनयोर्मध्यादेकतरो भवतीत्यर्थः । तदा
स्कन्धावारस्य राजबलस्य । **गमनं** गतिरागमनं प्रत्यावृत्तिः । **निर्देश्यं** वाच्यमिति
॥ ७२ ॥

अन्यप्रश्नार्थमाह ।

स्थिरराशौ यद्युदयं करोति सूर्यो गुरुर्वापि ।

गमनं वाऽप्यगमनं वा न विद्यते सेनयोरुभयोः ॥ ७३ ॥

सूर्य आदित्यो **गुरुर्जीवः** । अनयोरेकतरः **स्थिरराशौ** यद्युदयं करोति
स्थिरराशिल्लभं गतः । तत्र तयोरन्यतरः स्थितो भवति । तदा **सेनयोरुभयोर्द्वयोर्वापि**
नागरसेनयोर्गमनागमनं न विद्यते न भवति ॥ ७३ ॥

अन्य[प्रश्नार्थमाह] ।

स्थित्वा विदिक्षु च गन्ता पृच्छति शीर्षोदये यदा तदा प्रष्टा ॥

यातुर्यात्रासिद्धिं [ब्रूयात्] तथाऽर्थस्य लाभं च ॥ ७४ ॥

**प्रष्टा पृच्छकः स्थित्वा विदिक्ष्वग्नेयनैऋतवायव्येशानीषु गन्ता तत्रस्थ-
शीर्षोदयलम्बे मिथुनसिंहकन्यातुलावृश्चिककुम्भमीनानामन्यतमे तत्काललम्बे यदि पृच्छति
प्रश्नं करोति तदा तस्य यात्रासिद्धिं गमननिष्पत्तिं शिवं श्रेयस्तथाऽर्थस्य विस्तर
(त्त)स्य लाभं लब्धिं ब्रूयाद्वदेत् ॥ ७४ ॥**

अन्य[प्रश्नार्थमाह] ।

भीतिं शत्रुविवृद्धिं व्याधिं च पापखेचरे लम्बे ॥

स्कन्धावारस्य वदेदुदयगते वा चरे विजयम् ॥ ७५ ॥

चरराशयश्चत्वारो मेषकर्कितुलामकराः । तत्र मेषमकौ पापक्षेत्रे । कर्कटतुले
सौम्यक्षेत्रे । चरे विलम्बे पापग्रहराशौ लम्बगते मेषमकरयोरन्यतरे स्कन्धावारस्य
राजपरिवारस्य भीतिं [परा] जयं शत्रूणां रिपूणां वृद्धिमाधिक्यं व्याधिं ज्वरादिकं वदेद्
ब्रूयात् अन्यस्मिन् चरे राशौ उदयगते कर्कटतुल्योरन्यतरे स्कन्धावारस्य विजयं
वदेत् ॥ ७५ ॥

अन्य [प्रश्नार्थमाह] ।

लघ्नैकादश [दश]मे पापो वा पृच्छकस्य धनं (न) भवतौ (ने) ॥

तिष्ठति शुभसहितश्चेत्तथापि वृद्धिं वदेत् सह ताम् (महतीम्) ॥ ७६ ॥

एकादश [दश]मौ प्रसिद्धौ लघ्नाद्यदेकादश [दश]मं तल्लग्नैकादशदशमं
ततो द्वितीयस्थाने यदि पापः पापग्रहः शुभसहितः शुभग्रहेण संयुक्तास्तिष्ठति
तदा प्रष्टुर्वृद्धिं वदेत् । इत्यन्ते वृद्धिशब्दो मङ्गलार्थमाह ॥ ७६ ॥

दृष्ट्वा गगवसिष्ठदेवलकृतां पाराशरीं यावनी—

मन्यां चापि हि बादरायण इमां यां प्रश्नविद्यां व्यधात् ॥

तस्यां विद्वदनिष्ठयोगजनितप्रेमाद्यसम्प्राप्तधीः

शिष्याणां हितकाम्यया विवरणं चक्रे द्विजाग्रयोत्पलः ॥ १ ॥

बादरायणकृतेऽस्मिन् प्रश्नशास्त्रमहोदधौ ॥

अर्थिनामुत्पलश्चक्रेऽर्थावाप्त्यै विवृतिप्लवम् ॥ २ ॥

चिन्तामणीति विख्यातटीकायां शास्त्रवल्लभात् ॥

अनुष्टुभां शतान्यस्ताः (त्र) पञ्चमानमुदीरितम् ॥ ३ ॥

इत्युत्पलाचार्यकृता बादरायणप्रश्नटीका संपूर्णा ॥

Journal of the Oriental Institute

M. S. University of Baroda

Vol. XXI : No. 4

June 1972

LOWER NARMADA AND ITS ANTIQUITIES

By

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I. Physical features

gaṅge ca yamune caiva godāvari sarasvati
kāveri narmade sindho jalesmin sannidhiṁ kuru

Narmadā is one of the important rivers in India. It is also known as Rewā and so giving its name the Rewā Kāṇṭhā to the portion of Gujarāt through which the river passes between the Sahyādri Hills and the eastern limit of Baroda District.

From its source, the hill of Amarakaṇṭaka in the Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh, to its debouchure in the Gulf of Cambay, the course is estimated to be approximately 1280 kms. Until Narmadā reaches the Gujarāt plain its course passes between the Vindhya range on the right and the Sātpurā hills on the left.

For the first 48 kms. the river separates Baroda District on the right from Nāndod Tālukā on the left and then passes through the District of Broach in the last part of its course. The region along the bed of the river is flat plain between high rough banks.

In its course through Gujarāt the river Narmadā receives five main tributaries, viz. Karjaṇ which joins Narmadā at Rūṇḍh ; Orsaṅ at Cāndod ; Kāveri

at Śuklatīrtha ; Amarāvati near Broach and Bhūkhī at Mehagām, 24 kms. west of Broach.¹

To find out the archaeological potentialities of the area along the river Narmadā its banks have been surveyed extensively by many scholars in the past. As far as the portion of Narmadā in Gujarāt is concerned, it has yielded antiquities from prehistoric time to late mediaeval period. (See Map.)

II. Early stone age sites

Early stone age tools were collected from the junction of the Narmadā and the Karjaṇ rivers.² The assemblage contains both handaxes and cleavers. Another early stone age site was discovered near Rājapipalā at the left bank of the river Karjaṇ.³ It yielded pebble tools, handaxes and cleavers. River Orsaṅg, right-hand tributary of the Narmadā, recorded a palaeolithic industry from Bahadarpur.⁴ It included primitive and evolved handaxes, pebble tools and flakes.

III. Middle and late stone age sites

Number of middle and late stone age sites have been located on the Narmadā at Vaḍiā, Vīrpur, Sāñjrolī, Akāṭeśvar, Āditeśvar, Garaḍeśvar, Kevaḍiā, Gawār, Māngrol, Surajvāḍ, Buteḍā, Reval-Nānī, Indravarnā, Pīpariā, Gorā and Surapān. Some more sites viz. Dhokālī, Vaḍelī, Bhūlavan, Rāmagaḍha, Jītagaḍha, Movī and Nānī-Cīkālī on the rivers Orsaṅg and Karjaṇ, tributaries of the Narmadā, were discovered.

IV. Proto and early historic cultures

A detailed survey of the coastal strip between Dahej and Jetalsar has brought to light a number of Harappan sites viz. Mehagām, Talod and Cavanēśvar on Narmadā. Perhaps the ancient port of Broach (Barygaza or Bhṛgukaccha) also served as a Harappan port though no definite proof is available at present.

Few ancient sites were excavated on the lower Narmadā region.

Excavations at Broach⁵ yielded three periods of occupation. The Period-I recorded black-and-red ware in good bulk and Northern Black Polish-ware along with many plain ware types associated with bone arrow heads, terracotta disc ear-ornaments, gamesman and beads of semi-precious stones.

1 Gujarat State Gazetteers, Broach District (Ahmedabad-1961), pp. 4-6.

2 Wainright, G. J., The pleistocene Deposits of the Lower Narmada river and an Early Stone Age Industry from the river Chambal (Baroda-1964), p. 39.

3 Sankalia, H. D., Investigations into Prehistoric Archaeology of Gujarat (Baroda-1946), pp. 317-319.

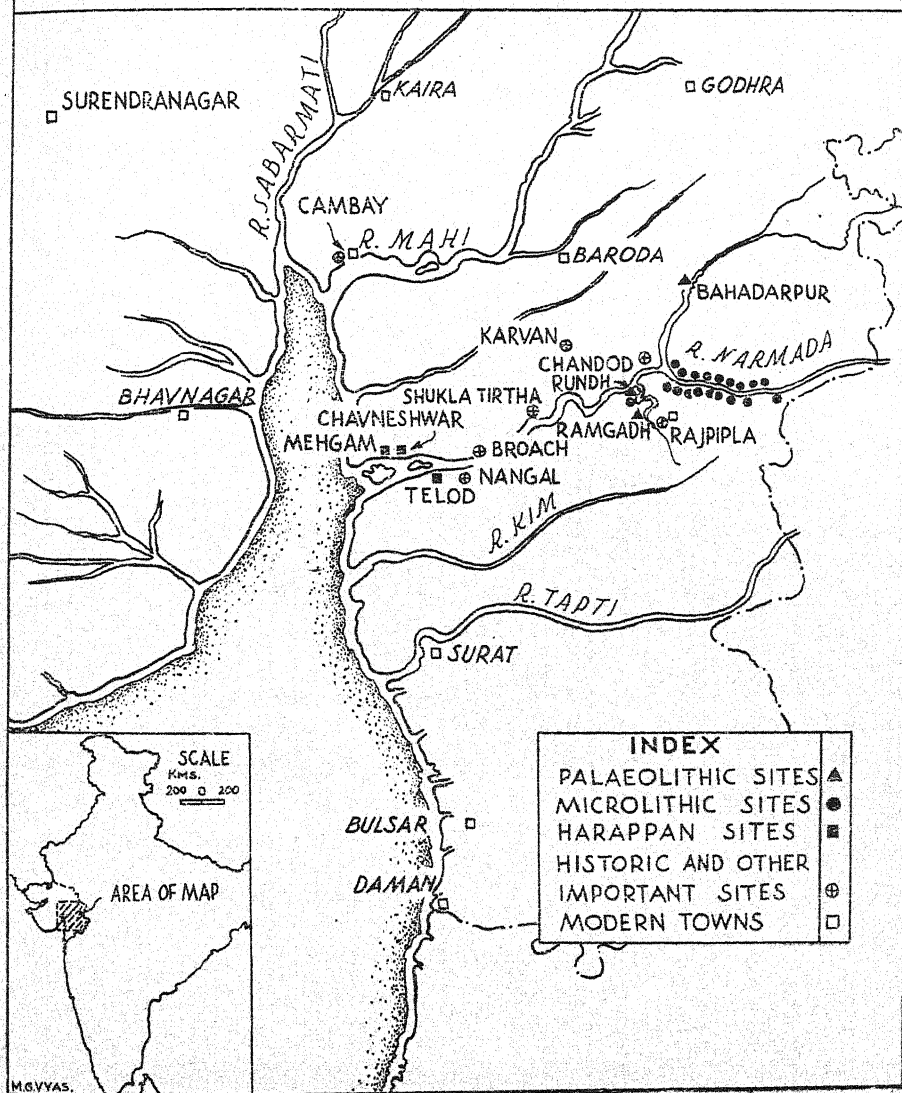
4 *Ibid.*, pp. 44-48.

5 Indian Archaeology, 1959-60, A Review, p. 19.

THE LOWER NARMADA VALLEY IN GUJARAT

SCALE OF MILES
0 16 32

SCALE OF KILOMETRES
0 40



The beginning of the period may be, as tentatively suggested by the excavator, to the 3rd Century B.C.

Period-II was characterised by the occurrence of fragments of the Red Polished Ware along with plain red and grey types. Among the antiquities of this period terracotta, flesh-rubbers, beads, decorated metal objects, shell bangles and stone images may be mentioned. Besides, Kṣatrapa lead and copper coins of 3rd Century A.D. were found at the lowest and middle levels. The period has been extended without break almost to the 7th-8th Century A.D.

Period-III mainly yielded mediaeval and even later plain and glazed wares and coins.

Another important site Nāgal,¹ about 8 kms. west of Ankleśwar, opposite Broach, revealed a single cultural occupation represented by black-and-red ware as encountered at Broach in Period I.

Near Cambay or Khambhāyat a place called Nagarā² was excavated. It revealed four periods of occupation beginning from 7th Century B.C. to 9th Century A.D. After a lapse of some six centuries, *i.e.* during 15th Century A.D. onwards, the site was again occupied.

An ancient site known as Timbarvā near Kārvaṇ was excavated which revealed for the first time the existence in Gujarāt of an Iron Age Culture of the first four or five centuries before the Christian era.³

Settlements of early historical period were located at Bhāḍbhūt (on the northern bank of the Narmadā), Dongri-no-Ṭekro (Broach), Kaḍiā Ḍuṅgar (Jhājhpor) and Māthāwāghā (southern bank of the Narmadā).⁴ Mediaeval ports were located at Dahej and Bhāḍbhūt.⁵

V. Literary evidence :

The Brāhmaṇas

Kane⁶ tried to trace the earliest reference of the Narmadā from Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XII. 9.3.1) which refers to one Revottaras who was a Pāṭava Cākra and Sthapati and whom the Sṛñjayas expelled:

revottara samu ha pāṭavaṁ cākram
sthatipatīm sṛñjayā aparurudhuḥ

1 Ibid., 1961-62, pp. 11-12.

2 Ibid., 1963-64, p. 9.

3 Mehta, R. N., Excavations at Timbarva, M. S. University Archaeology Series No. 2 (Baroda-1955), p. 27.

4 Indian Archaeology, 1967-68, A Review, pp. 9-12.

5 Ibid., 1961-62, p. 12.

6 Kane, P. V., History of Dharmasāstra, Vol. IV (Poona-1953), p. 703.

According to him (Kane) Revottaras was named after Revā which is another name for Narmadā.

According to Amarakośa—

revā tu narmadā somodbhavā mekalakanyakā /

A Vārtika on Pāṇini (IV. 2.87) derives the word Māhiṣmat from Mahiṣa. This is generally identified with Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā. So Kane¹ opines that the Narmadā was probably known to the author of the Vārtikas during 5th-4th Century B.C.

The Epics and Purāṇas

Besides, Narmadā is frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata and some of the Purāṇas. Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa² mentions “narmadā surathādriṣā”; Vāyupurāṇa³ mentions “narmadā sumahāmdramā” and Vāmanapurāṇa⁴ mentions “narmadā surasākriyā”.

Foreign accounts

Narmadā is mentioned as Namados by Ptolemy and Nai-mo-to by Heuen-Tsiang.

Epigraphical Evidence

The earliest epigraphical evidence about the Narmadā is found from the Eran Stone Pillar Inscription⁵ of Budhagupta in 165 of Gupta Era i.e. 484 A.D. The inscription mentions :

kālindī-narmadayormadhyam pālayati lokapāla-guṇairjagatimahā(rāja) etc.

Both the Epic and certain Purāṇas deal with the greatness of the Narmadā and the tīrthas on it, in detail. The Matsya and Padma declare that the Ganges is holy in Kanakhala, the Sarasvatī in Kurukṣetra, but the Narmadā is holy everywhere whether in a village or in a forest and that Narmadā purifies the sinner by its very sight while the waters of the Sarasvatī do so by three baths (on three days), of the Yamunā in seven days, and of the Ganges by a single bath :

puṇyā kanakhale gaṅgā kurukṣetre sarasvatī
grāme vā yadi vāraṇye puṇyā sarvatra narmadā⁶
tribhiḥ sārāsvatāṃ toyāṃ saptāhena tu yāmunam
grāme vā yadi vāraṇye puṇyā sarvatra narmadā⁷

1 *Ibid.*, p. 703.

2 Sircar, D. C., *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India* (Delhi-1960), p. 47.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

5 *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I (Ed. by D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1942), pp. 326-327.

6 *Matsyapurāṇa II* (Ed. Pandit Sriram Sharma, Bareilly, 1970, Hindi Trans.), p. 162.

7 *Padmapurāṇa II* (Ed. Pandit Sriram Sharma, Bareilly, 1969, Hindi Trans.), p. 69.

Both Matsya and Kūrma Purāṇas mention that the Narmadā is 100 Yojanas and its breadth is two Yojanas.

yojanānām śataṁ sāgraṁ śrūyate sariduttamā
vistāreṇa tu rājendra yojanadvayamāyatā¹

Matsya is very accurate, since the length of the Narmadā is now found to be about 800 miles i.e. 1280 kms.; but its width two Yojanas (i.e. 16 miles) appears to be an exaggeration. The above-mentioned Purāṇas also mention that the Narmadā rises from Amarakaṇṭaka which is to the western side of the country of Kaliṅga :

kaliṅgadeśapaścārdhe parvate' marakaṇṭake
puṇyā ca triṣu lokeṣu ramanīyā manoramā²

Several tīrthas are mentioned in the Purāṇas on the banks of the Narmadā, some of which can easily be identified with present place names connected with the lower Narmadā region.

Śuklatīrtha is highly praised in Matsyapurāṇa where Rājārṣi Cāṇakya attained perfection.³

Agrawala⁴ identified that Cāṇakya with the great minister of Candragupta Maurya. The place is situated on the northern bank of the Narmadā, 16 kms. above Broach.

Matsya-purāṇa refers to the name of Jāmadagnyatīrtha where the Narmadā falls into the sea and where Lord Janārdana secured perfection :

tato gacchecca rājendra narmadodadhisāṅgamam
jāmadagnyamiti khyātaṁ siddho yatra janārdanaḥ⁵

According to the traditional history Jamadagni was the son of Ṛcika, chief among the Bhṛgu, who dwelt in Ānarta (Gujarāt).⁶ The place may be located near Lohāriā village on the estuary.⁷

Tradition says that Bhārukaccha or Bhṛgukaccha (modern Broach) was the residence of the sage Bhṛgu. Besides its archaeological importance, which has already been stated above, literary and epigraphical records also throw sufficient light on the antiquity of this place. Buddhist Jātaka stories refer to it as a prominent city and flourishing sea-port and centre of trade and com-

1 Matsyapurāṇa II (Ed. Pandit Sriram Sharma, Bareilly, 1970, Hindi Trans.), p. 164.

2 Kūrmapurāṇa II (Ed. Dr. Ramashankar Bhattacharya, Varanasi, 1968), 40.9

3 Kane, P. V., History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. IV (Poona-1953), p. 706.

4 Agrawala, V. S., Matsyapurāṇa—A Study (Vārāṇasi-1963), p. 287.

5 Matsyapurāṇa II (Ed. Pandit Sriram Sharma, Bareilly, 1970, Hindi Trans.), p. 178.

6 Vedic Age, Vol. I (Ed. R. C. Majumdar, London, 1951), p. 280.

7 Kantawala, S. G., Cultural History from Matsyapurāṇa (Baroda, 1964), p. 336

merce.¹ A Mahāyāna Buddhist text Divyāvadāna² states that Rudrayāna, King of Roruka (probably Alor, the old city of Sindh) in Sauvīra, was killed by his son Śikhāṇḍin. For this sin of Śikhāṇḍin the whole of his realm was destroyed by a fatal rain of sands. Only three good men—two ministers and a Buddhist Monk—were alive and they left the place in search of a new land. Bhīru, one of the two good ministers, founded Bhīruka or Bhīrukaccha. A Pāli inscription³ (about 2nd Century B.C.) at Junar mentions the name of the city Bhārukaccha (Bhārukachchakām-nāma Lamkudiyānam bhātūṇam; Asasamasa putāna Budhamtasa Budharakhitasa ca bigabham deyadhāmmam).

Sabhāparvan of the Mahābhārata refers to the name Bhārukaccha, the inhabitants of which brought as presents to the Pāṇḍavas horses from Gāndhāra (i.e. Peshawar region of present West Pakistan).

The astronomical treatise called Romakasiddhānta (6th Cent. A.D.) mentions Darbhāvātī along with Bṛgukaccha.⁴

Ptolemy and Periplus call it Barygaza. Heuen-Tsiang mentions the name of the river Narmadā (Nai-mo-to) and the kingdom of Bhārukaccha (Po-lukie-chi-po). Broach was known to the Arab Muslims as early as 7th Century A.D.

The Skandapurāṇa refers to the name of a tīrtha known as Gurukulatīrtha on the Narmadā where Bali performed Aśvamedhas. The place has been identified where at present the temple of Somanātha near Jhāḍeśvara Gate at Broach is situated, because the tradition says that the temple of Somanātha was built on the site of the sacrifice.

Modern town of Ankleshwar opposite Broach appears to be ancient Akrūreśvara mentioned in Gujjara Copper plate⁵ inscription (4th-5th Century A.D.) from Kaira near Ahmedabad. It mentions about a land grant to certain Brāhmaṇas in Akrūreśvara viṣaya near Jambūsar. Matsyapurāṇa also mentions about Aṅkūreśvara and Aṅkola; both might have been the same place i.e. Ankleshwar. Kantawala⁶ suggests that Aṅkola may be identified with Aṅkola-tīrtha near the village Nikorā on the northern bank of the Narmadā.

Present Bhāḍbhūt, which is an early historic site stated earlier, may be identified with Bhārbhūti mentioned in Matsya, Kūrma and Padma purāṇas on the Narmadā as tīrtha :

1 The Geographical Encyclopaedia of Ancient and Medieval India (Ed. K.D. Bajpai, Indic. Academy, Vārāṇasī), p. 64.

2 Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India (Calcutta, 1924), Notes pp. 699-700.

3 Archaeological Survey, Western India Report, Vol. IV, p. 96.

4 Sastri, H., The Ruins of Dabhoi or Darbhāvātī in Baroda State (Baroda 1940), p. 3.

5 Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India (Calcutta 1924), p. 369.

6 Kantawala S. G., Cultural History from the Matsyapurāṇa (Baroda 1964), p. 302.

tato gaccheta rājendra bhārabhūtimanuttamam¹
 upaśito yajeteśam rudraloke mahīyate
 Āin-i-Akbari² mentions Bhalwut (Bhārbbhūt) as a port.

Cavaneśvara which is earlier being stated as Harappan site may be identified with Cyavanasyāśrama mentioned in the Vanaparvan of the Mahābhārata, whereas some other Purāṇas mentioned this place under Gaya. But according to the traditional history Cyavana was the son of Bhṛgu and he is often associated with the region near the estuary of the Narmadā.

It is difficult to identify the present Cāndod on the Narmadā with Candratīrtha of the Purāṇas. This place has been located at various parts of India in different Purāṇas. The Viṣṇudharmasūtra (85.8)³ while enumerating the list of tīrthas mentions the bank of the Narmadā eminently fit for Śrāddha. At present Cāndod on the Narmadā is also recognised as the best place for the same purpose.

Purāṇas mention Eraṇḍitīrtha or Eraṇḍinarmadātīrtha actually where Eraṇḍī meets Narmadā. This tributary of the Narmadā is identified with Orsaṅg :

eraṇḍisaṅgame snātvā bhaktibhāvāt tu rañjitaḥ
 mṛttikām śīrasi sthāpya avagāhya ca tajjalam
 narmadodakasammīśram ucyate sarvakilvāṣaiḥ⁴

It is interesting to note that both Kūrma and Padma Purāṇas mention Stambhatīrtha, modern Khambhāyat on the Narmadā.

Stambhatīrthe tato gacchet snānam tatra samācāret
 snānamātro narastatra somaloke mahīyate⁵

In the temple of Neminātha at Gīrnār there are four inscriptions of the Vikrama year 1288 = (1231 A. D.) which mention important cities like Broach, Stambhanapura and Stambhatīrtha, etc. :⁶

śrīmadaṇahilapura-bhṛgapura-stambhanapura-
 stambhatīrtha-darbhāvātī-dhavalakkakapramukha-nagareṣu

A detailed study on the origin of the name 'Khambhāyat' is done by Sri Pushkar Chandarvakar.⁷

1 Kūmapurāṇa II (Ed. Dr. Ramashankar Bhattacharya, Vārāṇasī 1968), 40.26.

2 Āin-i-Akbari, Gladwin's Trans., II, p. 66.

3 Kane, P. V., History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. IV (Poona 1953), p. 704.

4 Kūmapurāṇa II (Ed. Dr. Ramashankar Bhattacharya, Vārāṇasī 1968), 39.84.

5 Kūmapurāṇa II (Ed. Dr. Ramashankar Bhattacharya, Vārāṇasī 1968), 39.50.

6 Sastri, H., The Ruins of Dabhoi or Darbhāvātī in Baroda State (Baroda 1940), p. 8.

7 Gujarāta Sthalanāma Saṁśad Vyākhyānamālā (Published in Gujarati by Oriental Institute, Baroda 1965), pp. 242-299.

Kāyāvarohaṇa is said to be modern Kārvaṇ in Baroda District. In Vāyupurāṇa it is described as tīrtha where Nakuli or Lakuli, the founder of Pāśupata doctrines flourished. Matsya and Kūrmapurāṇas state that Kāyāvarohaṇa was a shrine of Mahādeva and the doctrines of Maheśvara were promulgated there :

kāyāvarohaṇaṁ nāma mahādevālayaṁ śubham
yatra māheśvarā dharmā munibhiḥ sampravartitāḥ¹

Bhandarkar opines that Śiva as Lakulīśa is found at Kārvaṇ, the home of the Lakulīśa cult.²

At present there are about thirty sacred places on the Narmadā in Gujarāt, mainly dedicated to Lord Śiva. However, these places did not yield so far any remote antiquity of archaeological importance, except a few.

VI. Conclusion

Water is the basic need of human being. So from the pre-historic times people were in habit of settling down near a river or a stream. The evidence of Early Stone Age man on the Narmadā (in Gujarāt) is not much. During the Middle and Late Stone Age period the area attracted more people, perhaps due to favourable climatic condition. Due to lack of certain data the direction of movement of the people could not be determined. But it is quite clear that the Narmadā Valley played a very important part in the evolution of human culture.

There is no stratigraphical evidence available between the end of Late Stone Age period and the beginning of Proto-historic period. Moreover, stone tool using people existed even upto very late period.

Harappan people, for the first time, brought the urban civilization in the Narmadā Valley which extended upto Tapti estuary. Exploration in the interior region from the Narmadā estuary did not reveal any settlement of Harappan culture up till now, which would suggest that the natural conditions to the east were not conducive to the extension of this culture. Further, the intended coastline with convenient anchorages promoted the development of international trade and interchange of cultures and the fertile river valley yielded enough agricultural products.

Even during the historical period rivers in general were considered as an object of reverence. The earliest is found in the R̥gveda where several passages glorify the purity of water. Pilgrimage to holy places, particularly on the banks of the rivers, became a very prominent theme in the Epics and that Purāṇas.

1 Kūrmapurāṇa II (Ed. Dr. Ramashankar Bhattacharya, Vārāṇasī 1968), 42.7.

2 Bhandarkar, D. R., Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1906-7, pp. 185-6.

Particularly during the period of Imperial Guptas different regions of India became centres of civilization from the point of view of religion, trade and commerce. So the Narmadā, as Dr. Agrawala opines,¹ from its source to where it meets the sea, was considered to be sacred and along its banks a number of new centres of learning and culture grew up. Moreover, Malwa became the granary of the Gupta Empire and considerable amount of wealth used to flow from sea-ports of Bhīṅgukaccha and Śūrpāraka from Pratiṣṭhāna on the Godāvāri in the south and from Mathurā and Kauśāmbī on the north. The Narmadā river was held as sacred and several places on its bank became important worship, particularly of Śiva.

Acknowledgement

I am deeply beholden to Sri V. Mishra, Superintending Archaeologist, for going through this paper.

1 Agrawala, V. S., *Matsyapurāṇa—A Study* (Vārāṇasi 1963), p. 284.

CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF SOME READINGS OF THE PAIPPALĀDA SAMHITĀ (KĀṆḌA II)

[With special reference to D. BHATTACHARYYA'S edition]

By

HUKAM CHAND PATYAL, Poona

Introductory Remarks

The *Atharvaveda* is said to have existed at one time in nine schools, viz., Paippalāda, Tauda, Mauda, Śaunaka, Jājala Jalada, Brahmavada, Devadarśa and Cāraṇavaidya.¹ That the original AV was studied in nine schools is clear from Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*: *navadhā ātharvaṇo vedo*², which is also supported by the *Cāraṇavyūha* (=The *Ath. Pāriś.* XLIX. 4) and others. Of these, the *Paippalāda* and the *Śaunaka* recensions alone have come down to us. The latter is preserved in the written and the oral traditions. Even the *Paippalāda* Mss collected by BHATTACHARYYA do not contain accent marks. Needless to say, both these schools have been extremely popular in India.

The *Paippalāda Samhitā* seems to have commanded much respect and to have enjoyed extensive popularity in ancient India. It is quite evident that among the four initial mantras of the four Vedas, usually recited at the *Brahmayajña* or *Svādhyāya* rite, the verse *śam no devīr* . . . appears as the initial verse representing AV. From BHATTACHARYYA'S findings³ it is clear that this is the initial verse of AVP which is AVŚ I.6. 1. It indicates that the *Paippalāda* version was considered as the representative *Atharvaveda*. The mantra was also held in so high esteem that even the scribes of AVŚ manuscripts used to put it at the beginning as the *maṅgala* verse.³ Patañjali refers to the *Maudaka* recension together with the *Paippalāda* in his commentary on *Vārt.* 2 to Pāṇini IV.3.101.⁴

1 See e.g., ed. *The Ath. Pāriś.* BOLLING and NEGEEIN, p. 337 f.; B. R. MODAK, *A Study of the Ancillary Literature of the Atharvaveda with special reference to the Pāriśiṣṭas*, Vol. II (Pt. III Text), Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Poona (1959), p. 235; BLOOMFIELD, *Introduction to the Kauś.*, JAOS XIV (1889), p. xxxii; D. BHATTACHARYYA, *Paippalāda Samhitā of the Atharvaveda* (Ed.), Calcutta (1964), Introdn. p. ix; H. C. PATYAL, *Gopatha Brāhmana—English Translation with Notes and Introduction*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Poona (1969), Introdn., pp. i-iii.

2 KIELHORN'S edition, Vol. I, p. 9, 11. 21-2, see under *Vārt.* 5 to Pāṇini I.1.1.

3 See WHITNEY, *Atharvaveda*, HOS 7, p. cxvi.

4 KIELHORN'S edition, Vol. II, p. 315, 1.15. See P. THIEME, *Pāṇini and the Veda*, pp. 66-7, f. n. The *Kaśikā* (to Pāṇini I.3.49) refers to the Maudas as imitating the recitation of the Paippalādins: *anuvadate maudagā paippalādasya*. See BHATTACHARYYA, *op.cit.*, p. xvi.

The credit of finding the *Paippalāda* version goes to R. ROTH. He found in Kashmir a mutilated birch-bark manuscript of AV pertaining to the *Paippalāda* recension.¹ This manuscript was reproduced by M. BLOOMFIELD and R. GARBE.² Unfortunately, the text of this manuscript, written in Śāradā script, is corrupt, in many cases beyond recognition, hence unintelligible.

Between the years 1906 and 1940, L. C. BARRET did the arduous task of transcribing the Kashmirian manuscript, book by book into Roman characters³. He made genuine efforts in his notes in emending the original text wherever it was possible for him. Unfortunately, more often than not, he could not be successful in arriving at convincing results. All scholars, dealing with AVP, feel grateful to BARRET for the enormous amount of useful work done by him. This BARRET'S text was again reproduced by RAGHU VIRA in Devanāgarī script.⁴ He made some improvements and a specification of parallel passages which was very much welcome. Despite the efforts of BARRET and RAGHU VIRA the text could not help remaining defective in many aspects. K. HOFFMAN'S remark is worth-quoting "...everyone who has dealt with the *Paippalāda* version from a philological or linguistic point of view has, again and again, been driven to despair. There were only rare cases in which the details inferred from the text could be relied on."⁵

The findings of BHATTACHARYYA are phenomenal and of the highest importance for the knowledge of Vedic language and literature.

The first book : *Paippalāda Samhitā of the Atharvaveda, First Kāṇḍa*, edited from original manuscripts with critical notes (Calcutta, 1964) is now attested in three newly found sources.⁶ The text is collated throughout with

1 See ROTH in *Atti del IV Congress internazionale Legli Orientalist*, ii, 88-96; also R. GARBE in *Verzeichnis*, No. 14.

2 The *Kashmirian Atharva-Veda (School of the Paippalādins) reproduced by chromo-photography from the manuscript in the University Library at Tübingen*, Baltimore (1901).

3 His edition appeared in several volumes of *JAOS* and also in two independent publications. Kāṇḍa I in *JAOS* 26.2, pp. 197-295; Kāṇḍa II in Vol. 30, pp. 187-258; Kāṇḍa III in Vol. 32, pp. 343-90; Kāṇḍa IV in Vol. 35.1, pp. 402-101 and so on. He began his work by saying: "The elaboration of the first book of the *Paippalāda* is in the nature of the case an experiment and only that." [*JAOS* 26 (1906), p. 197].

4 Vol. I, Kāṇḍas 1-13, Lahore (1936); Vol. II, Kāṇḍas 14-18, Lahore (1940); Vol. III, Kāṇḍas 18-20, along with indices, Lahore (1941).

5 *I. J.* XI, p. 1.

6 For the description of manuscripts see BHATTACHARYYA, *op. cit.*, Introduction, pp. xviii-xix; "A Palm-leaf Manuscript of the *Paippalāda Samhitā* : Announcement of a Rare Find", *Our Heritage* V. ii (1957), pp. 81-6; "Palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Paippalāda-samhitā* : Textual importance of the new finds", *The Adyar Library Bulletin, Jubilee Volume* (1961), pp. 203-15.

the Śaunaka version, but references to Kashmir text, other Samhitā texts etc., and to unspecified tape-recorded material from Orissa is variously irregular.¹

It is, indeed, sad that BHATTACHARYYA is no more to complete his work of editing the *Paippalādasamhitā*. His passing away has been an irreparable loss to Sanskrit studies in general and Vedic in particular. We are immensely delighted, indeed, that Vol. II, consisting of Kāṇḍas II-IV, Calcutta (1970), has been completed by his son Dipak BHATTACHARYYA. From his introductory note² it appears that his father had handed over to the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, the press copy of the text up to Kāṇḍa III. Moreover, he had himself seen the final proofs up to this portion. He had edited the text up to IV. 27.7, after that the editing was done by his able son.

We do hope that the remaining Kāṇḍas of this text would be made accessible to us within short time. In this paper I shall make an attempt to examine a few important controversial or rather unintelligible readings occurring in Kāṇḍa II. The remaining Kāṇḍas III and IV of this volume will be dealt with subsequently.

AVP II. 1.4^d and 5^d

This hymn (=AVŚ IV. 7) is applied as a charm against poison. The practices Kauś. XXVIII. 1-4 obviously seem to refer to this hymn.

BHATTACHARYYA reads.....*ābhrikhāte na rūrupaḥ* at 4^d and 5^d. This reading is also found at AVŚ IV. 7.5^d and 6^d. BARRET (text) reads *abhriṣāte*; he emends this reading to *abhriṣāte*. Sāyaṇa comments at AVŚ IV. 7.6^d: *abhriṣāte. abhrikhananena labdhe oṣadhe*. WHITNEY, *Atharva-Veda Samhitā*, Vol. I (HOS VIII), p. 156, n. under AVŚ IV. 7.5, seems to be quite correct in commenting that there seems to be a common confusion between *kh* and *ṣ*. In this case the right reading is *ābhrikhāte*. This compound form *ābhrikhāte* (voc. sg. fem.) retains its original accent.³ This pāda may be rendered as follows:

‘you that has been dug with the spade, do not cause injury.’

AVP II. 5.7^{cd}

BHATTACHARYYA reads: *agnih śārīraṁ veveptu yamaṁ gacchatu te asuḥ*. BARRET and RAGHU VIRA read: *agnih śārīraṁ veveṣtu imam gacchatu te vasu*. The parallel verse AVŚ II. 12.8 reads: *agnih śārīraṁ veveṣtu*

1 See K. HOFFMANN, *loc. cit.*, I-II XI. 1, pp. 1-10; J. C. WRIGHT'S review in *BSOAS* XXX (1967), pp. 201-2.

2 p. xxi.

3 See Pāṇini VI. 2.48.: *ṛtīyā Karmaṇi* i.e.: ‘A word ending in an instrumental case retains its accent before the past participle in *kta* when it has a passive meaning.’ For such type of cases, cf. WACKERNAGEL-DEBRUNNER, *AIG* II. 2, § 426th [p. 563; § 436 (p. 585)].

āsum vā'g āpi gacchatu. In BHATTACHARYY'S reading there seems to be a printing mistake for *veveṣṭu*. This text may be rendered as follows :

‘ Let Agni surround the body; let your breath go unto Yama ’.

AVP II. 8.1^a

BHATTACHARYYA and BARRET read : *uditye akraman trayo ...* BARRET, however, reads *akramam* for the correct form *akraman*. BARRET, emends *uditye* to *ud ito ye*, which is accepted by RAGHU VIRA. The parallel verse AVŚ IV. 3.1^a has the reading : *ūd itās trāyo akraman*. In my opinion the reading *uditye* is difficult to be accounted for, therefore BARRET'S suggestion seems to be quite acceptable. This pāda may be understood as follows :

‘ Those three have stridden up from here ’.

AVP II. 8.5^c

BHATTACHARYYA reads : *ādītastenam ahim...* BARRET (emendation) and RAGHU VIRA read : *ād itthā (?) stenam ahim*. The parallel verse AVŚ IV. 3.4^c has the reading : *ād u stenām ātho dhim*. The reading of BARRET and RAGHU VIRA seems to be unintelligible. BHATTACHARYYA'S reading, it seems, should better be emended to *ād itas stenam ahim*. .. This pāda would mean : ‘ Next hencefrom (we crush : *jambhayāmasi*) the thief, the snake ’.

AVP II-10.2^{cd}

The hymn AVŚ II. 9 (= AVP II. 10. 1-4) is applied against possession by demons. According to Kauś. XXVII. 5-6 this hymn accompanies the binding of an amulet composed of splinters (from ten different trees: commentator). It is muttered by ten friends who lay hands on the patient.

BARRET and BHATTACHARYYA read : *sa eva tubhyaṁ bheṣajam cakāru bhiṣajāti ca*, whereas RAGHU VIRA reads : *.....bheṣajam cakāra bhiṣajā śuciḥ*. The parallel verse II. 9.5^{cd} reads : *sā evā tūbhyaṁ bheṣajā'ni kṛṇa'vad bhiṣajā śuciḥ*. WHITNEY, *op. cit.*, p. 50, renders these pādas as : ‘ he himself clean, shall make himself clean shall make for thee remedies, with the healer. ’

Scholars have made various attempts to emend the text of pāda d. Sāyaṇa thinks of *śucinā* for *śuciḥ*. WEBER, *Ind. St.* XIII. 154, suggests *bhiṣajām* for *bhiṣajā*. LUDWIG, *Der Rigveda* III, 506, suggests *śuci* (acc. pl. neut.) in agreement with *bheṣajāni*. GRILL, *Hundert Lieder des Atharvaveda*, pp. 8, 82 ff., suggests : *kṛṇavad bhiṣajāti ca* for pāda d of AVP. BLOOMFIELD, *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, SBE XLII. p. 292, is right in saying that the text of pāda d is awkward, and rendered somewhat (here I would rather say very much) doubtful by the *Paippalālu*. To our editor a form like *bhiṣajāti* posits no problem, hence he in his Sanskrit brief notes comments : *.....bhiṣajāti bhiṣajyati rogam śamaya-*

līty arthaḥ. The form *bhiṣajāti* is a present subjunctive third person singular from the denominative stem *bhiṣaj-*. This form of course is not attested elsewhere. Present subjunctive forms irregularly made with long *ā* are not rare in AV and the Brāhmaṇas.¹ We accept the reading of BARRET and BHATTACHARYYA. These pādas may be recorded as follows:

‘He himself made remedy for you, and he shall heal you.’

AVP II, 13.3.

Read *sacadhvam* for *sacadhbam* of BHATTACHARYYA.

AVP II. 20.2

In this verse one sees a charm for protection of cattle ; and there are indications of the use of an amulet though not clearly mentioned here.

Pādas ab in BARRET’s text are very much corrupt, hence unintelligible. With much hesitation BARRET proposes : *upabaddhā gulgulunāyakṣmās santv aghnyāḥ*. RAGHU VIRA has practically the same reading except *upadho* (?) for *upabaddhā* of BARRET’s emendation. Unfortunately the verses occurring in this *Kāṇḍikā* are not attested elsewhere. *Pāda* of both these editions has *bhavasya* ; BARRET rightly emends it to *bhagasya*.

This verse according to BHATTACHARYYA’s edition is as follows :

upa dhuva gulgulunā yakṣmāḥ santv aghnyāḥ |
rudrasyeṣvā yātudhānān atho rājño bhagasya ca ||

Here in accord with the context one would read *ayakṣmāḥ* for *yakṣmāḥ* of this edition. The verbal form *upa dhuva* is an imperative second person singular of *upa + √dhū* (class VI).² This verse may be understood as follows:

‘Remove away through bdellium ; let cows be devoid of diseases. (Remove away) the sorcerers through the arrow of Rudra and also of Bhaga, the King’.

AVP II. 31.3^{ab}

Pādas ab of this verse do not have their parallels in the other texts, whereas pādas cd (= AVŚ XIV. 2.8^{ab}) BARRET (emendation) and RAGHU VIRA read : *indram ḥṛṣyātām vidhir vi naḥ pāsān ivā carat*. BHATTACHARYYA’s edition has altogether a different reading: *indro haniṣyatām vadham vi naḥ pāsām ivā crtat*. Here the verbal form *haniṣyatām* is note-worthy. Obviously, this is an imperative third person singular (middle) form from the ‘simple future’ stem.³

1 Cf. WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 615, p. 233.

2 Cf. WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar*, § 755, p. 271.

3 For such type of model forms of the ‘Simple Future’, see WHITNEY, *Skt. Gr.*, § 938, pp. 333-4 ; also see the present writer’s paper “On the Model forms of the Simple Future in the Veda”, *Journal of the University of Poona (Hum. Sect.)*, No.31, pp.81-5.

The reading *vi...ā cṛtat* of BHATTACHARYY's edition is preferable to *vi...ā carat* of the other editions. In my opinion BHATTACHARYYA's reading does not create any difficulty in understanding these pādas. We may interpret them as follows :

'Indra shall smite away the deadly weapon ; may he unite us like snares.' Of course, pādas *cd*, posit no problem. WHITNEY, *op.cit.*, p. 754, renders them as : 'We have mounted this road, easy bringing welfare'.

AVP II. 37.4^a

The verses occurring in this hymn are applied 'against evil dreams'.

BARRET (emendation) and RAGHU VIRA read : *araro hīs(?) śatam adya gavāṁ bhakṣīya*... In *hīs* BARRET conjectures some form of the root *hiḍ*. But that does not seem to be correct, for in this very context we do not require any verbal form as such. This verse has no parallel in other texts. BHATTACHARYYA reads : *ararohai śatam adya gavāṁ bhakṣīya*... In this case I would like to split *ararohai* into *araro* and *hai*. Thus, we can easily overcome the difficulty. *Araru* is a personification of hostility and demoniac force; cf. e.g. AVŚ VI. 46.1 ; RV. 129.3 ; X. 99.10; Mai S. IV.10; TB III.2.9.4 etc. *hai* is an interjection,¹ which occurs mostly in AV (see e.g. AVŚ VI. 50.2; XVIII. 4.66; AVP XIX. 20.6; XX. 60.9). Moreover, this interjection always occurs with a word in vocative. See e.g. AVŚ VI. 50.2 :—

tārda hai pātāṅga hai jābhya hā' upākvasa : 'Hey, borer ! hey locust ! hey, grinder, upakvasa !' [WHITNEY, *op.cit.*, p. 318]. This pāda can better be understood as :

'Ho Araru ! may I devour today hundreds of cows....'

AVP II. 39.6^b

BARRET'S edition reads : *ghṛtenāṅgā parūṁṣi ta vardhayanti*. He emends this reading to *ghṛtenāṅgā parūṁṣi tava vardhayanti*. RAGHU VIRA accepts this emended text. This verse is also found at TB III. 7.13.1; Vait. XXIV. 1. These texts agree with BARRET's emended text. BHATTACHARYYA reads *vardhayanti* in place of *vardhayanti*. Here *vardhayanti* is undoubtedly the correct reading. In this case *āṅgā parūṁṣi* is a compound form.² This pāda would mean :

1 See WHITNEY, *Skt. Gr.*, § 1135a, p. 417, MACDONELL *Ved. Gr.*, § 659a, *Ved. Gr.* (for students), § 181.

2 For this type of compound forms, see e.g. AIG II. 1, § 66 b, p. 156; § 68 b, p. 160; K. HOFFMANN, "JB vanākakṣāḥ," *I-II* IX, pp. 199-202; H. C. PATYAL, "On the expressions *bhṛgvaṅgirasā māyā* (GB I. 2.9) and *āṅgā parvāṇi* (GB II. 1.2)", *R. N. Dandekar Fel. Vol.* (= *Ind. Ant.* III (1969, Third Series), pp. 190-92.

‘By means of ghee your limbs and joints increase.’

AVP II. 41.4^{ab}

BARRET and RAGHU VIRA read : *yena devā asurebhyo bhavanti marmattarā* (?). These *pādas* do not seem to have parallel readings in the other texts. *Pādas* cd of this verse are [= RV X. 159.4^{cd} = X. 174.4^{cd} = ApMP I. 16.4^{cd}] (WINTERNITZ'S edition). BARRET emends *marmattarā* to *amarmantarāḥ*. BHATTACHARYYA reads *umnavattarāḥ*, which is quite unintelligible. In this case BARRET'S emendation seems to be quite reasonable (cf. e.g. RV III. 32.4; V. 32.5; VI. 26.3 etc.). If we accept BARRET in that case the *pāda* could be understood as :

‘By means of that the gods become more invulnerable for the Asuras’.

AVP II. 50.2^b

BARRET and RAGHU VIRA read : *yāv imam trāyete'smād yaksmāt tasmād āmayata* (?) BARRET emends *āmayata* to *āmayatāt*. BHATTACHARYYA reads *trāyaite* for *trāyete*. In this context *trāyete* is the correct reading, but not *trāyaite* which is an ungrammatical form. We may read this *pāda* as : *yāv imam trāyete'smād yaksmāt tasmāt āmayataḥ* BHATTACHARYYA reads *āmayataḥ* in place of *āmayata*. Thus, this may be rendered as follows :

‘Both those (Mitra and Varuṇa) who protect him from this disease, from that sickness’.

AVP II.50.3-5^b

In *pāda* b of verses 3 and 4 BHATTACHARYYA reads *trāyāntā*, whereas BARRET and RAGHU VIRA read *trāyante*. In 5^b BHATTACHARYYA reads *trāyātā*, whereas the other editions read *trāyate*. In the case of BHATTACHARYYA'S readings one may be tempted to think of imperative forms like *trāyantām* and *trāyatām* respectively, but these do not seem to be the required readings. In 2^b we have a form *trāyete* in present indicative (in BHATTACHARYYA *trāyaite*), this gives us a clue to accept present indicative forms as the right readings. Hence *trāyante* and *trāyate* seem to be the proper readings.

AVP II. 58.6^{ab}

It seems to be clear that this hymn is applied as a charm against driving away a disease or demon, perhaps one afflicting cattle.

BARRET and RAGHU VIRA read : *asti vaiṣām vidviṣam ubhau sanne-tarā* (?). BHATTACHARYYA has altogether a different reading : *astī vai vām vidvikam ubhau śayane antarā*. Here *vidvikam* appears to be an obscure reading, hence it be emended to *vidviṣam*. Unfortunately, the editor of this edition does not take note of the readings of the other two editions. The exact purport of these *pādas*, however, is not clear to me, but it may mean something like this:

‘ The hostile one, indeed, is in between both of you during sleep ’. ‘ Both of you ’ perhaps here refers to the demon or disease.

AVP II. 59.7^b

BHATTACHARYYA’S *madhyā tvā* be corrected to *madhyāt tvā*; see the editions of BARRET and RAGHU VIRA, also see the parallel verse AVŚ VI. 29.7.

AVP II. 69.1^a

BHATTACHARYYA reads: *vārtaḥ purasatāt pavase nabhasvān*, whereas BARRET (emendation) and RAGHU VIRA read: *vātaḥ purastāt pava me (?) nabhasvān*. In my opinion BHATTACHARYYA’S *vārtaḥ* does not imply the proper sense, hence the reading *vātaḥ* can conveniently be adopted. Instead of the dubious *pava me (?)* the reading *pavase* is better. By accepting BHATTACHARYYA with emendation, we may render this pāda as follows:

‘ The atmospheric wind blows in front. ’ Present second person singular seems to be used for the third person singular.

AVP II. 87.3^{cd}

In pāda d BHATTACHARYYA reads: *sādhunā yathā*, whereas the editions of BARRET and RAGHU VIRA and also the parallel passage Kauś. CVII. 2 read *sādhunā pathā*. In this context *pathā* is the proper reading. The text reads: *patantu patvarīvorvarīḥ sādhunā pathā*. This may be understood as:

‘ Let the flying filaments fly off, as it were, on the straight path ’. Unfortunately, BHATTACHARYYA has not recorded these variant readings.

Concluding Remarks:

From the foregoing discussions we are led to the following considerations *argumenti causa* :—

- (i) The editor seems to have been influenced at times by the local Bengali pronunciation, see e.g. AVP II. 56.1-5, where *ḍ* or *ḷ* is written as *r* ; AVP II 87.2, where *ḍh* is written as *rh*. Many more examples of this type can be added. Moreover, there are quite a number of printing mistakes, which I have passed over here in silence.
- (ii) From some of the discussions, it is quite evident that the editor has not shown his sharp critical acumen.
- (iii) The references to the Kashmirian text as well as to the other Vedic texts are variously irregular.

Despite all these remarks, the importance of the edition of the late Professor BHATTACHARYYA is of the highest importance for Vedic studies. We can only say that he has unearthed a very rich hidden mine of materials*

* Paper submitted to the Vedic Section of the XXVI, AIOC, Ujjain, December 1971,

THE PLACE OF VṚTRA FIGHT

By

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Amongst the various gods of the *Ṛg-veda*, Indra is the most important, as 250 hymns of the *Ṛg-veda* are dedicated to him. Thus, statistically his position among the various gods of the pantheon is the first. Amongst the various enemies of Indra, Vṛtra is the most important and the most prominent. Vṛtra has remained a mystery even though much has been written on that score. He has remained an enigma in spite of pages and pages being written about him. If Indra fights this Vṛtra then we are also interested to know the place where the actual event takes place. Does the *Ṛg-veda* offer us any information as regards the place of fight ?

In the *Ṛg-veda* the enclosure for the water or the river is characterised¹ by the root *vr*. At times, for *vr*, occurs² even *stabh*, to hold fast, to support. The expressions *badbadhāna*³ and *niruddha*⁴ are indefinite with regard to the water. In innumerable passages, it is stated that Vṛtra lies⁵ on the stream or streams or on the seven rivers or on the waters. He is also spoken of as sleeping round about the river.⁶ The poet of 3.33.6 calls Vṛtra as the enclosure⁷ of the rivers. As Vṛtra is a serpent, one can understand *pari śī*, *pari sthā*, and *paridhi* as related to him and he lies round about the river-water in order to circumscribe⁸ it. Perhaps one even considers the water as existing inside Vṛtra. In any case,

1 apo vavrivāmsaṃ vṛtraṃ...2.14.2 and with the permutation of the word at 4.16.7, 6.20.2; 9.61.22, vavrivāmsaṃ mahirapaḥ, at 3.32.6 vavrivāmsaṃ pari devīḥ, 1.52.6 apo vṛtvī, 4.19.5, 4.42.7 vṛtān.....sindhūn, 6.17.12 kṣodo mahi vṛtaṃ nadīnām, 8.12.26, 1.52.2 vṛtraṃ nadīm vṛtaṃ, 2.19.2 ahim..... arṇorvṛtaṃ, 1.54.10 nadyo vavriṇā, 1.57.6 nivṛtāḥ.....apaḥ.

2 2.II.5 apo..... tastabhvāmsaṃ.....ahim, 8.6.16 mahiḥ apa stabhūyamānaḥ, 8.96.18 sindhūn.....tastabhānān, A. V. 6.85.3 vṛtra imā āpastastabha.

3 4.19.8, 5.32.1.2.

4 1.32.11.

5 mahām sindhum āśayānaṃ, 1.121.11 āśayānaṃ sirāsu, 4.17.7 prati pravata āśayānaṃ ahim, 4.19.3 sapta prati pravata āśayānaṃ, 5.30.6 apa āśayānaṃ, 8.6.16 mahirapaḥ stabhūyamāna āśayat.

6 3.32.11, 4.19.2, 6.30.4 pariśayānaṃ arṇaḥ, and instead of pari śī, pari sthā is also employed, 1.32.8 āpaḥ yāścidvṛtro mahinā paryatiṣṭhat, 2.11.2 mahiḥ..... pariṣṭhitā ahinā 7.21.3 apaḥ..... pariṣṭhitā ahinā, 4.19.8 pariṣṭhitā sirāḥ, 6.17.12 pariṣṭhitam..... ūrmi-mapām, 6.72.3 ahimapaḥ pariṣṭhām

7 apāhan vṛtraṃ paridhiṃ nadīnām.

8 Cf. also āśayānaṃ.....vavrivāmsaṃ pari devīḥ at 3.32.6.

this description occurs in 10.113.6, where Vṛtra is the supporter of the water.¹ Still, clearly in 4.17.1, 10.111.9 it is stated : You (Indra) let loose the rivers that were grasped² by the serpent.

It is a question as to where we have to search for the alleged scene of this action. For this it is of significance that the activity of Indra is often characterised³ by the root *ava syj*, to send down. Likewise, *ava gam*,⁴ to go down is described of the waters. In the place of *ava*, at times, there occur still definite expressions as noted below :

8.32.25 : he who sends down below⁵ the rivers.

10.133.2 : You send the river down below, you kill the serpent.⁶

2.17.5 : He made the activity of the water turn downwards.⁷

6.17.12 : You drive the active water down towards the ocean.⁸

The expressions that are used here allow us to conclude from them that one considers the rivers enclosed by Vṛtra somehow as lying high up.

1 apo bibhrataṃ.

2 srjaḥ sindhūrahinā jagrāsānān. Once in 2.11.5 Vṛtra is mentioned as hidden in the water. It runs thus:

guhā hitaṃ guhaṃgulhamapsva pivṛtaṃ māyinaṃ kṣiyantaṃ.
uto apo dyāntastabhvāpsamahānnahim śūra vīryeṇa.

It does not however mean that Vṛtea had hidden himself in the water when Indra attacked him. This would be in opposition to all other assertions about him. Besides, in v.9 of the same hymn Vṛtra is referred to as lying on the large river. The poet has rather thought of the Vṛtra that is killed about whom also in 1.32.10 it is stated:

athiṣṭhantīnāmaniveṣanānām kāṣṭhānāmadhye nihitaṃ śarīraṃ.
vṛtrasya nīyaṃ vi carantyāpo dirghantaṃ āsayadindraśatruḥ...

The first pāda 1.32.10 is repeated twice. In 10.148.2 it is connected with Soma, in 3.39.6 it is connected either with Soma or with the Sun.

3 1.32.12 avāsrjaḥ sartave sapta sindhūn, 2.12.12. yaḥ.....avāsrjat sartave sapta sindhūn, 1.55.6 ava sukratuḥ sartava apaḥ srjat, 1.57.6 avāsrja nivṛtāḥ sartavā apaḥ, 6.30.4 avāsrjo apo acchā samudraṃ, 10.113.4 ava sasyadaḥ srjat, besides there also occurs the simple srj: 2.12.2 (mahiḥ), 2.15.3 (khāni nadinām), 8.96.18 (sindhūn), 5.29.2 (apo yahvīḥ), 8.76.3 (samudriyā apaḥ), pra srj 3.31.16 (apaḥ sadhriciḥ), 3.32.6 (apaḥ), vi srj 4.18.7 (sindhūn), 4.19.8 (sindhūn), 5.32.1 (khāni, dhārāḥ), ric 8.100.12 (sindhūn), ri 4.19.5, 4.42.7 (sindhūn), 2.12.3 (sapta sindhūn), 1.56.6, 2.22.4 (apaḥ), īraya 8.6.13 (apaḥ), pra īraya 6.72.3 (arṇāṃsi nadinām), pra in 4.16.7 (arṇāṃsi samudriyān), iṣ 3.33.2 (indreṣite), nir, ubj, 1.56.5, 85.9 (apāṃ arṇavaṃ),

4 1.32.2 aṇjaḥ samudraṃ apa jagmuḥ āpaḥ.

5 yaḥ.....nyak sindhūmr avāsrjat.

6 tvaṃ sindhūmh avāsrjo adharāco apān abim.

7 adharācinam akrṇod apāṃ apaḥ.

8 prārdayo nicirapasah samudraṃ.

It is said in 1.52.6 that Vṛtra, having enclosed the water, lay at the bottom of the space. *Apo vṛtvī rajaso budhnam āśapat*.¹ The expression *rajaso budhnam* is used in 2.2.3 as the station of Agni : The gods have fixed² this very clever one at the bottom of the region as the conductor from Heaven and Earth. Ś.Br. 1.1.3.4 states that Vṛtra enclosed the space between the Heaven and the Earth.³ To this agrees completely that which is said about Indra in 8.3.20: From the mid-region you blew out the great serpent.⁴ In 2.20.3 it is said : He stood up right in the mid-air, he hurried the deadly weapon at Vṛtra.⁵

In the books belonging to the schools of the *Yajurveda*, at times, the measure of Vṛtra is amplified to a great extent. It is said in M.S. 2.4.3 : He grew daily in width to the measure of an arrow shot, he lay round all these rivers.⁶ According to the T.S. 2.5.2.2 : he grew so much that he encompassed these worlds, the Heaven, the mid-air and the Earth.⁷ Likewise in the Epics, Vṛtra passes off as a demon encompassing the world. The M.Bh. 5.9.49 states : He grew making firm the Heaven;⁸ also M.Bh. 5.10.1 states: O gods, this whole unchangeable world is pervaded by Vṛtra.⁹ In M.Bh. 5.10.3 it is said : he may rather grasp the three worlds together with gods, asuras and men.¹⁰ The gods consider him (v. 16) as it were grasping the three worlds.¹¹ Exactly the same description occurs in the *Rg-veda*. Indra has hurled out Vṛtra not only from the mid-region but also from the Earth and the Heaven.¹² Vṛtra has not only held form the waters but also the Heaven (2.11.5).¹³ He filled with sound the Heaven and the Earth (1.52.10).¹⁴ He has held fast together these two great worlds (8.6.17).¹⁵

Under these circumstances, amongst the rivers which Indra sends down are to be understood the Heavenly rivers. For, to support this thesis, one can

1 Sāyaṇa: rajaso budhnam antarikṣasyoparipradeśam.

2 tam devā budhne rajasaḥ sudamsasam divasprthivyor aratiṃ ny erire. Sāyaṇa explains this as: rajaso rañjanātmakasya lokasya budhne mūle. prthivyām vedyām ity arthaḥ. In 4.1.11, 17.14 however something else is meant. That rajas as Geldner takes from the explanation of Sāyaṇa to mean some type of water is doubted at by Lüder.

3 vṛtro ha vā idaṃ sarvaṃ vṛtvā śīṣye. yadidamantareṇa dyāvāprthivi sa yadidaṃ sarvaṃ vṛtvā śīṣye tasmāt vṛtro nāma.

4 nirantarikṣād adhamo mahāmahiṃ.

5 ūrdhvo hyasthād adhyantarikṣe adhā vṛtrāya pra vadhaṃ jabhāra.

6 sa vā iṣumātramevāhnā tiryannavardhat imāḥ sarvāḥ srotāḥ paryaśayat.

7 sa iṣumātraṃ iṣumātraṃ viṣṭvaṇṇ avaradhata. sa imāṃllokān avṛnot.

8 sa avaradhata divaṃ stabdhvā.

9 sarvaṃ vyāptaṃ idaṃ devā vṛtreṇa jagad avyayam.

10 graset tribhuvanaṃ sarvaṃ sadevāsura mānuṣam.

11 grastaṃ iva lokāṃstrin.

12 1.80.4: nirindra bhūmyā adhi vṛtraṃ jaghantha nirdivaḥ.

13 2.11.5: uto apo dyīm tastabhvāṃsaṃ ahaṇa ahiṃ sūra vīryeṇa.

14 1.52.10: vṛtrasyabadbadhānasya rodasi.

15 8.6.17: yā ime rodasi mahi samicis amajagrabit.

call to mind that in 10.124.9 the waters set free by Indra are expressly mentioned as heavenly.¹ In itself it is right that nowhere in the statements concerning the Vṛtra fight the Heaven is mentioned as the starting point of the downward flowing rivers, but on the other hand, there is often a talk about the mountain. When it is often said about Vṛtra that he lies on the water it is stated in 1.32.2 that he has reclined on a mountain.² According to it, the waters were enclosed in a mountain. An enclosed cave is mentioned in 1.32.11 as his dwelling place. It is compared to the cave of Vala. The waters having Dāsa as the husband, protected by a serpent, were constantly restrained as the cows by the Paṇis.³ The cavity of the water⁴ which was enclosed was opened by Indra as he has killed the Vṛtra. To *apām bilam* corresponds in 1.51.4 *apām apidhānā*⁵: You opened the enclosure of the water, you took hold of the treasure⁶ on the mountain in the form of the demon. *Paṇisadaḥ* in 3.33.7 must be the same as *apidhānā*: With the thunderbolt, he killed the enveloper, the water went out searching the way.⁷ In 3.33.6 the poet calls Vṛtra *paridhiṃ nadinām*. In 4.18.6 *paridhi* is used for the mountain. We have here: the rivers break through the mountains that enclose.⁸ The obscure word *phaliga* must correspond to the enclosure in the mountain. In 8.32.25⁹ we have: (Indra) who splits open the *phaliga*¹⁰ of the water sends the river down below. It is repeatedly said about Indra, in the description of the Vṛtra fight, that he directs his attack on the mountain exactly as if these are the peculiar enemies. In 6.30.5 it is said: Indra, you (allow to flow) the water through the door on all the sides, you tear open the fast enclosures of the mountain.¹¹ In 1.57.6 we have: You, O Indra, pound to pieces those great large mountains with the Vajra, O you bearer of the thunderbolt.¹² In 4.17.3 again we have: (Indra) splits up the mountain, hurling the vajra with might.¹³ In 1.32.1 we have:

1 *apām divyānām sakhye carantaṃ*

2 *ahannahim parvate śisriyāṇaṃ*.

3 *dāsapatnir ahigopā atiṣṭhan niruddhā apaḥ paṇineva gāvaḥ*.

apām bilam apihitaṃ yad āsit vṛtraṃ jaghanvān apa tad vavāra.

4 Geldner takes it as outlet of water "den Ausfluss der Gewässer".

5 *tvam apām apidhānāvṛṇor apādhārayaḥ parvate dānumad vasu*.

6 Geldner again here understands the word as treasure "den Schatz der (Himmels) Gabe."

7 *vi vajreṇa paṇisado jaghānāyann āpo'yanam icchamānāḥ*.

8 *kaṃ āpo adriṃ paridhiṃ rujanti*.

9 *ya udnaḥ phaligaṃ bhinan nyak sindhūṃ avāsrjat*.

10 Geldner observes on 1.62.4 that *adri*, *phaliga* and *vala* all designate the cave of the rock. He however translates as "des Wassers Rauber (?)" i.e. the robber of the water. It is remarkable that the Pāli *paligha* bolt, obstruction corresponds to *Phaliga* in sense.

11 *tvam apo vi duro viṣūcir indra dṛlham arujaḥ parvatasya*.

12 *tvam tam indra parvataṃ maham uruṃ vajreṇa vājrin parvaśaś cakartitha*.

13 *bhinad giriṃ śavasā vajraṃ iṣṇan*.

(Indra) killed the serpent, he pierced through the waters, he splits up the *vakṣaṇās* of the mountain.¹ The Soma plant too has the *vakṣaṇās*. This is a word that is characteristically used with the Soma-plant. At 8.1.17 we have : The soma stalk is pressed out by the stones, then it is washed in the waters, then it is clothed i.e. is covered with cow's milk like a garment. The juices are described as if they are milked out of the *vakṣaṇās*. It is instructive to note that the root *duh* is used with it as with *Amśu* and thus the imagery of milking out the udder of the cow is complete. The *vakṣaṇā* from the root *vah* to carry are the milk-carrying veins in the udders of the cow and that too in that part of the body of the cow which is just under the udder. Thus, at 10.49.10 and 6.72.4 we are told that Indra deposits in the udders and the *vakṣaṇās* of the cow white and sweet milky juice. The use of the word *vakṣaṇā* would show that the soma stalk was juicy and swollen. It is quite likely that the swollen juicy stalk was transparent and the veins are visible just behind the coating of the skin. The word *vakṣaṇā* occurs at 1.32.1, 134.4, 162.5, 3.30.14, 32.12, 5.42.13, 52.15, 6.23.4, 10.27.16 and 28.8. Here the word is not connected with Soma. In 5.32.1² we have: O Indra, when you open up the large mountain, you send down the rivers, kill the *Dānava*.³ In 5.32.2 we have: you allow the udders of the mountain to flow forth, O you bearer of the thunderbolt.⁴

As in 1.32.1 there is also the reference to many mountains in 4.19.5. Lüders says that all the first five verses of the hymn deal with the *Vṛtra* fight. 4.19.4. concludes: *avābhinat kakubhaḥ parvatānām*. This is not concerned⁵ with the cutting off of the wings of the mountains as Geldner thinks, but he cuts down the tops of the mountains. Then the text continues: They (the mountains) allow to break open the interior as the women their embryo. Like chariots the mountains go forward together. You satisfied the flowing waters, you vexed the waves, O Indra, you allowed the enclosed rivers to flow forth.⁶

1 *aḥaṇa ahiṃ anva apas tatatṛda pra vakṣaṇā abhinat parvatānām*.

2 It is presumed that here there is reference to the *Vṛtra* fight.

3 *mahāntaṃ indra parvataṃ vi yad sṛjo vi dhārā ava dānavam han*.

4 *araṃha ūdhaḥ parvatasya vajrin*.

5 In 1.85.10 we have: *dādṛhāṇaṃ cit bibhidiḥ vi parvatam*. This is said about the Maruts. This about the Maruts is clearly with reference to some other legend. Cf. Geldner on the passage. In 8.7.23 it is said about the Maruts: *vi vṛtram parvaśo yayur vi parvatām arājinaḥ*. As is observed by Geldner the second *pāda* certainly refers to the legend referred to in 5.54.5. In *a vṛtram* occurs in the general sense of "encompasser."

6 *abhi pra dadrur janayo na garbhaṃ rathā iva pra yayuḥ sākam adrayaḥ atarpayo viṣṛta ubja urmīn tvam vṛtām arāṇā indra sindhūn*. Oldenberg conjectures if *dadruḥ* can be derived from the root *drā* but Lüder writes that this appears to him unnecessary as also his reading *adreḥ* for *adrayaḥ*.

In the passages that have been quoted¹ so far parvata or giri appears to be connected with the mountain which touches the earth. The poet of 1.54.10. appears to have assumed a type of stone enclosure when he says that the parvata is in the belly of Vṛtra.² At 2.11.7-10 in the description of a battle also there is the talk about a moving mountain. It runs as: O Indra, your two bay-coloured horses striving for strength, have given out a sound that drips off ghee. At the same time, he has extended the Earth, even the mountain that liked to run over it, has come to rest. The mountain has come down carefully. He has roared out together with the mothers. Increasing the sound far away, on the other side, they have spread out the veins³ urged forth by Indra. Indra has tossed out the deceitful Vṛtra who was lying on the large river. On account of the mighty roaring Vajra both the worlds trembled. He roared out, the mighty Vajra should burn down the unmanly among the manly. He laid low the deceit of the deceitful Dānava, when he had drunk off the Soma.

Oldeberg first conjectures whether V. 8 goes with the Paṇi-myth. In that case, he means that Bṛhaspati can be the subject of *akrān*, even though it is omitted. An interpretation which leads to such an assumption does not convince us. Even previously, Oldeberg searched for another explanation. He means the *paravataḥ* in 8^a may be rather the same as *paravataḥ* in 7^d. 8^a, like 7^d, would be related to the world systematizing activity of Indra. From there the poet perhaps succeeds to get the special thought process of freeing the rivers. Geldner even hesitates whether V.7 is concerned with the myth of the flying mountains or with the world creation of Indra like V. 8 connected with the myth of Vṛtra. He considers that for V. 8 the connection with the Vala-myth is not to be excluded.

1 7.79.4, 8.64.5 which are quoted by Hillebrandt, Ved. Myth. 3,180f. are connected with the Vala-myth. Likewise passages like 8.45.30, 10.89.7, 8.64.5, 10.138.2, 2.23.18, 5.45.3, 2.24.2, 2.15.8, 10.68.7, 10.68.3, 1.130.3, 4.21.8 are not clear.

2 *apām atiṣṭhad dharuṇahvaram tamo 'ntar vṛtrasya jaṭharaṣu parvataḥ*. The first pāda is not clear. The translation of Oldberg is: "Der Wasser in ihren Fundamenten schwankende Finsternis der Berg befand sich in Vṛtras Bauche." (the waters in their fundamentally wavering darkness, the mountain found itself in the belly of Vṛtra). Geldner translated as "Es herrschte Finsternis, die den Urgrund der Gewässer zu Fall brachte. Der Berg (geriet) in den Leib des Vṛtra."

3 The word *dhamani* is understood by all the Western scholars wrongly. Lüder has already explained in AO XIII. 90 that the word never means anything else than the vein. It can thus here too mean the water-vein which splits up or bursts out while they are in contact with the vajra. To this clarification prath and ni as connected with this also confirm. With this it signifies the down-ward flowing water. Sāyaṇa states that the subject of this pāda is *stotāraḥ* or the Maruts. Lüdwig, Oldenberg, Geldner decide for the latter. But, about the Maruts there is no talk whatsoever in the whole topic. The extensive water-veins can be of the mountain as also the motherly streams be of the mountain. The waters, which Indra sets free are also those in 8.89.4, viz. *āpaḥ mātaraḥ*.

Lüder considers the whole passage from Verses 7-10 as connected only with the fight with Vṛtra. The subject of *indreṣitām dhamaniṃ papratan ni* in 8^d, which undoubtedly points to the myth of Vṛtra, cannot go with the mother mentioned before on account of the masculine gender, *Vardhayantaḥ* occurring in 8^c, but must be applied to the mountain mentioned in 8^a. This must be therefore the subject of *akrān* in 8^b. That *paravataḥ* in 8^a is the same as *paravataḥ* in 7^d appears to be self-evident.¹ *Ni parvatoḥ sādi aprayuchan* in 8^a is significantly the repetition of *aransta parvatascid sariṣyan* in 7^d. One cannot separate 7^c from 7^d and connect it with some other myth. We can only accept the text as it is. That according to the conception of the poet of this hymn that during the fight with Vṛtra, in the first instance, the mountain containing water moves freely, is then made firm, and the earth itself becomes extended, probably with view to receive the mountain. If so, then to what extent this conception can be applied to other hymns is a matter that can be undertaken for investigation at a later stage.

The heavenly ocean, in which the water, Soma and the stars are found to be existing, is enclosed in a rock, a sort of stony receptacle. That is why Indra constantly fights with the mountain during the Vṛtra fight. It is the stony enclosure of the Heavenly water which Vṛtra has swallowed up. The same mountain is Vala from which the dawn was set free. In the myth, in which Indra is connected with Vṛtra, the most striking feature that may be noted is that Indra fights with the mountain and the consequence is the release of waters. If the time of this fight can be exactly fixed, then this will go a long way in solving the puzzle of this Indra-Vṛtra fight. That Indra becomes successful in killing Vṛtra and is able to release the waters that were encompassed by him shows that the fight is for the release of waters. For eight months the waters are held up high in the sky and it is only during the rainy season that the waters are released. It is also known that Indra is the god of the rain. In the *Rg-veda* there are three Sūktas connected with Parjanya. Herein the god that is connected with Parjanya is Indra. Later on, also Indra is connected with the rains. The rainy cloud floating and flowing in the sky does appear to the poetic eye like the mountain. So, it is no wonder that Indra releases the water held up by the watery cloud looking like the mountain and gets the release of the rainy water. The fight with Śambara and others also can be understood with this

1 The repetition of the words employed at the end of a stanza and at the beginning of the next following stanza is so usual in the Veda that it can be looked upon and characterised as deliberate stylistic peculiarity. cf. 2 ukthaiḥ, 3 uktheṣu, 3 śubhrah, 4 śubhram, 6 hari, 7 hari, 7 parvataḥ 8 parvataḥ, 8 indreṣitām, 9 indrah, 9 vṛṣṇoḥ asya vajrāt, 10 vṛṣṇo asya vajrah, 10 pāvān, 11 pibāpibā, 11 indram, 12 indra, 12 syāma, 13 syāma, 13 asme....rāsi, 14 rāsi.... asme, 14 mandasānaḥ, 15 mandasānaḥ, 15 tarutra.....brhadbhiḥ, 16 brhantaḥ....tarutra, 18 dasyuḥ, 19 dasyūn, 19 tritāya, 20 tritasya.

point in view. It is during the rainy season of four months that the rays of the Sun are also withheld by the clouds. The cows released from the cave of Vala by Br̥haspati can be also evaluated from this point. The waters or the rays of the Sun withheld by the mountain-like cloud are released by Indra. Thus, the place of the fight of Indra with Vṛtra is the sky high up above.

ŚLOKAS AND GĀTHĀS QUOTED IN THE BRĀHMAṆA LITERATURE

By

P. H. JOSHI, Baroda

Ślokas and *Gāthās* are quoted as an authority at many places in the *Brāhmaṇas*. Some of them are found in the existing Vedic *Samhitās*. The original sources of others are completely lost.

It is necessary to collect & study all the *Ślokas* and *Gāthās* quoted authoritatively in the *Brāhmaṇas* to have an idea about the *Śloka* and *Gāthā* literature existing in Vedic times.

With this object in view I am collecting *Ślokas* and *Gāthās* quoted in the *Brāhmaṇas*. *Ślokas* and *Gāthās* are traditionally known as *mantras*. However, they are differentiated from *ṛks* and *yajuses* in the *Brāhmaṇas*. The *ṛks* are quoted with the words like ‘*tadetad ṛcābhyuktam*’, *yajuses* with ‘*yathaiva yajus tathaiva bandhuḥ*’, *ślokas* with ‘*tadeṣa śloko bhavati*’ and *gāthās* with ‘*tadetad gāthayābhigītam*’. In this first article the *Ślokas* and *Gāthās* quoted in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* are given. A detailed study of *Śloka* and *Gāthā* literature will be given at the end.

॥ श्रीः ॥

1. *Ślokas* and *Gāthās* quoted in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.]

१. ॥ माध्यन्दिन-शतपथब्राह्मणस्थाः श्लोकाः गाथाश्च ॥

(a) *Ślokas* :—

तदेष श्लोकोऽभ्युक्तः ।

(१) तद्वै स प्राणोऽभवत् महान् भूत्वा प्रजापतिः ॥
भुजो भुजिष्यावित्त्वा यत् प्राणान् प्राणयत् पुरि ॥

7.5.1.21

तदेष श्लोको भवति ।

(२) अन्तरं मृत्योरमृतं मृत्यावमृतमाहितम् ॥
मृत्युर्विवस्वन्तं वस्ते मृत्योरात्मा विवस्वति ॥

10.5.2.4.

तदेष श्लोको भवति ।

(३) धन्वे भाल्यपश्रितो रसानां संक्षरेऽमृतः ॥

10.5.2.18.

तदेष श्लोको भवति ।

- (४) विद्यया तदारोहन्ति यत्र कामाः परागताः ॥
न तत्र दक्षिणा यन्ति नाविद्वांसस्तपस्विनः ॥

10.5.4.16.

तदप्येते श्लोकाः ।

- (५) किंस्विद् विद्वान् प्रवसत्यग्निहोत्री गृहेभ्यः ।
कथं स्विदस्य काव्यं कथं सन्ततो अग्निभिः ॥ ५ ॥
- (६) यो जविष्ठो भुवनेषु स विद्वान् प्रवसन् विदे ॥
तथा तदस्य काव्यं तथा सन्ततो अग्निभिः ॥ ६ ॥
- (७) यत् स दूरं परेत्याथ तत्र प्रमाद्यति ॥
कस्मिन् साऽस्य हुताऽऽहुतिर्गृहे यामस्य जुहति ॥ ७ ॥
- (८) यो जागार भुवनेषु विश्वा जातानि योऽविभः ॥
तस्मिन् साऽस्य हुताऽऽहुतिर्गृहे यामस्य जुहति ॥ ८ ॥

11.3.1.5-8.

तदपि श्लोकं गायन्ति ।

- (९) आचार्यो गर्भी भवति हस्तमाधाय दक्षिणम् ॥
तृतीयस्यां स जायते सावित्र्या सह ब्राह्मणः ॥

11.5.4.12.

तदेतेऽभि श्लोकाः ।

- (१०) चतुर्भिः सैन्धवैर्युक्तैर्धीरा व्यजहुस्तमः ॥
विद्वांसो ये शतक्रतु देवाः सन्नमतन्वत ॥
- (११) पवर्तुं शक्नेव हनूनि कल्पयन्नहोरन्तौ व्यतिषजन्त धीराः ॥
न दानवा यज्ञियं तन्तुमेषां विजानीमो विततं मोहयन्ति नः ॥
- (१२) पूर्वस्याहः परिशिषन्ति कर्म तदुत्तरेणाभि वितन्वतेऽह्ना ॥
दुर्विज्ञानं काव्यं देवतानां सोमाः सोमैर्व्यतिषक्ताः प्लवन्ते ॥
- (१३) समानान् सदमुक्षन्ति हयान् काष्ठभृतो यथा ॥
पूर्णान् परिष्ठुतः कुम्भान् जनमेजयसादने ॥

11.5.5.12-13.

- (१४) यद् बालाके त्रिवृदेति सर्वमन्योन्यमभिसम्पद्यमानम् ॥
कथं स्विद् यज्ञः पुरुषः प्रजापतिरन्योऽन्यं नातिरिच्यन्त एते ॥ १ ॥
- (१५) यदूर्ध्वाः स्तोमा अनुयन्ति यज्ञमभ्यावर्तं सामग्निः कल्पमानाः ॥
कथं स्विद् ते पुरुषमाविशन्ति कथं प्राणैः सयुजो भवन्ति ॥ २ ॥

- (१६) प्रायणीयोऽतिरात्रश्चतुर्विंशमहश्चत्वारोऽभिप्लवाः पृष्ठ्य इत्येते ॥
कथं स्विन्ते ते पुरुषमाविशन्ति कथं प्राणैः सयुजो भवन्ति ॥ ३ ॥
- (१७) अभिजिता स्वरसामानोऽभिकृता उभयतो विषुवन्तमुपयन्ति ।
कथं स्विन्ते ते पुरुषमाविशन्ति कथं प्राणैः सयुजो भवन्ति ॥ ४ ॥
- (१८) त्रिवृत्प्रायाः सप्तदशाभिकृतास्त्रयस्त्रिंशान्ताश्चतुरहारेण ॥
कथं स्विन्ते ते पुरुषमाविशन्ति कथं प्राणैः सयुजो भवन्ति ॥ ५ ॥
- (१९) शिरस्त्रिवृत् पञ्चदशोऽस्य ग्रीवा उर आहुः सप्तदशाभिकृतम् ॥
एकविंशमुदरं कल्पयन्ति पार्श्वे पशूस्त्रिणवैनाभिकृते ॥ ६ ॥
- (२०) अभिप्लवा उभयतोऽस्य बाहू पृष्ठ्यं पृष्ठ्य इति धीरा वदन्ति ॥
अनूकमस्य चतुरहारेण संवत्सरे ब्राह्मणाः कल्पयन्ति ॥ ७ ॥
- (२१) कर्णावस्याभिजिद् विश्वजिच्चाक्ष्या बाहुः स्वरसामाऽभिकृते ॥
नस्यं प्राणं विषुवन्तमाहुर्गौआयुषी प्राणावेताववाञ्चौ ॥ ८ ॥
- (२२) अङ्गान्यस्य दशरात्रमाहुर्मुखं महाव्रतं संवत्सरे ब्राह्मणाः कल्पयन्ति ॥
सर्वस्तोम सर्वसामानमेतं संवत्सरमध्यात्मं प्रविष्टम् ॥
- (२३) समं धीर आत्मना कल्पयित्वा ब्रध्नस्यास्ते विष्टपेऽजातशोकः ॥ ९ ॥

12.3.1.1-9.

तदेष श्लोकोऽभ्युक्तः ।

- (२४) श्रमादन्यत्र परिवर्तमानस्तिष्ठन्नासीनो यदि वा स्वप्नपि ॥
अहोरात्राभ्यां पुरुषः समेन कतिकृत्वः प्राणिति चाप चानिति ॥

12.3.2.7.

Gopatha Brāhmaṇa 1.5.5.

तदेष श्लोकः प्रत्युक्तः ।

- (२५) शतं शतानि पुरुषः समेनाष्टौ शता यन्मितं तद्वदन्ति ।
अहोरात्राभ्यां पुरुषः समेन तावत्कृत्वः प्राणिति चाप चानिति ॥

12.3.2.8.

तदपि भूमिः श्लोकं जगौ ।

- (२६) न मा मर्त्यः कश्चन दातुमर्हति विश्वकर्मन् भौवन मन्द आसिथ ॥
उपमंक्ष्यति स्या सलिलस्य मध्ये मृषैष ते सङ्गरः कश्यपाय ॥

13.7.1.15.

*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 8.21.10.**Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra 16.16.3.*

- (२७) यत् सप्तान्नानि मेधया तपसाऽजनयत् पिता ॥
एकमस्य साधारणं द्वे देवानभाजयत् ॥

- (२८) त्रीण्यात्मनेऽकुरुत पशुभ्य एकं प्रायच्छत् ॥
तस्मिन् सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितं यच्च प्राणिनि यच्च न ॥
- (२९) कस्मात्तानि न क्षीयन्ते अद्यमानानि सर्वदा ॥
यो वै तामक्षितिं वेद सोऽन्नमति प्रतीकेन ॥
- (३०) स देवानपि गच्छति स उर्जमुपजीवति ॥

इति श्लोकाः ।

14.4.3.1.

अथैष श्लोको भवति ।

- (३१) यतश्चोदेति सूर्यः अस्तं यत्र च गच्छति ॥
तं देवाश्चकिरे धर्मं स एवाद्य स उ श्वः ॥

14.4.3.34.

यतः सूर्य उदेति

Atharvaveda 10.8.16.

तदेष श्लोको भवति ।

- (३२) अर्वाग्विलश्चमस ऊर्ध्वबुध्नस्तस्मिन् यशो निहितं विश्वरूपम् ॥
तस्यासत ऋषयः सप्त तीरे वागष्टमी ब्रह्मणा संविदाना ॥

14.5.2.4.

तिर्थग्विल

Atharvaveda 10.8.9.

Nirukta-12.38.

तान् हैतैः श्लोकैः पप्रच्छ ।

- (३३) यथा वृक्षो वनस्पतिस्तथैव पुरुषोऽमृषा ॥
तस्य पर्णानि लोमानि त्वगस्योत्पाटिका बहिः ॥
- (३४) त्वच एवास्य रुधिरं प्रस्यन्दि त्वचं उत्पटः ॥
तस्मात् तदा तुष्णात् प्रैति रसो वृक्षादिवाहतात् ॥
- (३५) मांसान्यस्य शकराणि किनाटं स्नाव तस्मिन् ॥
अस्थीन्यन्तरतो दारुणि मज्जा मज्जोपमा कृता ॥
- (३६) यद् वृक्षो वृक्कणो रोहति मूलान् नवतरः पुनः ॥
मर्त्यः स्विन् मृत्युना वृक्कणः कस्मात् मूलात् प्ररोहति ॥
- (३७) रेतस इति मा वोचत जीवतस्तत् प्रजायते ॥
जात एव न जायते को न्वेनं जनयेत् पुनः ॥
- (३८) धानारुह उ वै वृक्षोऽन्यतः प्रेत्य सम्भवः ॥
यत् समूलमुद् वृहेयुर्वृक्षं न पुनराभवेत् ॥
- (३९) मर्त्यः स्विन् मृत्युना वृक्कणः कस्मान् मूलात् प्ररोहति ॥
विज्ञानमानन्दं ब्रह्म रातेर्दातुः परायणम् ॥
तिष्ठमानस्य तद्विदः ॥

14.6.9.30-34.

तदप्येते श्लोकाः ।

- (४०) स्वप्नेन शारीरमभिप्रहत्यासुप्तः सुप्तानभिचाकशीति ॥
शुक्रमादाय पुनरैति स्थानं हिरण्मयः पौरुष एकहंसः ॥
- (४१) प्राणेन रक्षन्नपरं कुलायं बहिष्कुलायादमृतश्चरित्वा ॥
स ईयते अमृतो यत्र कामं हिरण्मयः पौरुष एकहंसः ॥
- (४२) स्वप्नान्त उच्चावचमीयमानो रूपाणि देवः कुरुते वहूनि ॥
उतेव स्त्रीभिः सह मोदमानो जक्षदुतेवाऽपि भयानि पश्यन् ॥
- (४३) आराममस्य पश्यन्ति न तं कश्चन पश्यति ॥

14.7.1.12-15.

तदेष श्लोको भवति ।

- (४४) तदेव सत् तत् सह कर्मणैति लिङ्गं मनो यत्र निषक्तमस्य ॥
प्राप्यान्तं कर्मणस्तस्य यत् किञ्चेह करोत्ययम् ॥
- (४५) तस्माल्लोकात् पुनरैत्यस्मै लोकाय कर्मणे ॥

14.7.2.8.

तदेष श्लोको भवति ।

- (४६) यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा येऽस्य हृदि श्रिताः ॥
अथ मर्त्योऽमृतो भवत्यत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुते ॥

14.7.2.9.

Kaṭhopaniṣad 6.14, 15^c.

तदप्येते श्लोकाः ।

- (४७) अणुः पन्था वितरः पुराणो मां स्पृष्टोऽनुवित्तो मयैव ॥
तेन धीरा अपियन्ति ब्रह्मविद उत्क्रम्य स्वर्गं लोकमितो विमुक्ताः ॥
- (४८) तस्मिन् शुक्लमुत नीलमाहुः पिङ्गलं हारितं लोहितं च ॥
एष पन्था ब्रह्मणा हानुवित्तस्तेनैति ब्रह्मवितैजसः पुण्यकृच्च ॥
- (४९) अन्धं तमः प्रविशन्ति येऽसम्भृतिमुपासते ॥
ततो भूय इव ते तमो य उ सम्भूत्यां रताः ॥

M. Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā 40.9.

Īśāvāsyopaniṣad 9.

- (५०) असुर्या नाम ते लोका अन्धेन तमसाऽऽवृताः ॥
तांस्ते प्रेत्यापिगच्छन्त्यविद्रांसोऽबुधा जनाः ॥

M. Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā 40.3.

Īśāvāsyopaniṣad 3.

अनन्दा नाम ते लोका

Kaṭhopaniṣad 1.3a.

- (५१) तदेव सन्तस्तदु तद्भवामो न चेदवेदी महती विनष्टिः ॥
ये तद्विदुरमृतास्ते भवन्त्यथेतरे दुःखमेवोपयन्ति ॥
- (५२) आत्मानं चेद् विजानीयादयमस्मीति पूरुषः ॥
किमिच्छन् कस्य कामाय शरीरमनुसञ्चरेत् ॥
- (५३) यस्यानुवितः प्रतिबुद्ध आत्माऽस्मिन् सन्देहे गहने प्रविष्टः ॥
स विश्वकृत् स हि सर्वस्य कर्ता तस्य लोकः स उ लोक एव ॥
- (५४) यदैतमनुपश्यत्यात्मानं देवमञ्जसा ॥
ईशानं भूतभव्यस्य न तदा विचिक्रिस्सति ॥

c—*Kāthopaniṣad* 4.5c.

- (५५) यस्मिन् पञ्च पञ्चजना आकाशश्च प्रतिष्ठितः ॥
तमेव मन्य आत्मानं विद्वान् ब्रह्माभृतोऽभृतम् ॥
- (५६) यस्मादर्वाक् सम्बत्सरोऽहोभिः परिवर्तते ॥
तेह्वा ज्योतिषां ज्योतिरायुर्होपासतेऽभृतम् ॥
- (५७) प्राणस्य प्राणमुत चक्षुषश्चक्षुःश्रोत्रस्य श्रोत्रमन्नस्यान्नं मनसो ये मनो विदुः ॥
ते निचिक्युर्ब्रह्म पुराणमर्थ्यं मनसैवाप्तव्यं नेह नानाऽस्ति किञ्चन ॥
- (५८) मृत्योः स मृत्युमाप्नोति य इह नानेव पश्यति ॥
मनसैवानुदृष्टव्यमेतदप्रमयं ध्रुवम् ॥

ab—*Kāthopniṣad* 4.10c & 11c

- (५९) विरजः पर आकाशादज आत्मा महान् ध्रुवः ॥
तमेव धीरो विज्ञाय प्रज्ञां कुर्वीत ब्राह्मणः ॥
- (६०) नानुध्यायाद् बहून् शह्वान् वाचो विग्लापनं हि तत् ॥

14.7.2.11-23.

(b) *Gāthās* :—

तदेतद् गाथयाभिगीतम् ।

- (१) आसंवीवति धान्यादं हविमणं हरितस्रजम् ॥
आबध्नादश्वं सारङ्गं देवेभ्यो जनमेजयः ॥

13.5.4.2.

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 8.21.3.

Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra 16.9.1.

तदेतद् गाथयाभिगीतम् ।

- (२) पारिक्षिता यजमाना अश्वमेधैः परोऽवरम् ॥
अजहुः कर्म पापकं पुण्याः पुण्येन कर्मणा ॥

13.5.4.3.

Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra 16.9.7.

तदेतद् गाथयाभिगीतम् ।

- (३) अक्षारस्य परः पुत्रोऽश्वं मेध्यमबन्धयत् ॥
हरिष्यनाभः कौसल्यो दिशः पूर्णा अमंहत ॥

13.5.4.4.

Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra 16.9.13.

तदेतद् गाथयाभिगीतम् ।

- (४) मरुतः परिवेष्टारो मरुतस्यावसन् गृहे ॥
आविक्षितस्याग्निः क्षत्ता विश्वे देवाः सभासदः ॥

13.5.4.6.

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 8.21.14.

Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra 16.9.16.

Mahābhārata 12.29.18.

तदेतद् गाथयाऽभिगीतम् ।

- (५) अद्वं मेध्यमालभते क्रिवीणामतिपूरुषः ॥
पाञ्चालः परिवकायां सहस्रशतदक्षिणम् ॥

13.5.4.7.

अथ द्वितीयया ।

- (६) सहस्रमासश्रयुता शता च पञ्चविंशतिः ॥
दिक्तो दिक्तः पञ्चालानां ब्राह्मणा या विभेजिरे ॥

13.5.4.8.

तदेतद् गाथायाऽभिगीतम् ।

- (७) चतुर्दश द्वैतवनो राजा संप्रामजिद् हयान् ॥
इन्द्राय वृत्रघ्नेऽबध्नात् तस्माद् द्वैतवनं सरः ॥

13.5.4.9.

तदेतद् गाथयाभिगीतम् ।

- (८) अष्टासप्ततिं भरतो दौःघ्यन्तिर्यमुनामनु ॥
गङ्गायां वृत्रघ्नेऽबध्नात् पञ्च पञ्चाशतं हयान् ॥

13.5.4.11.

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 8.23.5.

अथ द्वितीयया ।

- (९) त्रयस्त्रिंशं शतं राजाऽश्वान् बध्वाय मेध्यान् ॥
सौवृमिनरत्यष्टादन्यानमायान् मायवत्तरः ॥

13.5.4.12.

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 8.23.6.

अथ तृतीयया ।

- (१०) शकुन्तला नाडपित्यप्सरा भरतं दधे ॥
परः सहस्रानिन्द्रायाश्वान् मेध्यान् य आहरत् विजित्य पृथिवीं सर्वाम् ॥

13.5.4.13.

अथ चतुर्थ्या ।

- (११) महदद्य भरतस्य न पूर्वे नापरे जनाः ॥
दिनं मर्त्य इव बाहुभ्यां नोदापुः पञ्च मानवाः ॥

13.5.4.14.

Mahābhārata 12.29.48.

महाकर्मे भरतस्य

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 8.23.7.

तदेतद् गाथयाभिगीतम् ।

- (१२) याज्ञतुरे यजमाने ब्रह्माण ऋषभे जनाः ॥
अश्वमेधे धनं लब्ध्वा विभजन्ते स्म दक्षिणाः ।

13.5.4.15.

तदेतद् गाथयाभिगीतम् ।

- (१३) सात्रासाहे यजमानेऽश्वमेधेन तौर्वशा ॥
उदीरते त्रयस्त्रिंशाः षट्सहस्राणि वर्मिणाम् ॥

13.5.4.16.

ऋषभेधेन यजति

Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra 16.9.10.

अथ द्वितीयया ।

- (१४) षट् षट् षड्ढा सहस्राणि यज्ञे कोकपितुस्तव ॥
उदीरते त्रयस्त्रिंशाः षट्सहस्राणि वर्मिणाम् ॥

13.5.4.17.

अथ तृतीयया ।

- (१५) सात्रासाहे यजमाने पाञ्चाले राक्षि सुस्रजि ॥
अमाद् यदिन्द्रः सोमेनातृप्यन् ब्राह्मणा धनैः ॥

13.5.4.18.

तदेतद् गाथयाभिगीतम् ।

- (१६) शतानीकः समन्तासु मेध्यं सात्राजितो ह्यम् ॥
आदत्त यज्ञं काशीनां भरतः सत्वतामिव ॥

13.5.4.21.

अथ द्वितीयया ।

- (१७) श्वेतं समन्तासु वशं चरन्तं शतानीको धृतराष्ट्रस्य मेध्यम् ॥
आदाय सह्वा दशमास्यमश्वं शतानीको गोविनतेन ह ईजे ॥

13.5.4.22.

अथ चतुर्थ्या ।

- (१८) महदद्य भरतानां न पूर्वे नापरे जनाः ॥
दिवं मर्त्य इव पक्षाभ्यां नोदापुः सप्त मानवाः ॥

13.5.4.23.

[To be continued]

GOD KUBERA IN THE RĀMĀYAṆA¹

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Introductory

A salient feature of the epic mythology is the emergence of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva as the three supreme gods. It is in this period again that the great vedic gods like Indra, Prajāpati, Varuṇa etc. occupy the positions less exalted than the ones they enjoy in the vedic age. Similarly some new gods and goddesses e.g. Gaṇeśa, Skanda, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī also attain a comparative importance. And we come across a new phenomenon in the mythology of epics viz. the presentation of the old vedic figures in a new and altogether different perspective. Kubera, who, in the vedic literature, is a malefic spirit and a god of robbers and evil doers, is an apt instance of this phenomenon; for, as we shall discuss below, Kubera shows traces of the process of his gradual divinisation, as he verges on the divinity and is looked upon as beneficent in nature.

Kubera in the Vedic Literature

It would be interesting to observe the picture of Kubera as it emerges from the vedic literature, as it will enable us to discuss the nature and position of him, in the pantheon of the gods in the Rāmāyaṇa.

The earliest allusions to Kubera are met with in the *Atharvaveda Brāhmaṇas* and *Āraṇyakas*. He is looked upon as the god of hiding in the Av². In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (SB.) he appears as a god of robbers and evil spirits.³ A Vaiśravaṇa Yāga is laid down in his honour⁴ and he is described as the embodiment of concealment in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*⁵ (TA). Similarly in the Sūtras, he is mentioned at a few places. He is invoked with Īśāna in the marriage ritual⁶ and his hosts are said to have plagued the children.⁷ He is also invoked for the fulfilment of desires⁸. And in the *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra* (ADS) he is viewed as a mortal turned into a god by the virtue of his austerities.⁹ *Manusmṛti* makes similar allusion to him.¹⁰

1 All references are according to the G.P.P. Edition of the Rām.

2 AV. 8.10.28.

3 SB. 13.4. 3-10.

4 Vide 'Kubera,' by K. V. S. Iyengar. Annamalai Com. Vol.

5 Vide 'Kubera' by V. M. Bedekar. J.G.J.R.I Vol. 25.

6 SGS. 1.11.7.

7 HGS. 2.1.3.7.

8 HGS. 2.1.3.7.

9 ADS. 3.11.

10 MS. 13.42.

Vaiśravaṇa, Mahārāja, Kameśvara are his vedic epithets. Thus it would be seen that in the early vedic literature (e.g. AV., SB.) he appears as a malefic spirit and a god of robbers while in the later literature (e.g. TA., Gr. Sūtras) his beneficent aspect is also noticed, as there is a yāga in honour and invocation to him in the wedding ritual. And his divinisation is hinted at in ADS. and the MS. Thus it will be interesting to note the picture of Kubera in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which reveals somewhat middle stage (the Mb and *Purāṇas* being the last) of his development.

Kubera in the Rāmāyaṇa

His epithets : Epithets of a god in the mythology have a bearing on the personality, appearance of the god, his functions and conception in general. Hence it would be interesting to note the epithets of Kubera. He is often alluded to as Vaiśravaṇa,¹¹ Ekākṣipīṅgala,¹² Dhaneśa,¹³ Dhaneśvara,¹⁴ Dhanada,¹⁵ Yakṣarāṭ,¹⁶ Rājā,¹⁷ Mahārāja,¹⁸ Naiṣṭapaṅgava,¹⁹ Bhūteśa,²⁰ Naravāhana²¹ etc. And by these epithets his ugly appearance, lordship of wealth, overlordship of Yakṣas, Guhyakas, Bhūtas and association with naiṣṭas etc. are hinted at.

Appearance, Weapons and Equipment of Kubera

Kubera reveals a few traits of his personality. His very name Kubera signifies his ugly body according to *Śabdakalpadrūma* (*Kuberaḥ Kuśarīratvāt nāmnā tenaiva saṅkītaḥ*).²² Similarly as V. M. Bedekar has observed that the name Kubera is derived from the root kub to conceal, to cover in the *Uṇādi-sūtras*.²³ And according to Schroeder,²⁴ whom he quotes, his misshapeness is explained due to the fact that he lived as an earth spirit in the hollows and clefts of earth. Further Mayrhofer²⁵ quoted by him explains the resemblance of the word Kubera to Khujja (Pali), Khuja, Kubra (Marathi). Thus, it may be remarked, the deformed body is a distinctive trait of his appearance.

11 Rām. 7-3- 6-11-72

12 Ibid. 7-13-31

13 Ibid. 7-13-11

14 Ibid. 7-11-51

15 Ibid. 7-3-22

16 Ibid. 4-45-23

17 Ibid. 4-43-24

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid. 7-11-22

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid. 3-48-5

22 Vide 'Kubera', V. M. Bedekar, JGJR, Vol. 25

23 Ibid. and also Uṇādi. 62

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.

Further ekākṣipīṅgalatva occurs as his prominent trait in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and how his right eye became tawny (piṅgala) is explained in a myth at the *Rāmāyaṇa*.²⁶ 7.13 which describes that as he constantly gazed at Umā, by her wrath his right eye was burnt and became tawny²⁷. It appears that this myth is an attempt to *whitewash* his deformity by tracing it to the wrath of Umā and as we shall see below this contention may be supported by the latter part of this myth²⁸ which seeks to explain his friendship with Īśāna (Śiva) hinted at in the Gr. Sūt. Similarly as we shall see later on his lordship of wealth etc. are also explained by tracing them to the boons of Brahmā²⁹. Lastly, his epithet 'Viśravaṇa' occurring in the TA. deserves to be noted. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as we shall see now, it is explained as a patronymic name given to him by Brahmā, as he was born of Viśravas³⁰. Yet it may be surmised that this epithet Vaiśravaṇa may be explained as signifying another trait of his deformity viz. *deformed ears*.

Thus, it may be said that the only prominent traits of his appearance, alluded to or indicated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, are his ugly body (indicated by his name), his yellowish right eye and deformed ears (?). In sculptures, however, he is shown as a dwarf, having three legs and only eight teeth³¹. About his ugliness, Dowson³² observes that the name Kuvera, as also the variant Kutānu signifies the vile body referring to his ugliness.

As regards the weapons and equipment of Kubera, the data offered by the *Rāmāyaṇa* is rich in details. Puṣpaka, the celebrated aerial car, is his choicest possession. It is variously alluded to as created by Viśvakarman³³ or by Brahmā³⁴ and lavishly described at many places in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.³⁵ It is said to have been given to him by Brahmā, being pleased with him by his austerities.³⁶ Later, Rāvaṇa is described as snatching it away from him after defeating him in a battle³⁷. Vibhīṣaṇa, after the death of Rāvaṇa, is said to have placed it at the disposal of Rāma, for his homeward journey to Ayodhyā with Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa etc.³⁸ Lastly, Rāma is described as asking it to go to Kubera, on reaching

26 Ibid.

27 Rām. 7.13.21-24

28 Ibid. ditto

29 Ibid. 7.13.16-19

30 Ibid. 7.3.7-8

31 Indian Mythology, Veronica Ions, p. 84

32 Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, p. 173

33 Rām. 5.8.2; 6.121.27

34 Ibid. 6.127.30.36

35 Ibid. 5.8.1-8, 5.9.10-18

36 Ibid. 7.3.19

37 Ibid. 7.15.35

38 Ibid. 6.121.23-30

Ayodhyā.³⁹ It is viewed as an aerial car, flying in the sky, swift as wind or mind with automotion requiring no pilot as it were⁴⁰.

His epithet Naravāhana⁴¹ (which is of dubious import*) seems to suggest yet his another equipment-palanquin or śibikā borne by men. However, as V. M. Bedekar has observed, śibikā alluded to in Mb. seems to be his weapon, probably a mace.⁴² His mace is referred to at Rām. 7.15.17. Further, at Rām. 7.36 he is said to have granted invulnerability to Hanumat from it. His skill in warfare is hinted at by the epithet 'sarvaśastrabhṛtām varah'.⁴³ Similarly, at Rām. 7.14.15, it is described that Kubera put a very tough struggle against Rāvaṇa and was defeated only when the latter resorted to māyā. His elephant is Sārva-bhauma (TA. 4.43.34).

Household, Council etc. of Kubera

Hopkins' observation,⁴⁴ " Human conditions are reflected in the divine. So the gods have their playgrounds as well as palaces generally on the summit of mountains ", is true in case of Kubera. He has a palace of his own created by Viśvakarman, on the mountain Kailāsa. It is white like the clouds, embellished with gold, surrounded by lake and inhabited by apsaras and therein he is said to be sporting with the guhyakas and the yakṣas⁴⁵.

Caitraratha and Nandana (with Indra) are his favourite groves (Rām. 7.15.34). His forest is alluded to at Rām. 2.91.19.

Original abode of Kubera was Laṅkā which was given to him by his father Viśravas.⁴⁶ But later, when Rāvaṇa requested him to vacate it, he left it by the order of his father and chose Kailāsa as his abode.⁴⁷

As a lord of wealth and king of Yakṣas, Kubera has his own councillors, army etc. Maṇibhadra, a great Yakṣa, is his general⁴⁸. Śaṅkha, Padma⁴⁹ etc. (nidhis personified ?) are his councillors.

39 Ibid. 6.127.60-62

40 Ibid. 6.121; 6.127 etc.

41 Rām. 3.48.5.

42 Vide 'Kubera', V. M. Bedekar, JGJRI Vol. 25.

43 Rām. 7.11.27.

44 Epic Mythology p. 59.

45 Rām. 4.43.21-23.

46 Rām. 7.3.

47 Ibid. 7.3.24-27.

48 Ibid. 7.14; 7.15.

49 Ibid. 7.14.

* Commentators explain it as 'one carried by men.' Hopkins : 'One who is borne by spirits.'

Status of Kubera

As remarked above, Kubera is alluded to as the lord and bestower of wealth, the Lokapāla, the lord of Yakṣas and Guhyakas, and also as rājarāja, mahārāja, and deva (only once R. 3.48.21). In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, his positions as a lord of wealth and a lokapāla are traced to the god Brahmā's boons at Ram. 7.3, where he is described as conferring them on him along with the equality with gods, being pleased with him by his austerities. This myth is significant as it reveals that Kubera, who was only an evil spirit in the vedic age, must have been looked upon as a semigod, as a presiding god of wealth in the age of the Rām. and hence the myth seeks to establish him on an equal footing with gods, viewing him as a lokapāla and the lord of wealth through the boon of Brahmā, the great god of the Epic. Kubera, again it may be observed, shows the traces of the transitional stage of his development from a malefic being, to a king and then to a semigod, in the Rām. For his epithets bhūteśa and naiṛtapuṅgava are reminiscent of his vedic nature, while the epithets rājarāja and mahārāja reveal his early humble origin but at one place⁵⁰ is referred to as a god (deva). There are further indications of semi-divinity in the Rām, for he is invoked by Kausalyā, with other gods Brahmā, Agni etc., for the safety of Rāma in his exile, at Rām. 2.25.23. Along with the other gods like Brahmā, Varuṇa, Yama he is present at the fire ordeal of Sītā (Ram. 6.117.2). His place of worship is seen by Rāma in the hermitage of Agastya (Ram. 3.12.18). Similarly, another indication of his semi-divinity is the power of curse he wields. He is said to have cursed the gandharva Tumburu to be born as demon (Virādha) at Ram. 3.4.16-19. Similarly, like other gods he possesses the power of bestowing boons, because he is described giving a boon of invulnerability to Hanūmat from his weapons at Rām. 7.36.17.

Genealogy of Kubera

The most striking feature of the genealogy of Kubera (in the Ram.) is that on one hand his origin is traced to the god Brahmā describing him as Brahmā's great-grand-son and on the other his relationship is established with Rāvaṇa-kula at Rām. 7.2.3 and 7.9 which narrate the account of Rāvaṇa-kula. Here it is stated that Pulastya, the son of Brahmā-Prajāpati, married Tṛṇabindu's daughter who gave birth to Viśravas. Viśravas was married to Devavarṇinī of whom Kubera was born.⁵¹ Viśravas married Kaikasī. Her sons were Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarna, Vibhiṣaṇa etc. and daughter was Śūrpaṇakhā.⁵² Again it is in this account (Ram. 7.3) that Brahmā is said to have given the epithet Vaiśravāṇa to Kubera as he was born of Viśravas. Thus, the account is of great interest, for it is unique in two aspects: i) origin of Kubera which is traced to Brahmā and his relation

⁵⁰ Ibid. 3.48.21.

⁵¹ Ibid. 7.2.6-33; 7.3.1-5.

⁵² Ibid. 7.9.

with Rāvaṇa-kula. And in the earlier literature as well as in the Mb. (except *Rāmopākhyāna*) and *Purāṇas* nowhere is he described as related with Brahmā and Rāvaṇa-kula. Hence it may be surmised that as the importance of Kubera began to grow in the course of time, he must have been looked upon as a demigod at least, hence his origin was traced to god Brahmā, to glorify him, but at the same time his earlier nature as an evil spirit was not lost sight of, as is indicated by his epithets bhūteśa and naiṛtapuṅgava. And he was connected with Rāvaṇa-kula. In this connection Camille Bulcke observes :⁵³

महाभारत में रावण का उल्लेख केवल रामकथा के प्रसंग में आया है। किंतु घनेश, वैश्रवण आदि का उल्लेख स्वतंत्र रूपसे असंख्य स्थलों पर आया है। इससे यह अनुमान दृढ़ हो जाता है कि वैश्रवण अथवा कुबेर रावणकथासे पूर्व ही विख्यात हो चुके थे। बाद में ही रावण के साथ उनका संबंध प्रस्थापित किया गया है।

Character-traits of Kubera

Kubera seems to have cast off his malefic traits as evil spirit, in the Rām. He appears in the Rām. as a beneficent god, for he is invoked for safety of Rāma by Kausalyā (Ram. 2.25.23). Similarly, a few traits of his pacific nature are observed in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. For instance, when Rāvaṇa asked him to vacate the city of Laṅkā, through the message of Prahasta, he is said to have vacated it following the advice of Viśravas.⁵⁴ Further, the very association of Yakṣas and Guhyakas, who are benefic spirits, with him is an indication of his benefic nature.

Relations with other gods

Kubera is mentioned in relationship with only two gods Brahmā and Śiva. And as observed above the origin of Kubera is traced to Brahmā who is thus his great-grand-father. He owes his positions as a lokapāla and lord of wealth to the boons of Brahmā. This association of Kubera with the god Brahmā is peculiar to the *Rāmāyaṇa* only as seen above. It appears that the purpose of the myth (at Rām. 7.3) describing his birth, his name Viśravas given to him by Brahmā and the positions he enjoys by Brahmā's boons, is to glorify him who was looked upon in an earlier period as a malefic spirit. As regards his relation with Śiva, it can be said that his association with Iśāna (Śiva) alluded to in the *Gṛhya sūtras* is continued in the *Rāmāyaṇa* where his friendship with Śiva is described (at Ram. 7.13). As seen above this myth describing his ekākṣi-piṅgalatva has a purpose viz. to whitewash his hideous appearance by tracing it to the wrath of Umā.

53. रामकथा—उत्पत्ति और विकास

54. Rām. 7.11

Relation of Kubera with the Rāma-Kathā

Though alluded to in almost all the Books of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Kubera is not connected with the *Rāma-Kathā*, even in a superficial way. He is invoked by Kausalyā for the safety of Rāma in exile. His place of worship is seen by Rāma in Agastya's hermitage. He appears along with other gods to witness the ordeal of Sītā and reprimands him for her neglect (Rām. 6.117.3-10). Finally, he sends his aerial car Puṣpaka to Rāma,⁵⁴ though he had sent it back to him after his return to Ayodhyā.⁵⁵ Thus, he does not play any vital role in the development of the Rāma-story. However, he is mostly referred to in Bk. VII, in the accounts of genealogy, and previous exploits of Rāvaṇa.

General Remarks

Having taken the survey of the data about Kubera in the vedic literature and the *Rāmāyaṇa* it is observed that the origin of Kubera is humble and shrouded in mystery. Hopkins has suggested the comparison of Kubera, his name and conception, with the Greek god Kubeiros and observed that he is a mountain spirit of hiding propensities.⁵⁶ Dr. V. M. Bedekar, on account of his association with Śiva, his liking for mountains and hiding, thinks that he was either an earth spirit or a misshapen attendant of Śiva.⁵⁷ However, it must be said that these theories do not explain the manuṣya-dharmatva of Kubera (e.g. he is described as manuṣya-dharma. ADS). And similarly, it remains unsolved how this god or spirit of hidings came to be associated with the lordship of wealth, which is his most prominent trait in the *Epics* and *Purāṇas*. Hence it may be surmised that he must have been originally an aboriginal chief of robbers who was latter transformed into an aboriginal god of wealth and thus worshipped. And later, with the catholic outlook of Aryans, he was given a place in the pantheon of Aryan gods, first as a semi-god as observed in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and later as full-fledged god. If this explanation be accepted, his love for hidings, mountains, and his malefic traits e.g. association with evil spirits like bhūtas, naiṛtas can be explained satisfactorily. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, his transition form from a malefic spirit to a beneficent god is observed. For instance, his epithets bhūteśa, naiṛtapuṅgava, his association with Rāvaṇa-kula are indicative of his earlier malefic nature while his epithets mahārāja, rājarāja, his association with benefic spirits yakṣas, are suggestive of his gradual transformation into a beneficent semi-god. His positions, lokapālatva, lordship of wealth, his equality with gods, his association with Brahmā and Śiva, his powers of boons and curses also suggest the attempts for his semi-divinisation. And in the Mb. the process of his divinisation is complete,

⁵⁴ Ibid. 7.41.7.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 6.127. 60-62

⁵⁶ JAOS Vol. 31

⁵⁷ JGJRI Vol. 25

for there he attains full-fledged divinity by the boon of Brahmā at one place (Mb. 3.274) and from Indra at another (Mb. 5.16.33-34, 9.47.28-30).

Worship of Kuberas

We have observed above, that the *Rāmāyaṇa* alludes to Kubera, as god invoked for welfare of Rāma by Kansalyā and to his place of worship and that latter in the Mb. and *Purāṇas*, he is viewed as a full-fledged god. Yet it is very strange that he is not worshipped at present by those who seek prosperity nor is there any temple erected in his honour. Similarly though alluded severally as dhanada (bestower of wealth), we do not come across any myths, indicative of his generosity. Hence Thomas observes "Kubera is the god of wealth, but he is better known for his acquisitive tendencies than for his generosity and hence persons desirous of wealth do not worship him. He does not seem to care for praises or oblations but is content with his own prosperity and splendour."⁵⁸

58 Epics, Myths and Legends of India, p. 30.

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KALPALATĀVIVEKA ON ABHINAVABHĀRATĪ

By

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The text of the Abhinavabhāratī (A.Bh.), the commentary by Abhinavagupta on Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra (NS) is corrupt and, therefore, obscure in many places. The commentary on the Sixth *Adhyāya*, though better preserved, than the commentaries on other chapters, has still a great deal of obscurity on account of its corrupt readings.¹ Many reputed Scholars have tried their best to improve the commentary. *The Aesthetic Experience According to Abhinavagupta* by R. Gnoli and *Aesthetic Rapture* by Masson and Patwardhan are two of the recent works which have tried to render considerable help in understanding the Rasādhyāya, Chapter VI of Bharata's NS and the A.Bh. on it. In a series of three articles I made attempts to restore the text of fifty-five passages of the A.Bh. mainly with the help of Hemacandra's *Kāvyaṇuśāsana* and the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra both of whom have made liberal use of the A.Bh. in their works.² The *Kalpalatāviveka* (KLV) of an anonymous author has incorporated many long passages from the *Dhvanyāloka* (D. Al), the Locana Commentary on it and the A.Bh. I have shown in a separate paper, entitled "*Abhinavabhāratī Ch. VII Recovered?*" how the KLV has preserved *in toto* a major portion of the A.Bh. on Ch.³ VII. In this paper I am attempting to restore the text of A.Bh., Ch. VI with the help of the KLV which offers comments on some of its difficult passages, and renders them intelligible, and incidentally, I would correct a few mis-readings in the KLV with the help of the A.Bh.

I अन्यच्च स्थायिनां ये विभावादयोऽभिहितास्तैरेव योगे स्थायिनः स्फीता भवेयू रसा स्युरित्यर्थः ।

अयोगे तु स्थायिन एवेति किं रसावस्थापरपर्यायायां स्फीतदशायां पुनर्विभावादिप्रतिपादनेन ।

— KLV p 303, 11 13-15

The text of the A.Bh, which is commented here upon, reads : स्थितदशायां लक्षणान्तरवैयर्थ्यात् (Vol. I p. 272 1.14). The reading 'Sthita' makes no sense. The KLV reading 'Sphīta' which directly yields the sense 'in its intensified state' is highly superior and, seems convincingly genuine.

2 बाडवेनेव इति । अस्य पूर्वमर्द्धम् ।

विबुद्धात्माप्यगाधोऽपि दुरन्तोऽपि महानपि ।

एतद्वाक्यं कृत्यारावणे रामेण स्वशोकस्याभिधायकमुक्तं नाभिनयः ।

—KLV p. 304, 11 17-19

1 GOS No. XXXVI, Vol I, 1956 (vide pp. 22-23)

2 Journal of Oriental Institute Baroda; Vol XIII, No. 2, pp. 120-123, Vol. XIII, No. 4, pp. 372-377 and Vol. XIV No. 1 pp. 33-37.

3 L. D. Series No. 17, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9.

This passage confirms that the A. Bh. text cites only the second half of the verse. It further informs us that the verse expressing Rāma's sorrow is drawn from the old Rāma-play *Kṛtyārāvaṇa* (now lost). With reference to this verse R. Gnoli observes in a foot-note : untraced source (Text, p. 4), unidentified stanza" (Translation, p. 30).

3 शोकेन कृतः इति । अस्योत्तरमर्द्धम् ।

हृदयस्फुटनभयार्तैः (? तैः) रोदितुमभ्यर्थ्यते सचिवैः ।

इदं तापसवत्सराजे विनीतदेववाक्यमुदयनगतं शोकमभिधाति नाभिनयः ।

—KLV p. 304, 11 17-20

This passage corroborates the fact that the A. Bh. text cites only the first half of the verse. It further informs us that the verse, giving expression to Udayana's profound sorrow, and forming part of Vinītadeva's speech occurs in the play *Tāpasavatsarāja*. With reference to this verse R. Gnoli observes in a foot-note :

..... This stanza, whose source I have not succeeded in identifying, . . (Text, p. 4), Unidentified stanza (Translation, p. 30).

In the printed text of the *Tāpasavatsarāja* we read

(नेपथ्ये)

देव समाश्वसिहि समाश्वसिहि, समस्ससदु समस्ससदु पिअवअस्सो ।

[समाश्वसतु समाश्वसतु प्रियवयस्यः ।]

विनीतमद्भः—(श्रुत्वा दृष्ट्वा च सकरुणम्) अये कथमागत एव देवः

श्रावितश्च, तथा ह्ययम्—

शोकेन कृतस्तम्भस्तथा स्थितो येन वर्धिताक्रन्दैः ।

हृदयस्फुटनभयार्तैः (रोदितु) मभ्यर्थितस्सचिवैः ॥

अतिकरुणं च वर्तते तदितोऽपस्तस्य कार्यशेषं प्रतियोजयामि ।

—Act II, p. 18

This stanza presents some variant readings :

- 1 श्रुत्वैष विधृतबाष्पः :— Śṛṅgārāprakāśa (Ch XXXII)
as quoted by the editor of the play in a f.n. on p. 19
- शोकेन कृतः स्तम्भः ; KLV p. 304, G.M.
- 2 —योऽनवस्थिताक्रन्दैः —G
—योऽवास्थिताक्रन्दैः ; —M
—येन वर्धिताक्रन्दैः —Hc (-as noted by R. Gnoli, Text, p. 4)
- 3 —मभ्यर्थ्यते सचिवैः '—Hc; KLV

Gnoli's translation of the third *pāda* (by his companions), who, filled with the fear that tears their hearts", however, altogether misses the point. The idea intended to be conveyed is the same as found in Bhayabhūti :

पूरोत्पीडे तडागस्य परीवाहः प्रतिक्रिया ।
शोकक्षोभे च हृदयं प्रलापैरेव धार्यते ॥

—Uttararāmacarita III-29

[When a tank is flooded, an outlet is the only remedy (for preventing the banks from bursting). When agitated by sorrow the heart is sustained only by lamentation.] Rumaṇvān and Vasantaka (the *Vidūṣaka*) the minister and the friend respectively of King Udayana, the Hero, plead with him to take heart and bear the loss of Vāsavadattā his beloved wife (who is believed to be dead). They are extremely worried to find him paralysed by sorrow and standing motionless. They are overpowered by the fear that the King's heart might break if he did not give outlet to his mastering grief. They, therefore, increase their own lamentations and implore the King to weep and thus unburden his mind of the overpowering grief.

4 तस्यैव इति । स्यायिन एव । अस्मिन् इति । अस्मिन्तटेऽयं स्थायी ।

—KLV, p. 305, 1.22

This forms a gloss on तस्यैव हि मुख्यत्वेन 'अस्मिन्नयम्' इति सामाजिकानां प्रतिपत्तिः
—A. Bh. Vol I. p. 275, 11-12-13

Gnoli, however, renders the phrase in a contrary way :

"That man (is) in this feeling". P. 38

Following the KLV. we may translate it as :

"In this (actor) is (being realized) this primary emotion".

5 तदनुकारेऽपि च इति । तच्छब्देन रतिः परामृश्यते । अभ्युपगमोऽयम् । अनुकरणरूपत्वादेव च नामान्तरं प्रवर्तत इति हि तत्रभवन्तः । ततश्च रत्यनुकारे कान्तवेषगत्यादयोऽप्यनुकार्याः । अनुकरणरूपत्वे च तेषां कृतानि नामान्तराणि यैस्ते व्यपदिश्यन्ते मुनिवचनेषु तावन्नोपलभ्यन्त इति भावः ।

—KLV p. 305, 11, 24-27

The text of the A.Bh., on which we have this comment, reads :

तदनुकारेऽपि च क्व नामान्तरं कान्तवेषगत्यनुकरणादौ ।

—P. 276, 11. 6-7

R. Gnoli translates this sentence thus :

And, if even that was a reproduction, then what would be the difference between it and the reproduction of the attire, the walk, etc., of the beloved? He concedes in a foot-note : Text and Translation both doubtful.

p. 41, f.n. 4

R. Gnoli takes *kva nāmāntaraṁ* to mean *kva nāma antaraṁ* whereas '*nāmāntaraṁ*' is, in this context, used to denote '*another name,*' '*a different name*'. Abhinavagupta himself uses this term in precisely this sense twice on the very next page;

केवलमुपायवैलक्षण्यान्नामान्तरं प्रतिपद्यतां दर्शनानुमितिश्रुत्युपमितिप्रतिभानादिनामान्तरवत् ।

A.Bh. p. 277, 11.8-9

The KLV interprets the line : ' For argument's sake we grant your point of view, viz., ' The Erotic sentiment is an imitation (*anukarāṇa*) of the permanent mental state called *rati*. Now in this imitation of *rati* the dress, the gait, etc., of the beloved become *anukārya* (things to be imitated). By virtue of their having the nature of *anukarāṇa* they must have been given different names. But these so-called different names for the dress, the gait, etc., of the beloved are not to be found in the text of Bharata's NS. So your stand that *Rasa* is an imitation or reproduction (*anukāra*, *Anukarāṇa*) of a *sthāyibhāva* such as *rati*, etc., has no basis. "

This interpretation seems to be perfectly all right but for one inconvenient fact. It is true Bharata does not give different names to the imitation of the dress, the gait, the speech, etc., of the beloved, he, however, gives *general* name *Lilā* :

वागङ्गादङ्कारैः शिष्टैः प्रीतिप्रयोजितैर्मधुरैः ।

इष्टजनस्यानुकृतिर्लीला ज्ञेया प्रयोगज्ञैः ॥ -

—NS XXII, 14

Abhinavagupta, however, has himself said in the present paragraph:

कान्तवेषानुकारवद्धि न रामचेष्टितस्यानुकारः ।

—Vol I. p 276, 1. 1.

6 तन्त्र इति । नाट्यतन्त्रम् ।

—KLV, p. 306, 1 10

This comment comes in between प्रामाणिकजनश्च....किमाचक्षाहे । (= प्रामाणिको जनः.... किमस्योच्यते A.Bh. Vol I, p. 276, 1. 17 and रसो न प्रतीयत इति ।

The present text of the A.Bh., however, does not have the reading *tantra* in the present context; it reads :

यत्त्वत्यन्तं नः प्रतीतिवैषम्यप्रसङ्गादि तन् कियदत्रोच्यताम् ।

—Vol I, p. 276, 11. 17-18

Hemacandra, however, reads :

यत्त्वन्यत्तत्प्रतीतिवैषम्यप्रसङ्गादि तन् कियदत्रोच्यताम् ।

—p. 96 1.9

Possibly the KLV might have read यत्त्वन्यत्तन्त्रप्रतीतिवैषम्य

7 Masson and Patwardhan observe :

" On p. 274 (A.Bh. I) Abhinava begins his views, but it is not clear when they end.....it is likely that this refers, not to Abhinavagupta, but to a now lost commentary by Bhatta Tauta on the NS...." Aesthetic Rapture. The following passage from the KLV is very eloquent on this point:

रसो न प्रतीयत इति । रसस्य प्रतीत्यभिव्यक्ती मुख्यतया, उत्पत्तिश्चोपचारेण भट्टतोतस्याभि-
मता । एष एव च पक्षो यथोपाध्यायं शिष्या इत्याचार्यस्य [अभिनवगुप्तस्य] अनुमतोऽत
एव च प्रतीत्यादिव्यतिरिक्तश्च संसारे को भोग इत्यादिना तत्र तत्र रसस्य प्रतीत्यादिकमाचार्यः
स्वयं व्यदस्थापयिष्यतीति शङ्कुकादिमतनिरसनानन्तरमुपाध्यायमतं न प्रदर्शितम् ।

—p. 306, 11. 10-14

According to the KLV, Abhinavagupta held the same views as those of Bhaṭṭa-tauta, his teacher. And that is why he does not separately set forth the view of Bhaṭṭa-tauta after mentioning the views of Śaṅkuka and others. Unless we have a definite clue as to a now lost commentary by Bhaṭṭa-tauta on the NS' it is safer to presume that Abhinavagupta quotes Bhaṭṭa-tauta's views and explanations of the NS from his memory or lecture-notes which he might have taken down when reading the text with him (Bhaṭṭa-tauta).

8 न चोत्साहादिमान् रामः स्मर्यतेऽननुभूतत्वादित्याह—न च तत्त्वतः इति । सरसता इति रसोप-
जनः ।

—KLV, p. 306, 11. 21-22

In explaining the view of Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka and its criticism as presented in the A.Bh., (Vol I., pp. 275-77) the KLV very cleverly and rightly borrows sentences and phrases from an earlier version preserved by Abhinavagupta himself in his *Locana* (pp. 180-190).

The A.Bh. reads :

न च तद्वतो रामस्य स्मृतिः । अनुपलब्धत्वात् ।

—p. 276, 1. 5 (from below)

The KLV reads *tattvatah* so too Hemacandra reads *tattvato* (p. 96 L. 13).

9 The A.Bh. (Vol I, p. 277, 11. 1-2) reads : ' निबिडनिजमोहसङ्कटकारिणा. Masson and Patwardhan observe : The phrase *Nibīḍanijamohasaṅkaṭakāriṇā* on p. 277 of the A.Bh., Vol. I, is puzzling. Perhaps we must read *Saṅkaṭānivr̥ttikāriṇā*. " Gnoli accepts the reading of the *Saṅkaṭatānivarāṇakāriṇā* but remarks *Saṅkaṭakāriṇā*, G.M. equally possible. (Text, p. 10, F.n. 8.) He, however, does not explain how that reading would yield a satisfactory meaning, suited to the context. The fact that the correct reading must have been *Saṅkaṭatānivarāṇa* (or *nivr̥tti*) *Kāriṇā* is vouchsafed by Abhinavagupta's own text in the *Locana* where he reads :

भोगोऽपि न काश्यशब्देन क्रियते, अपि तु घनमोहान्धसङ्कटतानिवृत्तिद्वारेण..... ।

—p. 189.

10 रजस्तमोवैचित्र्यानुविद्धसत्त्वमयनिजचित्त्वभावनिर्वृत्तिविश्रान्तिलक्षणः ।

—KLV p. 307, 11-4-5

The text of Hc (p. 96 11. 22-23) and of the A.Bh. (p. 277 11. 3-4) too in the present context reads *lakṣaṇa*. Dr. Raghavan's emendation (Bhoja's Śrīgāra-prakṣāa, p. 480) as ' *Vilakṣaṇa* ', therefore, seems uncalled for.

II रसः इति । रसः स्यान्न तृतीया गतिरिति संबन्धः ।

—KLV p. 307, 1 20.

The A.Bh. (Vol I. p. 277, 11 9-10) reads : रस इति न तृतीया गतिरस्याम् । Hc (p. 97, 18) too, reads : रस इति न तृतीया गतिः स्यात् । It is, therefore, clear that *gatiḥ syāt* is the genuine reading, and not *gatiṛasyām*.

12 गुणानाम् इति । सत्त्वरजस्तमसाम् ।

—KLV. p. 307, 1. 24

This comment confirms the fact that ‘*guṇānām*’ is the genuine reading and that Hc has added *Sattvādi* before it by way of elucidation, and expansion.

13 संसर्गादिः इति ।

—KLV. p. 307 1.24

From this *pratīka* and the explanation that follows it would seem that the *Kārikā* :

संसर्गादिर्यथा शास्त्र एकत्वात् फलयोगतः ।

वाक्यार्थस्तद्वदेवात्र शृङ्गारादी रसो मतः ॥

formed part of the text of the A. Bh. and stood just before the *Kārikā Saṃveda-nākhya* (*khyayā*) etc. (as found on p. 277) *bhāvasaṃyojanā* etc. (Gnoli's text p. 11). This inference is based on the fact that the KLV takes up immediately after the *Pratīka Saṃsargādih, tadviṣayaḥ iti* as the next *Pratīka* for explanation and this latter *pratīka* forms part of the A. Bh. line अनुभवेन च तद्विषय इति मन्तव्यम् । which is a comment of Abhinavagupta on the word *anubhava* occurring in the *Kārikā Bhāvasaṃyojana*, etc.

14 धिगनागमित्वम् इति ।

---KLV p. 308, 11. 4-5

The text of the A. Bh. (p. 278 1. 3), however, reads (a) *dhigatāgami-tvam*. The verse as it stands is highly obscure. Gnoli's translation (p. 51) of this verse is hardly satisfactory. Masson and Patawardhan frankly concede : “The first verse is corrupt and we cannot derive any satisfactory sense from it.” Elsewhere they suggest that it is impossible to interpret it when they say : “We give the verse for anybody who wishes to attempt an interpretation.” The following passage from the KLV throws fresh light on the text and the interpretation of this verse :

न त्वेवम् (? नन्वेवम्) इति । न त्वेको (नन्वेको) ऽन्यथा व्याचष्टेऽपरोऽन्यथेतरश्चान्य-
थेत्येवं रसतत्त्वमलब्धप्रतिष्ठं कथमास्तामिति निर्विण्णप्रायस्य जिज्ञासोः प्रश्नः । किं कुर्मः इति ।
निराम्नायं ना (? निराम्नायम् आ) दागमरहस्यं न कश्चिद्वेत्तीति सज्जुगुप्समाचार्यस्योक्तिः

Sāntarasa and Abhinavagupta's Philosophy of Aesthetics, p. 75, f.n. 2

Aesthetic Rapture Vol. I (p. 5)

Aesthetic Rapture Vol. II (p. 9, Note 59)

धिगनागमित्वम् इति । तथा ह्यनागमज्ञो लोलटप्रभृतिः स्थाय्येव विभावानुभावादिभिर्हपचितो
रस इत्यादिना प्रकारेण किं न दूषयति । सर्वमप्यसङ्गतार्थं प्ररूपयतीत्यर्थः ।

The reading '*dhiganāgamitvam*', found in the KLV, is highly superior and eminently suits the context. The reading (a) *dhigatāgamitvam* hardly goes well with *āmnāyasidhe* in the first *pāda*. With this reading the verse may tentatively be translated as follows :

The true nature of *rasa* (*rasa-tattva*) being well-established or being well-known through (Bharata's) tradition what is there new about it? In the upward march of knowledge the disregard of (Bharata's) tradition deserves to be condemned. Do not people like Lolata vitiate this doctrine of *rasa* going against the evident and precious *hetu* (viz. tradition)? Certainly they do".

Abhinavagupta is fond of using this expression '*kimapūrvametat*'. In the Locana (p. 188 1.5) he says *kimetadapūrvam* The statement of Abhinavagupta, which follows immediately after the introductory verses, supports this interpretation (what is new about it?) :

उक्तमेव मुनिना न त्वपूर्वं किञ्चित् । प्रतिपत्ति इति वाक्यार्थप्रतिपत्तिमात्रात् । इतिवृत्त इति ।

15 इतिवृत्तम् इतिवृत्तव्यतेत्यर्थः ।

—KLV p. 308, 1.24

The text of the A.Bh. (Vol. I. p. 278, 1.3, from below) reads *pratipattimātrādātīva* ; in a foot-note the editor notes the variant readings : *trādītīva ditivrt*. The reading *itivrtta*, found in the KLV, appears to be genuine, although its sense *itikartavyatā* appears to be very unusual.

16 त्रासकस्य इति सृगपोतकादेः । अपारमार्थिकत्वाद् इति । अत्र हेतुविशेषरूपत्वाभावादिति ।

—KLV p. 308, 11. 26-27

Gnoli's translation of this particular sentence appears to be incorrect when he says:.... " the actor, who (playing the role of the deer), frightens (the spectators) (trāsaka.... showing to be afraid)is unreal (apāramārthika)". What Abhinavagupta means to say is this: the young deer which appears in the mental preception is devoid of its particularity and so too Duṣyanta, who is the source of fright to the young deer, is devoid of its particularity.

17 भावः इति शमनामा ।

—KLV p. 309, 1.2 (from below)

The text of the A.Bh. (p. 282 1 3) reads :

तत्त्वज्ञानजनितनिर्वेदप्रायो विभावो मोक्षोपाय इति ।

Dr. Raghavan (p. 527 1.3) reconstructs the text as ;

...निर्वेदप्रायोऽपि भावो मोक्षोपाय इति ।

18 अशकौ तु इति अपरिचित इति चोभयप्रकाश भयसंवित् ।

—KLV, p. 310, 11. 2-3

The text of the A. Bh. (Vol I, p. 282, 1.3, from below) reads

अशकौ च ततो मीरुः किञ्चिदार्जिजीपुरप्यनुचितवस्तु

Dr. Raghavan notes the variant readings :

M अज्जिजीपुरपिचित D जिगीपुरपिजित ।

—(p. 527, f. n. 17)

From these variant readings we could reasonably infer that the MS of the A. Bh., available to the author of the KLV must have had the reading : *aparicita*

19 लीयेत् इति नश्येत् ।

—KLV, p. 312, 1. 11

The text of the A. Bh. (Vol. I, p. 295, 1. 12) reads :

तत्स्पर्शं ह्यभिमानोऽस्या (स्य) विलीयत एव ।

Hc (p. 149 1. 16) reads :

तत्स्पर्शं ह्यभिमानोऽस्य लीयेतैव ।

20 तदाभासतायाम् इति । मोक्षविभावाभासतायाम् । प्रहसन इति । प्रहसनरूपकेण हि राज-
पुत्रादीनां सर्वपुरुषार्थेष्वनौचित्यत्यागविषया व्युत्पत्तिराधीयत इत्यर्थः ।

—KLV, p. 312, 11. 12-14

The text of the A. Bh. (Vol I, p. 296, 11. 8-9) reads :

तदाभासतायां शान्ताभासो हास्य एव प्रहसनरूपरय (रूपः ।) अनौ (खानौ) चित्यत्यागः
सर्वपुरुषार्थेषु व्युत्पाद्यः ।

Dr. Raghavan reconstructs the text as follows : —

तदाभासतायां शान्ताभासो हास्य एव । प्रहसनरूपस्य अनौचित्यत्यागः सर्वपुरुषार्थेषु व्युत्पाद्यः ।

—p. 529

The KLV passage attests the correctness of Dr. Raghavan's reconstructed text and makes it easily intelligible.

21 शान्तस्यापि इति विषयविपरिवृत्त्याऽन्तर्मुखतालाभेन सर्वरसानां शान्तप्राय एवास्वादः केवलं
वासनान्तरोपहित इति हि वक्ष्यते ।

—KLV, p. 313, 11 1-2

The text of the A. Bh. (Vol I, p. 339, 11. 21-22) reads :

तत्र सर्वरसानां शान्तप्राय एवास्वादो न विषयेभ्यो विपरिवृत्त्या । तन्मुख्यतालाभात् केवलं
वासनान्तरोपहित इत्यस्य सर्वप्रकृतित्वाभिधानाय पूर्वमभिधानम् ।

Dr. Raghavan reconstructs this passage as follows :—

तत्र सर्वरसानां शान्तप्राय एवास्वादः, विषयेभ्यो विपरिवृत्त्या । तन्मुख्यता लाभः केवलं वास-
नान्तरोपहित इति । अत्र सर्वप्रकृतित्वाभिधानाय पूर्वमभिधानम् ।

—The Number of Rasas (1967 ed.), p. 115.

Masson and Patwardhan translate it thus :

In this connection, the aesthetic enjoyment of all *rasas* is similar to that of *Śānta*, because it (i.e. this aesthetic enjoyment) is turned away from actual sense object contact. (Because we are particularly concerned with one *rasa*, except that it is mixed with other latent mental impressions (Vāsanā) . ?

In a foot-note they concede : 1. " We cannot arrive at a meaning for this sentence." Yes, the sentence, as it stands, yields no satisfactory sense. But the text of the KLV helps us to restore the original reading; the key-word in the text of the KLV is *antarmukhatālābhena* (*antarmukhatā* meaning introspection). Keeping in view text of the the A.Bh. and the text as reconstructed by Dr. Raghavan we may now restore the original text :

तत्र सर्वरसानां शान्तप्राय एवास्वादो विषयेभ्यो विपरिवृत्त्याऽन्तर्मुखतालाभात्, केवलं वासनान्तरोपहित इति ।

For this proposed restoration we find strong support in the A.Bh. itself. In this very section on *Śānta-rasa*, when explaining the nature of the true relish of *śānta* Abhinavagupta uses the expression *antarmukhāvasthābhedenā* :

तत्त्वास्वादोऽस्य कीदृशः । उच्यते—उपरागदायिभिः उत्साहरत्यादिभिश्चरक्तं यदात्मस्वरूपं... निर्भासमानम् अन्तर्मुखावस्थाभेदेन लोकोत्तरानन्दानयनं [? लोकोत्तरानन्दघनं] तथाविधहृदयं विधत्त इति ।

—A.Bh. pp. 340-341

This passage and the variant reading (*tanmukhyatā*) *lābhāt*, found in the the two MSS M and G and recorded by Dr. Raghavan (The Number of Rasas, p. 115, f.n. 2), leave absolutely no doubt as to the correctness of the proposed restoration of the text.

22 लीला इष्टस्यानुकृतिः ।

—KLV, p. 313, 1. 17

This reading is quite significant compared to the tame and flat reading *līlā janasyānukṛtiḥ* found in the A.Bh. (Vol. I, p. 304, 11, 15-16). If the A.Bh. were to read *iṣṭajanasyānukṛtiḥ* then it would have been a perfect reading for in the definition of *Līlā* (NS XXII. 14) itself Bharata says :

वागङ्गालङ्कारैः शिष्टैः प्रीतिप्रयोजितैर्मधुरैः ।

इष्टजनस्यानुकृतिर्लीला ज्ञेया प्रयोगज्ञैः ॥

23 विप्रलम्भ इति । विप्रलम्भो विडम्बनं प्रसिद्धमिह तूपचारात्तदीयं फलं विरहात्मकं गृह्यते । तेन हि परस्परं रतिमतोरत्र विडम्बनमस्ति । तेन विरहेण कृतः सुष्ठुतमां पोषित इत्यर्थः ।

—KLV, p. 313, 11. 26-28.

This passage when compared to the A.Bh. (p. 308, 11. 2-4) presents better readings. (They are underlined in this passage.)

24 नन्वेकः स्थायीति का भूयिष्ठता इत्याह—षड्भेदाश्च इति ।

—KLV p. 314 ll. 11-12

This quotation would show that the reading in the A.Bh. *kāṣṭh* (*kā'sya*) *bhūyiṣṭhatā* (p. 315, 1.2) needs to be corrected by dropping.

25 विकृष्ट इति विकृष्टः श्रवणकटुः । उपघात इति । उपघातः पुत्रादिमरणम् ।

—KLV, p. 314., ll. 17-18

The A.Bh., however, reads : *vikṛṣṭaṃ Śravaṇakaṭu* (p. 316, 1-2); and, *upa-ghāto'gnyādimaraṇam* (p. 318, 1. 5). The editor notes the variant reading: *ma. bha. atrādikama* (for *agnyādima*). This variant reading suggests that the reading found in the KLV (*putrādi*) must have been the original reading in the MS of the A.Bh. that was before the KLV.

26 ताडनं...भेदनं परस्परं मित्रादिवियोजनं, भावे ण्यतौ प्रहरणा नाम समन्ताद्वरणम् । सम्प्रहारेण रुधिराकर्षणमिति विग्रहः ।

—KLV, p. 314 (last line), p.315

(first two lines). The reading in the A.Bh. (p. 320, last line) : '*bhāve nyadantau*' is incorrect. So too the reading of the KLV '*bhāve nyatau*'. The correct reading should be *bhāve lyudantau*.

27 लोकोत्तरानन्दधनम् इति । एतदेकं हृदयस्य विशेषणम् ।

—KLV, p. 315, 1. 23.

The text of the A.Bh. (p. 341, 1. 3) however reads:

लोकोत्तरानन्दानय(न्दाय)नं तथाविधं हृदयं विधत्त इति ।

Dr. Raghavan reads :

लोकोत्तरानन्दानयनं तथाविधहृदयं विधत्त इति ।

—The Number of Rasas, p. 117

Apparently the reading, preserved in the KLV, seems to be the original one.

Incidentally, I may note that the A. Bh. text helps us to correct the wrong readings found in the KLV. Some of them are pointed out below :

KLV	A. Bh. (Vol. I)
I तथा प्रति इति अस्येयमिति यो न संबन्धप्रतीत्यु- त्पादहेतवः[तुः ?]	अथ सामाजिकस्य तथा प्रतीतियोग्याः कियन्त इत्येतदेवानुसन्धानमुच्यते...
—p. 305, 11 21-22	—P. 275, 11. 11-12

In the light of the pertinent passage in the A. Bh. we ought to read the text of the KLV thus :

तथाप्रतीति इति । अस्येयमिति येन संबन्धप्रती-
त्युत्पादहेतवः(विभावाः) ।

2 —नापि वास्तु इति तृतीयः पक्षः ।

p. 305, 1 23

The third alternative refers to *vastu-vṛttavivecaka* etc. and is taken up for consideration on p. 276 (11. 2-3). In the light of these two passages we must read the KLV text as

“नापि वस्तु...” इति तृतीयः पक्षः ।

3 अस्यार्थः—पदार्थवाच्यार्थौ... नन्वर्थशब्दोऽभिधेयवाची ।

—A. Bh. Vol. I, P. 308, 11. 12-13

In view of the text in the A. Bh. we must correct the two words in the KLV text as *vākyārthau* and *natvartha*°

4 अलङ्कारः कटकादिः इष्टजनश्चैतद्वयमुत्तमत्वसूचकम् ।

—p. 313, 11. 13-14

We must underline the word *iṣṭajanaśca* KLV

5. The words *vipriya*, *dehasya*, *āyāsanam abhigāta* (p. 314) *pāṇanam*, *pīḍanam*, *chedanam* *bhedanam*.

(p. 315 1. 1) must be underlined as they are the *Pratīkas*.

6 हस्त इति । हस्ताग्रयोरन्योन्यं निषेधः संवर्षणम् ।

—p. 315, 11. 3-4

We must correct the reading from *niṣedhaḥ* to *niṣpeṣaḥ* as *niṣpeṣa* (meaning rubbing) suits the context.

In spite of a few such wrong readings, it must be admitted on all hands that the KLV is highly important, among other things, for a better understanding of the A. Bh. on the *Rasādhyāya* (and the *Bhāvādhyāya*).

तथाहि—अनुकरणरूपो रस इति यदुच्यते तत्किं (१) सामाजिकप्रतीत्याभिप्रायेण उत (२) नटाभिप्रायेण किंवा (३) वस्तुवृत्तविवेचकव्याख्यातृबुद्धिसमवलम्बनेन यथाहुर्व्याख्यातारः खल्वेवं विवेचयन्ति इति । अथ (४) भरतमुनिवचनानुसारेण ।

—A. Bh. Vol. I, p. 274, 11. 1-4
नापि वस्तुवृत्तानुसारेण तदनुकारत्वम् ।

—A. Bh. Vol. I, p. 276, 1.2

तत्र च पदार्थवाच्यार्थौ रसेवेव पर्यवस्यत...न त्वर्थशब्दोऽभिधेयवाची ।

—A. Bh. Vol. I, p. 343, 11.16-17

अलङ्कारः कटकादिः । इष्टजनः विदूषकादिः ।
एतदुभयमुत्तमत्वसूचकम् ।

—A. Bh. Vol. I p. 304, 1.9
A. Bh.

cf : A. Bh. Vol. I, p. 318, p. 319, p. 320.

हस्ताग्रयोरन्योन्यनिषेधः सङ्घर्षणम् ।

A. Bh. Vol. I, p. 321, 11. 3-4

THE POSITION OF 'STUTIKUSUMĀÑJALI' IN SANSKRIT STOTRA-LITERATURE

By

B. N. BHATT, Baroda

Sanskrit language abounds in Stotra-literature. The extent of this literature is very vast comprising Stotras generally in verse but a few in prose also. A 'Stuti' or 'Stotra' means a eulogy. The earliest trace of this kind of literature is to be found in the hymns of the Rigveda. In these hymns, various forces of nature were evoked and eulogized in most glorificatory terms. Nature worship was a salient feature of the Vedic religion. The forces of nature which were eulogized were—the Fire, the Sun, the Wind, the Rain, the Dawn, Twilight, the Day, Night, Waters, Clouds, the Earth, the Heaven etc. Ancient sages used to worship the forces of nature out of a feeling of awful reverence to them. The sages sung the hymns at the sacrificial sessions as well as at the time of daily study. Each one of the deities was considered the highest in its turn in the hymn pertaining to it.

In course of time, there arose what is called the 'Bhakti Cult' or the path of devotion in which the Stotras eulogizing the deities formed a main constituent. These Stotras are found not only in the hymns of the Rigveda but also in some Upaniṣads, in the Epics, in the Purāṇas, in the Upapurāṇas, in the Māhātmyas, in the Kāvya etc.

The Stotras or Stutis were generally for their own sake e.g. 'Śivatāṇḍava-stotra'¹ ascribed to Rāvaṇa but often they were sung to obtain particular objectives. One of these objectives was to win a victory over the enemies e.g. the Ādityahṛdaya Stotra sung by Rāma was meant for winning a victory over Rāvaṇa as found in the 'Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa'—Yuddhakāṇḍa.² In the vedic times also deities were eulogized with a view to win a victory over the enemies. Many more examples of such Stotras can be found in Sanskrit literature. Another objective was to obtain Knowledge from the deity e.g. the Stuti of the Sun god by Yājñavalkya which appears in the 'Śrīmadbhāgavata'.³ This Stuti affords a testimony to the exceptional brilliance of the composer. Though in prose, the selection and arrangement of peculiar terminology creates a wonderful rhyme pleasing the

1 Vide 'Bṛhatstotraratnākara', Ānandasāgara Press, Varanasi, 1957, Stotra 19, pp. 55-57.

2 Vide 'The Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa'—Yuddhakāṇḍa, Critical edition, Baroda, 1971. Appendix I, No. 65, pp. 1082-1083.

3 Vide 'Śrīmadbhāgavata', Skandha VII Adhvāya 6. p. 742.

ear but what is more wonderful is the sublime nature of its appeal which catches hold of the human heart. The joint effect of the above two factors on the heart is such that it experiences the oneness of the sound and the sense. Such a perfect unity of sound and sense is extremely rare to find in any literary work. Other objectives for the sake of which the Stotras were sung were to attain prosperity e.g. Śrīsūktam,⁴ to attain the welfare of the family, to attain lost glory, e.g. the 'Mahimnastotra' of Puṣpadanta,⁵ to seek deliverance e.g. the 'Gajendra-stuti' occurring in 'Śrīmadbhāgavata'.⁶ At times the objective behind the composition of a Stotra is to seek forgiveness of the deity in consequence of some sin or sins actually committed or supposedly committed by the devotee e.g. 'Gaṅgālaharī'.⁷ A similar example of a Stotra of this sort is 'Devyaparādhakṣamāpanastotra'⁸ by Jagadguru Śrī Śaṅkarācārya as also 'Śivāparādhakṣamāpanastotra'⁹ also by him. A Stotra called 'Candraśekharaṣṭakam'¹⁰ was composed by the sage Mārkaṇḍeya to secure longevity. On the contrary the 'Stutikusumāñjali'¹¹ was composed for the singular purpose of eulogizing Lord Śiva.

Whatever may be the underlying purpose behind the composition of various stotras they generally have the sentiment of devotion pervading them. However in all the works on Alaṅkāraśāstra composed up to the seventh century only eight sentiments were recognized in literature. They were Śṛṅgāra, Vira, Hāsyā, Karuṇa, Raudra, Bhayānaka, Bībhatsa and Adbhuta. Even Śānta was recognized as a ninth sentiment in literature from about the 7th Century A. D. To quote the opinion of MM. Dr. P. V. Kane—'As Udbhaṭa (IV. 5) and the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa mention nine rasas it follows that Śāntarasa was included from about the 7th century.'¹² Kalhaṇa who had utmost faith in the efficacy of

4 Vide 'R̥gveda-Saṁhitā' Maṇḍalas IX-X, Vol. IV, published by the Vaidic Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeṭh, Poona-2, 1946, Appendices Adhyāya 2, Appendix 6, pp. 927-933.

5 Vide 'Mahimnastotra' with the commentary of Madhusūdanasarasvatī, seventh edition, Nirṇayaśāgara Press, Bombay, 1937, stanza 37, p. 63.

6 Vide 'Śrīmadbhāgavata', Gītā Press, Gorakhpur, Skandha VIII, Adhyāya 3, pp. 390-392.

7 Vide 'Gaṅgālaharī' with the commentary Pīyūṣalaharī, Haridāsa-Sanskrit-Grantha-mālā No. 69, published by the Chaukhāmbā Sanskrit Series Office, Benaras, 1938.

8 Vide 'Bṛhatstotraratnākara', Ānandasāgara Press, Varanasi, 1957, Stotra, 67, pp. 166-168.

9 Ibid. Stotra 18, pp. 52-55.

10 Ibid. Stotra 33, pp. 78-79.

11 Vide Kāvya-mālā 23, 'The Stutikusumāñjali' of Śrī Jagaddhara Bhatta with the commentary of Rājānaka Ratnakṛṣṇa edited by Paṇḍit Durgāprasād and K. P. Parab, Nirṇaya-sāgara Press, Bombay, 1891.

12 Vide MM. Dr. P. V. Kane, 'The History of Sanskrit Poetics' Third edition, Nirṇaya-Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1951, P. 350.

Śāntarasa mentions that it occupies the position of the consecrated king of the sentiments.¹³ By the time of the poet Jagaddhara *i.e.* approximately 1352 A. D. or the middle of the 14th century, the sentiment of devotion got sufficiently accelerated under the influence of poet Jayadeva of Bengal and the Vaiṣṇava Ālvārs of South India. Here it should be borne in mind that in the case of those writers who did not admit the sentiment of devotion as a separate sentiment in literature, this sentiment of devotion found inclusion in the sentiment of quietism (Śāntarasa). However Bhaktirasa was recognized as a sentiment in literature in the time of Rūpagosvāmin (1470 to 1554 A. D.) who wrote two important works on Bhakti-rasa-Śāstra viz. the 'Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu' and the 'Ujjvalanīlamanī.'

Poet Jagaddhara shows the highest peak of devotional frenzy in this Stuti. He has employed his poetic talent in surrendering his own self (Ātmanivedana) to God Śiva by composing the poem abounding in the emotion (Bhāva) of servitude (dāsyā). Next to the sentiment of devotion comes the sentiment of quietism (Śānta). Both of the above-mentioned sentiments are tinged with pathos. The sentiment of devotion which is the most prominent one gets accelerated as the 'Stutikusumāñjali' proceeds on and on. It appears very clearly that the poet was a chief devotee of Lord Śiva and that he had passed a considerably long period of his life in eulogizing Lord Śiva. In this manner poet Jagaddhara made his poetic talents fruitful and his speech holy. While reading the 'Stutikusumāñjali' carefully, we come across the statement that the delight that is obtained by eulogizing Lord Śiva is not obtainable even by the sight of the moon possessing nectar like rays, or by plunging into the naturally cool current of the heavenly Ganges or by sucking the lower lip of a beautiful woman capable of removing the fever caused by cupid.¹⁴ Poet Jagaddhara has rendered fruitful his humanity, volition, good poetry and Brahminhood by his own eulogy alone of Lord Śiva.¹⁵ From early childhood the heart of Jagaddhara was inclined towards the worship of Lord Śiva.¹⁶

13 - Cf. क्षणभङ्गिनि जन्तूनां स्फुरिते परिचिन्तिते ।

मूर्धाभिषेकः शान्तस्य रसस्यात्र विचार्यताम् ॥ १.२३ राजतरङ्गिणी

14 सान्द्रानन्दकरे धृतामृतकरे नास्त्येष राकाकरे

न प्रौढप्रसरे निसर्गशिशिरे स्वर्गपगानिर्झरे

गाढप्रेमभरे स्मरज्वरहरे नोद्दामरामाधरे

यः शंभोर्मधुरे स्तुतिव्यतिकरे ह्लादः सुधासोदरे ॥ ५.३०

15 Vide Ācārya Paṇḍit Śrīmahāvīraprasādajī Dvivedī's article 'Jagaddhara Bhaṭṭaki Stutikusumāñjali' which appeared in 'Kalyāṇa'-Śivāṅka' Gorakhpur, 1933, P. 320. The present writer is indebted to the author referred to here for some of the views expressed in this article.

16 तेनाहतेन शिशुनैव निवेद्यमान-

मानन्दकन्दलितभक्तिकुतुहलेन ।

एतं मृगाङ्गकलिकाकलितावतंस-

शंसारसायनरसं रसयन्तु सन्तः ॥ ३९.१०

Some scholars opine that there is no better Stotra than 'Śivamahimna-stotra.'¹⁷ Some people are fascinated by the fine emotions and sound reasoning of some Stotras appearing in the 'Stotraratnākara.' Many a man of taste bestow high praise on Śaṅkarācārya's 'Saundaryalaharī' or on poet Jagannātha's 'Gaṅgālaharī'. But according to the opinion of Ācārya Paṇḍit Śrīmahāvīra-prasādaḥ Dvivedī¹⁸ there is no other Stotra in Sanskrit Stotra literature which excels the 'Stutikusumāñjali'. Of course there is a scope for differences of opinion but it cannot be gainsaid that the 'Stutikusumāñjali' occupies the first rank along with a few best stotras in Sanskrit literature.

In the 'Stutikusumāñjali' the first thirty-eight Stutis contain the eulogy of Lord Śiva. Each one of them is considered to be a flower in the form of a Stuti which is offered to Lord Śiva by the hollowed palms of the hands of the poet. In the thirty-ninth *i.e.* the last section of the 'Stutikusumāñjali' the description of the pedigree of the poet Jagaddhara is found. There are in all 1439 stanzas in the 'Stutikusumāñjali' out of which 1423 stanzas contained in the first thirty-eight Stutis eulogize Lord Śiva while last 16 stanzas contained in Section 39 describe the pedigree of the poet. The Stutis are named as (1) Stutiprastāvanā-stotram (Stanzas 31); (2) Namaskārastotram (stanzas 30); (3) Āśīrvāda° (60); (4) Maṅgalāṣṭaka° (8); (5) Kavikāvya-praśamsā° (36); (6) Harāṣṭaka° (8); (7) Sevābhinandana° (42); (8) Śaraṇāśrayaṇa° (52); (9) Kṛpaṇākran-dana° (82); (10) Karuṇākrandana° (91); (11) Dīnākrandana° (143); (12) Tamaḥśamana° (32); (13) Prabhuprasādana° (43); (14) Hita° (28); (15) Karuṇārādhana° (40); (16) Upadeśana° (27); (17) Bhakti° (30); (18) Siddhi° (25); (19) Bhagavadvarṇana° (31); (20) Hasitavarṇanam (41); (21) Ardhanārīśvara° (24); (22) Kādīpadabandha° (12); (23) Śrīkhalābandha° (27); (24) Dvipadayamaka° (28); (25) Rucirañjana° (27); (26) Pādādiya-maka° (35); (27) Pādamadhyayamaka° (34); (28) Pādāntayamaka° (27); (29) Ekāntarayamaka° (36); (30) Mahāyamaka° (81); (31) Natopadeśa° (30); (32) Śaraṇāgatoddhāraṇa° (8); (33) Karṇapūra° (45); (34) Agryavarṇa° (13); (35) Īśvarapraśamsā° (25); (36) Stutifalaprāpti° (41); (37) Stutipraśamsā° (20); (38) Puṇyapariṇāma° (30) while the last section (39) is named as Vamśavarṇanam (16).

In this 'Stutikusumāñjali' poet Jagaddhara has shown the climax of his poetic skill. His poetry is so very fine, his 'Stutis' contain (a majority of) emotions so very pathetic and his rendering his own self-surrender to Lord Śiva

17 महेशान्नापरो देवो महिन्द्रो नापरा स्तुतिः ।

अधोरान्नापरो मन्त्रो नास्ति तत्त्वं गुरोः परम् ॥ ३५

Vide महिन्द्रस्तोत्रम् with the commentary of मधुसूदन सरस्वती NSP. ed. 1937, P. 62.

18 Vide Ācārya Dvivedī's article referred to above P. 320.

is in such a magnanimous and heart-captivating manner that the heart of the reciter melts and the eyes begin to shed tears. His fresh expressions, strange reproaches and novel ways of pathetic lamentation create a wonderful effect on the heart of the reciter.¹⁹ His poem is rich in sentiment and yet it is endowed with perspicuity. He has resorted to 'Citrakāvya' i.e. 'tourse de force' in the composition of nine Stutis out of thirty-eight Stutis of the 'Stutikusumāñjali' in order to show the power of his poetic talents and to show the flight of his powerful genius.²⁰ Twenty-second to thirtieth Stutis are of this type. Thus twenty-second Stuti contains 'Kāḍipadabandha' i.e. verses in which all the words have 'Ka' in the beginning. This can be called nothing but word-jugglery. Twenty-third Stotra is a Citrakāvya i.e. a 'tourse de force' called Śṛṅghalābandha Stotra i.e. a Stotrā in which a chain of words is formed in the composition of the verses. Twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth Stotras contain Yamaka or rhyme i.e. repetition of words or syllables similar in sound but different in meaning. Twenty-sixth Stotra contains Yamaka in the beginning of each quarter of a stanza. Twenty-seventh Stotra contains Yamaka in the middle of each quarter of a stanza. Twenty-eighth Stotra contains Yamaka at the end of each quarter of a stanza. Twenty-ninth Stotra contains Yamaka in every alternate stanza. Thirtieth Stotra contains Mahāyamaka. A salient feature of his composition of this sort is that it does not become clumsy anywhere. By analysing the words and by reading between the lines of a stanza the purport of the poet is understood ere long. In the harmony of syllables and in alliteration hardly any other poet might have surpassed Jagaddhara.²¹ For example read stanza five in Stotra seven. How fine is the composition ! Herein we come across alliteration and rhyme which are very natural. Nevertheless there is no want of perspicuity in the stanza mentioned above. The meaning of the words Iddhaśāsanah, Pākaśāsanah, Dṛśā sa nah and Anaṅgaśāsanah becomes clear as soon as the words are read. Even though 'Śāsanah' is established in many places there is no difficulty in understanding the meaning.²² In stanza six Stotra thirty-eight another example of a stanza of this sort is to be found. Each quarter of this stanza has got a very fine rhyme at its end. The word 'Rāmayā' appears in different senses

19 Ibid. P. 320.

20 Ibid. P. 321.

21 Ibid. P. 321.

22 स यस्य पादद्वयमिदंशासनः

सदा समभ्यर्चति पाकशासनः ।

प्रभुः प्रसादामलया दशा स नः

क्रियाद्विपदूङ्गमनङ्गशासनः ॥ ७.५

with difference in splitting of its syllables.²³ His poetry has got freshness of reasoning e.g. in XI. 37 the poet entreats Lord Śiva as follows. 'It does not become You to forsake me as I am a sinner and a crooked one because what is the use of protection to one who is wise and consequently fearless from all quarters? Since I am wicked, low and a sinner therefore I deserve your compassion all the more.'²⁴ Similarly in XI. 38 and 51-54 we find quite a novel reasoning. Even though all the Stotras of 'Stutikusumāñjali' are fine and enchanting yet we cannot properly praise the ninth, tenth and eleventh Stotras called 'Kṛpañākrandana,' 'Karūñākrandana' and 'Dīnākrandana'.²⁵ In these Stotras poet Jagaddhara after having become extremely distressed has given vent to such pathetic lamentations at places that while reciting them all except hard-hearted men only shed tears.

No amount of effort made towards the appreciation of a work like 'Stutikusumāñjali' will be able to bring home to the reader even a semblance of the infinite delight which one obtains while going through the original work. Here an attempt has been made to draw the attention of scholars to the literary excellences of the 'Stutikusumāñjali.'

23 अहो कृतार्थोऽस्मि मनोभिरामया
गिरा गुणालङ्कृतयेह रामया ।

तनुः स्थिरेयं ध्रियते निरामया
भवे च यद्भक्तिरभङ्गुरा मया ॥ ३८.६

24 पापः खलोऽहमिति नार्हसि मां विहातुं
किं रक्षया कृतमतेरकुतोभयस्य ।

यस्मादसाधुरधमोऽहमपुण्यकर्मा
तस्मात्तवास्मि सुतरामनुकम्पनीयः ॥ ११.३७

25 Vide Ācārya Dvivedi's article referred to above, P. 321.

NEW LIGHT ON CHANDOVICITI

By

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There has been a long-standing controversy as to whether "Chandoviciti" denotes Metrics in general or it refers to a particular work by a particular author. On this question, see P. V. Kane in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1911, and S. C. Banerji in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXIX, 1953.

I set forth here a new information on this point ; it appears to have escaped the notice of scholars. In verse 248 of the Prabandhādhyāya of Śārṅgadeva's *Saṅgīta-ratnākara* (Adyar Library Series, Madras), the word 'Chandoviciti' occurs¹. Commenting on this Kallinātha, in his *Kalānidhi* commentary, says 'Chandoviciti-saṃjñakena granthena'. Siṃhabhūpāla, in his *Sudhākara* commentary, writes. 'Chandoviciti-nāmnī mādiya-granthe'. Thus, according to the testimony of both these authoritative commentators, *Chandoviciti* refers to a work.

So long as other corroborative evidences do not come to light, we cannot, however, assert that *Chandoviciti* is the title of a work. We are not in a position to ascertain whether the above commentators depended on first-hand knowledge or merely repeated the hearsay information. It is interesting to add that a work, called *Chandoviciti*, deals with Pāli metres.²

The author of this note will welcome any fresh evidence on this point that may come to the notice of scholars.

1 Cf. *Chandaścītyāṃ vicetavyās-chandasāṃ bahavo matāḥ*.

2 Vide B. C. Law, *History of Pali Literature*, Vol. II. (1933), p. 638.

REFERENCE OF THE SAÑJAKAS IN THE CAMBODIAN INSCRIPTIONS

By

MAHESH KUMAR SHARAN, Bodh Gaya

The Kambuja inscriptions throw a flood-light on the institution of the Sañjakas. These Sañjakas were a class of people who were famous for their daring sacrifices for the safety of their Lords, Patriotism and Marshal tradition. They also took part in the administration and also in religious function.¹ After the death of a king, protection of the princes and the royal dynasty vested in them. It is believed that after the death of the Sañjakas their descendants also did similar service to the royal families. They did not die after the death of their patron king as we find in some periods of western countries.

We find a clear picture of their character and performance from the following inscriptions though such inscriptions are neither very old nor very numerous.

(1) *Kok Rosei Inscription of Jayavarman V* (dated Śaka-896)²

This inscription was found on a stone in the vicinity of Kok Rosei which is situated 2 miles east of Angkor near mount Kulen. Mention has been made about some families which used to offer their daughters to high ranking government officials. The Sañjakas are referred to be faithful to the king and used to protect them as bodyguards in battles. From the king, in return for their services, they received the inalienable property (*Mrtakadhana*), which was not supposed to be offered to any-body else. It was the duty of the state to take care of the upbringing and education of the children of these people. From among these children many were appointed as royal officials of various grades and classes.

(2) *Kompon Thom Stele Inscription of Jayavarman V.* (dated Śaka 896)³

In this inscription mention has been made about the creation of two new castes viz. Khmuk and Karmāntara. Their nature of functions is not quite clear in the inscription. The edict was issued on the occasion of Brahmajña — an important religious ceremony for the royal guru. At the end of the ceremony the king asked the guru to select, from among the religious men and ācāryas

1 BEFEO, XXVIII, p. 61, n3.

2 Aymonier—Le Cambodge I, p. 420-23, Coedes—BEFEO, XXVIII, p. 113; Majumdar, R. C., Inscriptions of Kambuja, No. 110, p. 283.

3 Majumdar, R. C., op. cit. no. 110 A, p. 588.

of the seven castes, 20 persons each for the two new castes—Khmuk and Karmāntara. These would be the foundation-members of the two new castes. In future, the members of these two castes must recognise the authority of the descendants of these chiefs. Those in the two castes who possess knowledge, good character and good manners could become Ācāryahoma. The female members of these two castes will be given to men of high caste for the service of Śiva but not to men of low caste. For this reason only the three principal Sañjakas of the king and no others, even though entitled to use umbrella with golden staff, could take these females. But when these were married to their superior castes or to the three Sañjakas, they must not be regarded as heritable property.

(3) *Prasat Trapan Run Inscription of Jayavīravarma (dated Śaka 928)*⁴

Mention of the king's donation of land for Kavīndrapaṇḍita has been made in the text and Sañjakas have been referred to as witnesses. The following ten Sañjakas were present when the king made this donation :

- (1)—The Mratāñ Khloñśrī-Pṛthivindra-Varman.
- (2)—,, ,, -Vāgīśvara.
- (3)—,, ,, -Kavīndravijaya.
- (4)—Steñ Añ Tarañ Vyañ—nos. 1-4 were Inspectors of Qualities and Defects.
- (5)—“ Danle Jrai, chief Ācārya, member of the tribunal.
- (6)—Mratāñ Khloñ Śrī Rājasamkalpa—Reciter of Dharma Śāstras.
- (7)—Mratāñ Khlon Śrī Kṣitīndra Varman—Chief of store house of the First class.
- (8)—,, ,, Śrī Nṛpatīndra Varman—Chief of store house of the Second class.
- (9)—,, ,, Śrī Kṣitīndra Varman—Chief of store house of the Third class.
- (10)—,, ,, Śrī Narendra Paṇḍita—Keeper of archives,

This testifies that besides their military role they were favoured with appointment in civil services also.

(4) *Prasat Ben Inscription of Sūryavarman II (dated Śaka 948)*⁵

This inscription was found at Prasat Ben situated in the Sisophon Province. A reference of Sūryavarman's gift to Buddhists is contained in this inscription. The inscription records a royal order communicated by the governmental Secretary and gives the names of seven Sañjakas who were witnesses of this gifts.

4 B E F EO, XXXVIII, p. 58 ; Majumdar, R. C., op. cit.—p. 331.

5 Aymonier—Le Cambodge—II, p. 351 ; Majumdar, R. C., op. cit.—p. 344

(5) *Bantay Chmar Inscription (Circa 1165 A.D.)*⁶

Bantay Chmar is the name of a temple group situated in the district of Sisophon. This is the last inscription in which the Sañjakas have been referred to. It narrates a very interesting story about a rebel named Bharata rāhu who treacherously rose against the king Śrī Yaśovarman for getting hold of the royal palace. All his troops in the capital fled away. Arjuna and Śrī Dharmadevapura—the two Sañjakas fought to save the king. They fell before him. So Bharata rāhu was defeated. The king issued orders bestowing titles of Vrah Kamrateñ Añ Śrī Nṛpasimha Varmā” to Sañjaka Devapura who was the son of Śrī Dharmadevapura. The title of Amteñ to the two Sañjakas—Arjuna and Dharmadevapura—was also bestowed. Images of the two were ordered to be set up, besides these the prince gave wealth and honour to the bereaved families.

Besides this we get a clear picture of the heroic self-sacrifice of four soldiers of the Sañjaka class who were sworn to defend the person of their royal master, even at the cost of their own lives. Their images were put in the different corners of the temple, along with that of the prince, for whom they fought and died.

The institution of the Sañjakas is more or less indigenous without any trace of such parallel institution in India though faithful servants of the rulers are known to have sacrificed their lives for the sake of their masters everywhere in the world and at all times. But Dr. B. N. Puri⁷ has made a reference of the prevalence of a similar class of personnel in India and Ceylon also. In Kerala a man named Amukas or Amoi is referred to have taken the oath of sacrificing his life for the protection of the king, while Marcopolo has mentioned a few individuals who used to take a similar oath and were buried along with the dead body of a king after his death. We cannot say about the length of duration when this custom remained prevalent.

6 Aymonier—op. cit. p. 344, Coedes—B EF EO XXIX, p. 309 ; Majumdar, R., C. op. cit. p. 528.

7 Sudūrapūrva nreṇ Bhāratiya Saṅskṛti aur usakā Itihāsa, p. 294.

A NOTE ON GAṆAPATI

By

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In a note published in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. II, pp. 112-15, Sm. Manish Mukhopadhyay has considered the *namaskāra* stanzas of some Sanskrit inscriptions referring to the god Gaṇapati which, as she feels, 'do not appear to have been noticed in the description of the god in literary sources'. Sm. Mukhopadhyay first refers to the *Halāyudhastotra* inscribed in 1063 A.D.¹ on the Āmreśvara temple at Mandhata in the Nimar District, Madhya Pradesh. A verse of the *stotra* states that, competing with the Ardhana-*rīśvara* form of his father Śiva, Gaṇapati assumed the same form. Cf.

*Vighnaṁ nighnaṁ Dviradavadanaṁ prīṭaye no=’stu nityaṁ
vāme kūṭaḥ prakāṭita-bṛhad-dakṣiṇa-sthūla-dantaḥ |
yaḥ Śrikanṭhaṁ pītaram=Umay=āśliṣṭa-vām-ārdha-dehaṁ
dr̥ṣṭvā nūnaṁ svayaṁ=api dadhāty=ardh-nār-iśvaratvam //*

Sm. Mukhopadhyay then puts the question : 'Is there any such *ardha-nārī* form of Gaṇapati mentioned in literature or represented in sculpture ?'

In this connection, reference may be made to the concluding portion of Sri D. C. Bhattacharyya's article, 'The Composite Image of Vāsudeva and Lakṣmī', published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. VIII, 1966, No. 4, pp. 261-66 and issued in October 1968, where attention has been drawn to a passage of the *Śilparatna* of Śrī-kumāra describing a composite form of Gaṇapati. The passage is as follows :

‘Atha Śakti-Gaṇapatiḥ |

*Dvābhyāṁ vibhrājamānaṁ drutakanaka-mahāśyṅkhalābhyāṁ karābhyāṁ
Vijapūrādīśumbhaddaśabhūjalalitam pañcabījasvarūpam |
Sāndhyāsindūraravaraṇaṁ stanabharanamitam² tuṇḍilam sannitambaraṁ
Kaṇṭhādūrdhvaṁ Karīndraṁ yuvatimayamadhastalaṁ naumi devaṁ*

(Gaṇeśam) //

Bhattacharyya gives a free translation of the passage as follows :

‘Now about Śakti-Gaṇapati :

Salutation to the god Gaṇeśa who has an elephant's head, corpulent belly, vermilion-red colour, well-formed buttocks and breasts and the lower part of whose body is characterised by the youthful femininity. The god is the beloved of

¹ Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXVI, pp. 92 ff.

² *namitam* quoted by Bhattacharyya apparently a mistake.

Śiva and is adorned with the rosary, etc. In two of his hands he has the chain made of molten gold'. He also observes that the description of the *Śilparatna* makes it apparent that the composite form of Śakti-Gaṇapati is 'in fact the female form god Gaṇapati or Gaṇeśa'. But, as he points out, the *Śilparatna* describes the iconography of Śakti-Gaṇapati under the heading *Miśramūrtayaḥ* (i.e. composite images) and along with several other well-known syncretistic image-types e.g. *Ardhanārīśvara*, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, Hari-Hara, Śaṅkara-Nārāyaṇa, etc., and so there is little doubt that the passage refers to the composite and syncretistic nature of the image type of Śakti-Gaṇapati in which syncretism between the Śāktas and the Gāṇapatyas is involved'. Bhattacharyya also considers an image described, reproduced and identified as Gaṇeśānī by Alice Getty³ to conform with the description of the *Śilparatna*. He has further drawn attention to two other images of Gaṇeśa having youthful female breasts, one from Satna in Madhya Pradesh and another from the ruins of the Tāmreśvarī temple in Assam besides referring to the iconography of the Tantric Buddhist goddess Gaṇapatīhṛdayā, several images of which deity have been found.

Bhattacharyya's contention that the *Śilparatna* speaks of a female form of Gaṇeśa and his identification of Śakti-Gaṇeśa described in the *Śilparatna* with Gaṇeśānī, however, appear to be too much. For, the passage clearly speaks of the composite form of Śakti-Gaṇapati as a male-deity (deva) having the *adhastalam* ('lower part of the body') *yuvatimayam* (resembling youthful femininity) and not as a female-divinity (*devī*).⁴ Further, in view of an earlier reference to an *ardhanārī* form of Gaṇapati in an epigraphic record, noted above, Bhattacharyya's suggestion becomes all the more doubtful.

Bhattacharyya has made a reference to P. Pal's paper 'Composite form of Vāsudeva and Lakṣmī'⁵ and quoted two passages from the *Śilparatna* and one from the *Śāradātilakatantra* containing references to the composite form of Vāsudeva-Lakṣmī in addition to the sources mentioning the same dual-divinity cited by Pal. While Pal's references prove the popularity of the composite image-type of Vāsudeva-Lakṣmī in Nepal, the *Śilparatna* passages, as Bhattacharyya points out, speaks of its existence in South India, especially in the Kerala

3 *Ganeśa*, Oxford, 1936, pl. 40. In pp. 29-30 the description of the plate is given. Cf. also Bhattacharyya, op. cit., p. 265 and notes 3-4. An image in The Chaunṣaṭ yoginī temple at Bheraghat labelled as *Aṅginī* in the pedestal has been recognised as Gaṇeśānī by J. N. Banerjea (The Development of Hindu Iconography, University of Calcutta, 1956, p. 35)

4 To certain other mistakes in Bhattacharyya's emendation and translation of the *Śilparatna* passage, my attention was drawn by D. C. Sircar who is publishing a note entitled 'Ardhanārī-Gaṇapati' in *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. IV,

5 *Journ. As. Soc.*, Vol. V, 1963, pp. 73 ff,

region. In this connection, Bhattacharyya remarks that 'the prevalence of the image-type in Nepal and Kerala, two widely apart regions, naturally presupposes its existence also in other parts of India'. That Bhattacharyya's assumption is not without any foundation is proved by the fact that the Gayā Śītalā temple inscription of the local ruler Yakṣapāla who flourished in the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. refers to this concept of duality in the form of Kamalā-rdhāṅgīna-Nārāyaṇa, noticed by D. C. Sircar in his paper 'Ardhanārī-Nārāyaṇa' published in *Foreigners in Ancient India and Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī in Art and Literature*, ed. D. C. Sircar, University of Calcutta, 1970, pp. 132-41. In Sircar's paper reference has also been made to Sm. K. S. Desai's paper entitled 'Some Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa Images from Western India' appearing in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XIV, 1965, pp. 292-96, to S. B. Deo's paper 'Some Ardhanārī Forms of Viṣṇu' published in the *Bhārati*, Vol. X-XI, 1966-68, pp. 125-33, and also to his own paper on Yakṣapāla's inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 92 ff.

MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN STUDIES IX.¹

By

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The blind turtle and the hole in the yoke.

In the Pāli canonical text, Therīgāthā (= Thīg) the following verse occurs:

*sara kāṇa-kacchapam pubba-samudde aparato ca yuga-chiddaṃ,
sirā tassa ca paṭimukkaṃ manussa-lābhamhi opammaṃ (500).²*

Mrs. Rhys Davids translated³:—

‘ Remember how the parable was told
Of “ purblind turtle in the Eastern Seas,
Or other oceans, once as time goes by,
Thrusting his head thro’ hole of drifting yoke ”;
So rare as this the chance of human birth. ’

She noted⁴ that this was a restatement of the simile used to indicate the rarity of human existence found in the Pāli canon at Majjhimanikāya (= M) iii. 169:—

seyyathāpi puriso, bhikkhave, ekacchigalaṃ yugaṃ samudde pakkhipeyya, taṃ enaṃ puratthimo vāto pacchimena saṃhareyya....dakkhiṇo vāto uttarena saṃhareyya tatr’ assa kāṇo kacchapo; so vassasatassa accayena sakiṃ ummujeyya. taṃ kiṃ maññatha, bhikkhave? api nu so kāṇo kacchapo amukasmīṃ ekacchigale yuge gīvaṃ paveseyya?

A similar version of the simile is found at Saṃyutta-nikāya (= S) v 455: *seyyathāpi, bhikkhave, puriso mahāsamudde ekacchigalaṃ yugaṃ pakkhipeyya; tatrāpi ’ssa kāṇo kacchapo yo vassasatassa vassasatassa accayena accayena sakiṃ sakiṃ ummujeyya. taṃ kiṃ maññatha, bhikkhave? api nu so kāṇo kacchapo vassasatassa vassasatassa accayena sakiṃ sakiṃ ummujjanto amusmīṃ ekacchigale yuge gīvaṃ paveseyya?*

The simile is also referred to at Milindapañha (= Miln) 204 :— *yaṃ paṇ ’ etaṃ, mahārāja, Bhagavatā kāṇakacchapopamaṃ upadassitaṃ manussapaṭilābhāya,* and at Atthasālinī 60 :— *manussattādīnaṃ ca kāṇakacchapopamādīhi dullabha-bhāvo iti.*

1 See Journal of the Oriental Institute (Baroda), Vol. XX, p. 329.

2 ed. R. Pischel, 2nd edition, PTS London, 1966, Appendix II, p. 248.

3 Psalms of the Early Buddhists I, Psalms of the Sisters, PTS London, 1901, p. 173.

4 *ibid.*, p. 173, note 2.

In Elders' Verses II (Therīgāthā) I translated Thīg 500⁵ :— 'Remember the blind turtle in the sea in former times, and the hole in the yoke floating (there); remember the putting on of it (= the yoke) as a comparison with the obtaining of human birth. ' I noted⁶ that the metre required *pubba-*, or *pubbā*, or *pubbē*, and eventually decided in favour of *pubbē*, assuming that *aparato* was the remnant of the genitive singular of a present participle, perhaps from the root *plu-*. In a review of Elders' Verses II which he has been kind enough to show me before publication, Dr. W.B. Bollée points out that a slightly different version of the simile occurs in the Jain Sanskrit text *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*⁷ (2.1.54) :— *ambodhau yuga-śamilā praveśa-nyāyato bhava katham cin mānuṣaṃ janma labhyate puṇya-yogataḥ*. Dr. Helen M. Johnson translated⁸ :— 'In existence a human birth is attained with difficulty as a result of merit, like the entrance of the yoke-pin into the yoke in the ocean'. She noted⁹ :— 'I have not found any parallel for this rather unusual simile, but the yoke-pin seems to represent the soul.' Dr. Bollée points out that Schubring, in a review of Dr. Johnson's translation,¹⁰ observed that this simile occurs often in Jain literature, but did not give any references.

The Abhidhāna-rājendra-kośa (= ARK) quotes the following verses :—

puvvaṃte hoi jugam, avaraṃte tassa hoi samilāo ;
jugachiddammi paveso, ia saṃsaio maṇualambho (1)
jaha samilā pabbhaṭṭhā, sāgarasalile aṇorapārammi
pavisijja jugacchiddam, kaha vi bhamaṇṇi bhamaṇṭammi (2)
*sā caṇḍavāyavūpaṇullā avi labhijja jugachiddam*¹¹
na ya māṇusāu bhaṭṭho jivo puṇa māṇusam lahai (3)

ARK gives a reference only to the Āvaśyaka-sūtra but Dr. Bollée has been able to inform me that the verses occur at Āvaśyaka-niryukti 833-35. They are also quoted, with some slight variants¹², by Śāntisūri in his cty. on the Uṭtarajjhayaṇasutta, ¹³ as the ninth diṭṭhamta of the difficulty of obtaining human existence.

5 Elders' Verses II, Therīgāthā, PTS London, 1971, p. 49.

6 *ibid.*, p. 175.

7 Bhāvnagar, 1950.

8 Vol. II, GOS LXXVII, Baroda, 1937, p. 5.

9 *ibid.*, p. 5, note 15.

10 Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen 204 [1942], p. 311.

11 Ratlam, 1913, Vol. IV, p. 1573, s. v. *jugacchidda*.

12 e.g. (v. 1) *hojja* for *hoi* (twice), *samilā u* for *samilāo* ; (v. 2) *jahi* for *jaha*, *pavisejja* for *avisejja* ; (v. 3) *paṇollā* for *paṇullā*, *labhejja* for *labhijja*.

13 Uṭtarādhyāyanāni śrī-Śāntyačārya-vihita-śiṣyāhitākhyā-vṛttiyutāni, Sūryapur, 1950, Vol. I, p. 222.

The occurrence of *pubbaṇṭe* and *avaraṇṭe* in these verses makes it quite clear that I was wrong to suggest changing the reading at Thīg 500. The meaning is clear : the yoke is thrown into the Eastern end of the ocean, and the pin into the Western end. Drifting about they are not likely to come together so that the pin goes into the hole.

In his review Dr. Bollée suggests that the reference to M iii 169 does not suffice to explain the peculiar simile in Thīg 500. He seems rather to favour Dr. Johnson's view that there is some reference here to the soul, and he states that the use of the tortoise as a soul symbol may originate in that animal's characteristic retraction of its limbs, which is comparable to the soul's withdrawal from the six sense objecta. He refers to Miln 371-2 :—

*kummo va aṅgāni sake kapāle
samodahaṃ bhikkhu manovitaṅke
anissito aññaṃ aheṭṭhayaṇo
parinibbuto na apavadeyya kañci ti.*

This is a quotation from S i 7, and a slightly different version of the verse occurs at S iv 179. The idea is also quite common in Jain literature, and in correspondence with me Dr. Bollée has referred to :

*duddante indīe pañca rāga-dosa-paraṃgame
kummo viva sa-aṅgāṇi sae dehaṃmi sāhare (Isibhāsiyāṇi 16.2)
and kummo vva allīṇa-pallīṇa--gutto (Dasaveyāliya-sutta 8.40).*

Long ago Dr. Morris quoted:—

*yathā kumme sa-aṅgāṇi sae dehe samāhare
evaṃ pāvāṇi medhāvī ajjhappaṇa samāhare (Sūyagaḍa I.8.13) and
drew attention to kummo iva guttiṃdie (Kalpasūtra Jinacarita § 118) and
susamāhiyapāṇipāe kummo iva guttiṃdie savvagāyapaḍḍiṇe (Ovavāliya-sutta § 30
VI).*

The locus classicus for this simile is of course in the Bhagavadgītā (2.58) :

*yadā saṃharate cāyaṃ kūrmo' ṅgāṇi va sarvaśaḥ
indriyāṇindriyārthebhyas tasya prajñā pratiṣṭhitā.*

Although the tortoise simile is common in Buddhist, Jain, and Brahmanical literature, nevertheless I do not think that there is any reference to that idea in Thīg 500. I believe that the simile is to be taken at its face-value and no more: two objects drifting in widely separated parts of the sea are unlikely to drift together.

The question arises which version of the simile—the Jain one with the pin going into the hole, or the Buddhist one with the turtle's head—is the earlier. From the point of view of appositeness the Jain version would seem to be the original, since it would seem likely that in its earliest form the statement concern-

ed the probability of the yoke-pin going, by chance, into the place intended for it, i.e. the hole in the yoke. So Dr. Bollée suggests that the Buddhist version has incorporated the idea of the turtle because of the tortoise/soul simile, and the idea of a blind turtle is a still later addition to make the finding of the hole even more difficult, and the simile even more appropriate to the difficulty of gaining human birth.

It is therefore noteworthy that the Jain version, although it may be assumed to be the more original, is attested in a later text than the Pāli, which being found in the canon is much earlier chronologically. There is, however, not only evidence that the Jain version is older than the *nijjuttī*, but also some indication as to how the Buddhist version came into being. This evidence also supports the belief expressed above that the turtle in the story has nothing to do with the tortoise/soul simile. In the *nijjuttī* to the *Uttarajjhayaṇa-sutta* occurs a verse¹⁵ which serves as a mnemonic for the ten *diṭṭhamtas* which are included in the *cty.* on *Utt.* 3.1, where we find a list of the four things which are difficult to obtain, one of them being rebirth as a man:—

*collaga pāsaga-dhaṇṇe jūe rayāṇe ya sumiṇa-cakke ya
camma-juge parimāṇū dasa diṭṭhamtā maṇuya-laṇbhe.*

Of these *diṭṭhamtas*, the sixth (*sumiṇa*) is the *Mūladeva* story,¹⁶ and the ninth (*juga*) is the yoke simile discussed above. I quote the eighth (*camma*) from *Śāntisūri's* *cty.*:—

*camme tti, ego daho joyaṇasayasahassavicchinno (? read-vitthinno)
cummāvanaddho, egaṃ se majjhe chiddaṃ, jāttha kacchabhassa gīvā māyāi,
tāttha kacchabho vāsasae gae pasārei, teṇa kahavi gīvā pasāriyā, jāva teṇa
chiddena gīvā niggayā, teṇa joisaṃ diṭṭhaṃ komuie pupphaphalāni ya, so gato,
sayanijjagāṇaṃ dāemi, āṇitā savvao ghulati, ṇavi peccati, avi so māṇusāto.* The same story is told in *Nemicaṇḍra's* *cty.*,¹⁷ with some minor differences. There the lake is covered with *sevālavamma*, and this might be thought to make better sense—the alternation *camma/vamma* being a clear example of a variation arising from the graphic confusion of *ca* and *va*. It also reads *vāsasae vāsasae for vāsasae gae*, which reminds us of the Buddhist version found at *S v* 455.

Although the *nijjuttis* cannot be dated exactly,¹⁸ they are generally reckoned to be the earliest extant Jain commentaries¹⁹ and the fact that the mnemonic

14 R. Morris, Notes and Queries, Journal of the Pāli Text Society, 1891, p. 49.

15 Verse 160 in the 1950 edition (see note 13 above) ; verse 166 in the version quoted by Charpentier in his edition of *Utt.*, p. 291.

16 Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭri, ed. H. Jacobi, Leipzig, 1886, pp. 56-65.

17 *Uttarādhyayanāni śrīman-Nemicaṇḍrācārya-viracita-sukhabodhānāmnā vṛtyā sam-* alaṅkṛtāni, Valad, 1937, p. 66.

18 See W. Schubring, The Doctrine of the Jainas, Delhi, 1962, § 43.

verse occurs in the nijjutti to the Uttarajjhayanāsutta shows that the series of ten diṭṭhamtas must have been in existence earlier than the date of the compilation of the nijjutti.²⁰ Since some of the similes are common to both Jainism and Buddhism, they could well have been borrowed from one into the other, or introduced into both from a third source while the two religions were in contact during their earliest stages in Magadha.

It therefore seems possible that the Buddhists conflated two of the illustrations which were given for the difficulty of obtaining human birth, namely the turtle finding a hole in the water-weed and seeing the sky, and the yoke-pin going into a hole in the yoke, and made one illustration from them, namely the turtle's head going into a hole in the yoke. Since the Jain story says nothing about the turtle being blind, but in fact emphasises the point that it could see the sky through the hole, we may agree with Dr. Bollée that the idea of blindness was a later addition to the story.

HISTORY OF THE MYTH OF THE FIRE ORIGIN

By

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The myth of the fire origin is as old as the myth of the Solar and Lunar origin. Just as it is impossible to believe in one it is equally impossible to believe in the other; yet tracing one's origin from gods was an old practice. During the old Kingdom of Egypt the Pharaoh was regarded as the son of Ra (sun). The Greeks believed that they were descendants of a god, thus they had a bond of unity among themselves and a common basis of association. The Kushans took the title Daivaputra (son of God) on the analogy of the Chinese emperors. In India also some people believed themselves to be the sons of Sun or Moon or god Agni. We will trace here the myth of the fire origin both from religious as well as secular literature.

Pargiter was the first person to point out an Āgneya tribe in the Epics and the Purāṇas. Agniṇyas are mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*¹. Pargiter² comments that he had not found them elsewhere, and nor this word is found in the Dictionary. Hence he suggests that the proper reading should be Āgneyas. He traces the Āgneyas in the *Mahābhārata* (Vana Parva ccliii. 15256). A sage or man called Āgneya Sudarśana is referred to in Anuśāsan Parva ii, 102-172; and the Āgneya Śalyakīrtana is alluded to in the same region (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa. lxiii. 3). He concludes that the Āgneyas were a small tribe inhabiting the northern part of Kuru-Kṣetra.

V. S. Pathak³ has further elaborated the subject. Referring to the same reference in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*⁴ he says that the Agnīdhraas are mentioned in the Purāṇas as inhabiting the northern zone with the Trigartas, the Saindhavas and the Dāśerakas. He further adds referring to the *Mārkaṇḍeya*⁵ and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*⁶ that Agnīdhra was the son of Priyavrata through Kāmyā, the daughter of Karddama. Then he goes on to say that the dynasty, it is stated, developed into a family of Brāhmaṇas.

We would like to say a few things. First of all the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* has the reading Agniṇya which may have the meaning Āgneya born from Agnī as

1 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* Tr. By F. Eden, Pargiter, canto, lviii, V. 43.

2 *Ibid*, p. 378 fn.

3 *Ancient Historians of India*, p. 167.

4 *Mārkaṇḍeya*, Canto lviii, verses 43-44.

5 *Ibid*. Canto liii.

6 *Viṣṇu*, II, Ch. I, verses 5-12.

referred to above. Secondly *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Viṣṇu* give the progeny of Agnīdhra and say that in his line was born Bharata who took birth in a Brāhmaṇa family in his next life. There is no indication of Agnīdhra's line developing into a family of the Brāhmaṇas. Simply on the basis of similar sound no conclusion can be drawn.

About Āgneya Sudarśana V. S. Pathak⁷ says that though born on the bank of Narmadā, he performed austerities at Kurukṣetra. He further says that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*⁸ closely links up Āgneya Sudarśana with the Dhārṣṭakas—a Brahma-kṣhtra people. We would like to say two things. First of all it is true that Āgneya Sudarśana was of Agni (fire god in the form of a Brāhmaṇa) and Sudarśanā who was herself a daughter of Narmadā (river Narmadā in the form of a lady). But that does not prove that he was born on the bank of river Narmadā. Secondly the *Bhāgavata* says that one Sudarśana married Oghavatī, a daughter of the Nṛga line which was collateral of the Dhārṣṭa line which according to the *Bhāgavata* developed into a Brāhmaṇa line. But the Nṛga line in which he married remained a Kṣatriya line.

V. S. Pathak⁹ referring to the *Rāmāyaṇa*¹⁰ says that it alludes to a sage Śalyakartana who dwelt at Kurukṣetra. But to us it does not seem to be the name of a sage as in this chapter of the Ayodhyākāṇḍa are mentioned, geographical places, rivers, and countries which Bharata crossed on his way to Ayodhyā. Here there is a reference to his crossing the river Śilā which made a boundary of the territory of Āgneya Śalyakartana.

Then referring to Vanaparva¹¹ he says¹² that the Āgneyas are mentioned along with the Bhadrās, the Patrikas, the Mālavas and the Dāserakas. So he concludes that the Āgneyas are placed in several districts from Kurukṣetra to Narmadā. Here we would like to say that upto the early centuries of the Christian era (the last date of additions in the *Mahābhārata*) the Mālavas had moved from the Punjab upto eastern Rajasthan. Hence the Āgneyas who are collated together with the Dāserakar and Mālavas, the residents of western and eastern Rajasthan respectively might also be living from Kurukṣetra (their original territory in eastern Punjab) to the last boundary of Rajasthan. Their extension upto Narmadā is not projected here.

7 *Op. cit.* p. 167.

8 *Bhāgavata*, ix. 2.17-18.

9 *Op. cit.*, p. 168.

10 *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, Ch. 73. 3. ff. The relevant Verse in the critical edition of P. L. Vaidya is 2.65 2. which runs thus :—

एलघाने नदीं तीर्त्वा प्राप्य चापरपर्वटान् ।

शिलामाकुर्वतीं तीर्त्वा ह्याग्नेयं शत्यकर्तनम् ॥

11 *Mahābhārata*, III, 253, 19-20.

12 *Op. cit.* p. 168.

Then he¹³ refers to Agniveśya referred to in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.¹⁴ The story as given in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is that in the line of Nariṣyanta, the brother of Ikṣvāku, Agni himself was born as the sage Agniveśya, who belonged to the family of Jātukarṇyas, and after him the whole dynasty was known as Agniveśyāyana. As in the *Jainendra Vyākaraṇa* of Devanandi (c. 550-600 A.D.) there is a compound Agniveśa-Dāserakāḥ under the Sūtra which permits the collocation of kindred gotras, he takes their gotra to be Vasiṣṭha as Āpastamba and Matsya list the latter under Vasiṣṭhas. Then the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* groups Agniveśa with Kauṇḍīnyas who were Vasiṣṭhas and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* places them under Jātukarṇyas who had Vasiṣṭha gotra. Hence he¹⁵ concludes that Agniveśas were Vasiṣṭhas. But we would like to point out that Agnījyas and Āgneyas mentioned earlier may have had different gotras.

Thus we see that the mention of Agnivaṃśa or fire origin is not a concoction of the early mediaeval period but this conception is as old as the Epics and the Purāṇas. Here the word, 'Agnījya' suggests birth from Agni. They were inhabiting the left flank of the tortoise with other numerous people extending from the North Western Himalayas to the two sides of the Arāvalis. Āgneya Sudarśana is connected with Kurukṣetra and is said to be a direct son of Agni in the form of a Brāhmaṇa. Āgneya Śalyakartana is a place between river Śilā and Sarasvatī in eastern Punjab. In Vanaparvan they are not far away from the Dāśerakas and Mālavas. Agniveśya is Agni incarnate born in Kṣatriya family but his dynasty developed into Brāhmaṇa family. They also lived near Dāśerakas. Hence the conclusion that in the mind of the Ancient writer of the Purāṇas there were certain Brāhmaṇa families which connected themselves with Agni just as certain Kṣatriyas connected themselves with the Sun and the Moon.

In the secular literature, we hear of it in the Puranānūru in the Tamil literature. In it a petty chief Puli Kadi Māl Irangovel of anyyaram is addressed in the following words: "Having come out of the Sacrificial fire-pit of the sage having ruled over the camp of Dvārapati whose high walls looked as though they were built of copper and having come after fortynine generations of patrons never disgusted with giving—Thou art the patron among patrons".¹⁶ Krishnaswami Aiyangar assigns it to second century A.D.¹⁷ D.C. Sircar¹⁸ says that the date of the author of the verses cannot be determined with precision though it is difficult to agree with those who are inclined to assign him to such an early

13 *Ibid.*

14 *Bhāgavata*, ix, 2.21-22.

15 V. S. Pathak, *Ancient Historians of India*, p. 168.

16 Krishnaswami Aiyangar : *Ancient Indian and South Indian History and Culture*, Vol. II, 1941, p. 862.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 867.

18 D. C. Sircar : *Guhilas of Kīṣkindhā*, p. 23.

date as the second century A.D. In his opinion there is, however, little doubt that the above literary tradition is earlier than the records of the Paramāras and the Agni-kula chiefs of the Nanded district.

D.C. Sircar¹⁹ gives us another account of a fire-dynasty. On the basis of an inscription discovered at Hoṭṭal in the Nanded District of Maharashtra which he assigns to the third quarter of eleventh century A.D., is known a local family of chiefs who owed allegiance to king Someśvara I (1042-68 A.D.) or II (1068-76 A.D.) of the Cālukya house of Kalyāṇa. The family of these chiefs is called Agni-kula, Vahni-kula, Pāvaka-santati etc., i.e. the fire family. It is said that the sage Agastya had his hermitage in the valley of Mount Kailāsa. The sage's Kāmadhenu (wish fulfilling cow) was snatched away by certain rulers and he offered in a great rage an oblation into the blazing fire without uttering a curse. The result was the birth of a great hero from the fire-pit, who after having killed those rulers, brought back the Kāmadhenu to Agastya as if it were the sage's māna-siddhi (restoration of prestige) incarnate. This hero is represented in the inscription as the progenitor of the fire family of the Nanded District.

The most well-known story is that given by Padmagupta of *Navasāha-sāṅka-carita*.²⁰ According to this, Paramāra was born from the fire-pit of Vasiṣṭha at Ābu to rescue his kāmādhenu (wish-fulfilling cow). This work was composed sometime between 974-1000 A.D. After this, the theory was repeated in the Paramāra inscriptions²¹ from 11th century onwards. Halāyudha, a contemporary of Padmagupta in his '*Piṅgala Sūtravṛtti*' mentions Rājā Muñja of the Paramāra dynasty as belonging to Brahma-Kṣatra Kula.²²

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri²³ has brought to notice one more fire family from the south. On the basis of an inscription of Kulottuṅga III (1178-1216 A.D.) he gives the origin of the Iṅgaṅai classes as under. "They claimed to have been created from the agnikuṇḍa (fire-pit) for the protection of the sacrifice of Kaśyapa, and to have settled in the Cola country in the time of the emperor Arindama; this emperor imported a large colony of holy Brahmins from Antarvedī, and the Iṅgaṅai classes accompanied these Brahmin colonists as the bearers of their slippers and their umbrellas. They got some lands in five villages, all of them now in the Trichinopoly district, and had long lost the

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 21.

²⁰ *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* XI, vv. 64-76.

²¹ See author's article 'Origin of the Paramāras' in the *University of Rajasthan Studies in History*, 1968-69, p. 48, f.n. 28.

²² ब्रह्माक्षत्रकुलीनः प्रलीनसामन्तचक्रनुतचरणः ।

सकलसुकुतेकपुञ्जः श्रीमान्मुञ्जश्चिरं जयति ॥

²³ *The Cōlas*, II Ed., p. 551.

memory of their origin when they recovered it about A.D. 1128. They then entered into a compact among themselves to the effect that they should thenceforth behave like sons of the same parents ”.

Prthvirāja Rāso ²⁴ written by Candavardāi (probably in the last quarter of the 12th century A.D.) gives the theory that Cālukya (Solāṅkī), Pratihāra (Paḍihāra), Chāhamāna (Chauhāna) and Paramāra (Panwāra) originated from the fire pit of Vasiṣṭha. The same author has put these clans under Ravi Śasi Jādhava Vamśa elsewhere.

Having given the original references, let us now come down to their assessment. With reference to the theory of Padmagupta about the origin of the Paramāras B. N. Reu²⁵ says that “ a descendant of Vasiṣṭha, purified (by a sort of penance) a clan of Kṣatriyas whose forefathers had embraced Buddhism ”. But Halāyudha, a contemporary of Padmagupta, in his ‘ *Piṅgala-sūtravṛtti* ’, mentions Rājā Muñja of the Paramāra dynasty as belonging to the ‘ Brahma-Kṣatra Kula (or a combined Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya dynasty). B. N. Reu first says that their forefathers had accepted Buddhism and were later purified and then with reference to Brahma-Kṣatra he has taken it to mean a combined Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya dynasty. We do not know for certain whether the forefathers of the Paramāras were Buddhists or Brāhmaṇas or Buddhists who were Brāhmaṇas at some stage.

G.H. Ojha²⁶ on the other hand says that in ancient times the word Brahma-Kṣatra has been used for those royal families who had the qualities of both Brahmatva and Kṣatratva or for those whose progeny had become Brāhmaṇa having been Kṣatriya erstwhile. Three verses containing the word Brahma-Kṣatra have been quoted by G. H. Ojha.²⁷ But neither the Paramāras produced

24 *Prthvirāja Rāso* as quoted by C. V. Vaidya in the *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. II, pp. 12-13 & p. 22.

25 *Rajputs, Indian Culture*, III, No. 2, p. 290.

26 *History of Rajputana*, Vol. I, Second Ed., p. 75

27 *Ibid*, p. 75

१. ब्रह्माक्षत्रकुलीनः प्रलीनसामन्तचक्रनुतचरणः ।

सकलसुकृतेकपुञ्जः श्रीमान्मुञ्जश्चिरं जयति ॥ (पिङ्गलसूत्रवृत्तिः)

२. तस्मिन् सेनानाये प्रतिष्ठमटशतोत्सादनस

त्र (ब्र) ह्यरक्षत्रियाणामजनि कुलशिरोदाम सामन्तसेनः । (E. I, p. 307)

३. ब्रह्माक्षत्रस्य यो योनिर्वंशो देवर्षिसत्कृतः ।

क्षेमकं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ ॥

(मत्स्यपुराण, अध्याय ५०, श्लोक ८८ । वायुपुराण अ. ६६, श्लोक २७८-७९ । विष्णुपुराण अंश ४, अ. २० । भागवत सर्ग ६, अ. २२, श्लोक ४४-५५ ।

any Brāhmaṇas nor did the Senas of Bengal. As far as Paurava dynasty is concerned there were famous persons like Viśvāmitra and Ariṣṭasena who attained Brāhmaṇatva. At the most what can be drawn out from these references is that there were families in whom some attained Brāhmaṇatva but the vice versa is equally possible.

Dasharatha Sharma²⁸ says that it is possible that Paramāras were Brāhmaṇa earlier but seeing the religion in danger like Śuṅgas, Śātavāhanas, Kadambas and Pallavas, though belonging to the Brāhmaṇa family, took up sword and in due course were recognised as Kṣatriyas.

G. H. Ojha²⁹ has given another explanation for the fire-pit theory. He says that "In the inscriptions of the Paramāras the first man in the daynasty has been mentioned as coming out of fire and so if he is called fire-born there is no wonder in it." But this theory has been belied by so many other dynasties also known as fire-born.

Now let us discuss the social milieu of these classes as far as possible. The chief mentioned in the Purnānūru ruled over the camp of Dvārapati whose high walls looked as though they were built of copper. Dvāravati is the famous name of Dvārka in Gujarat. Is it not an indication that they in all probability hailed from that land in ancient times? Then they were rulers for forty-nine generations never disgusted with giving. It would simply indicate their Kṣatriya status at that time. The adjective most relevant is that they came out of the sacrificial fire-pit of the sage. We know of the Hiranyagarbhaprasūta in which an egg of gold representing Brahma was made and the being physically came out of it and was proud of it. Was not Agnikunḍa birth an equally, if not more, pious a birth to be proud of? The Licchavis used to be very proud of bathing in the Pokharinī which was the right of only 7707 Rājās. Agni-kunḍa birth really seems to be an effort to claim the birth from Agni-deva in the same spirit as the mythological birth from Sun and Moon gods is. The seed of the thought of the birth from the fire-pit is traceable from the *Bhagavadgītā*³⁰ (III. 10) where it is said that Prajāpati having created the progeny with sacrifice (yajña) said in olden times that may you increase in number with sacrifice and may it be the fulfiller of your desired wish.

In Hoṭṭal inscription Agastya's Kāmadhenu (wish-fulfilling cow) is said to have been carried away by certain rulers. This dhenu (cow) is also called homadhenu in this inscription i.e. it was cow (sign of property) achieved

28 Rajasthan Bharati, III, pt. 2, p. 7.

29 History of Rajputana, Vol. I, p. 76.

30 सहयज्ञाः प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा पुरोवाच प्रजापतिः ।

अनेन प्रसविष्यध्वमेष वोऽस्त्विष्टकामधुक् ॥ (Gītā III, 10)

through homa (sacrifice). Is not this belief in consonance with the thought expressed in the verse of the *Gītā* referred to above where the desired wishes are fulfilled through sacrifice ? Then this Agastya is said to have had his hermitage in the valley of Mount Kailāsa. Is it not again a reference to their hailing from northern India ? Then the rescuer of the cow is a hero in whose family were the chiefs of Nanded. It was a family of chieftains. Does it not immediately indicate the Kṣatriya origin for the family ? At the same time it is an indication of their Agastya gotra. It is possible that they were Āgastya geneologically and were thus Brāhmaṇas.

In Padmagupta's story of the origin of Paramāra two traditions have been merged together. First is that of the birth from the fire-pit and second is that of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra. It probably indicates their fire ceremonial and their Vasiṣṭha gotra as till today they have Vasiṣṭha gotra. Then in the Harasola inscription this family is called efficient in delivering from sin and this epithet behoves only a Brāhmaṇa family and not that of the Kṣatriyas. And exactly speaking Halāyudha, a contemporary of Padmagupta, has called this family Brahma-kṣatra. We know that they were Kṣatriyas in the history well-known to us and thus they can be Brāhmaṇas who became Kṣatriyas.

Now let us come down to the other three dynasties mentioned by Candavardāi. Pratihāras of Mandore were the scions of a Brāhmaṇa Haricandra born from a Kṣatriyā. The Pratihāras of Kanauj are said to have been born in the line of Lakṣmaṇa due to whose Prātihārya they were called Pratihāras. We³¹ have indicated elsewhere that such a claim was made by the Pratihāra line of Mandore also and there is every possibility that they belonged to the same line as their homeland was sandwiched between those of the Pratihāras of Mandore, the names of the imperial line of Nāgabhaṭa, Bhoja and Kakkuka are similar with the Mandore line, and they started their imperial career from Rajasthan. Under these circumstances, there is every probability that like Pratihāras of Mandore they also originated from Haricandra Brāhmaṇa. Then in the *Tattiriya Brāhmaṇa*³² the Pratihārtri Brāhmaṇas, are specifically mentioned. So they were the Pratihārtri Brāhmaṇas who became Kṣatriyas and, having forgotten it, connected themselves with Pratihāratva of Lakṣmaṇa which is incongruous with their line having started with Brāhmaṇa Haricandra. He might also be connected with Agni as he has been called having the symbol of Rohillat haya i.e. Agni.

As far as the Cāhamānas are concerned, Sāmanta, the earliest Cāhamāna prince mentioned in records after Vāsudeva has been called a Vipra of the Vatsa

31 Author's article 'Juzrs of Jozri or the Gurjaras of Mandore' in the University of Rajasthan Studies in Arts, Vol. VIII, pp. 92-93.

32 Taitt. Br. III., 12.9.2.; V. S. Pathak, Ancient History of India, p. 165,

gotra in Bijolia inscription³³ of king Someśvaradeva dated 1170 A.D. P. L. Bhargava³⁴ says that really speaking there were two Pakṣas of Bhṛgu Gotra viz. Vatsa and Bidasa. In Bhṛgu Gotra was born one ṛṣi named Agni after Paraśu-rāma, "who succoured the Aikṣvāku king Sagara". We presume that he might be in Vatsa Pakṣa and that is why Cāhamānas are called both Vatsa-gotrīs and Agnivamśīs; or Vatsa might have been there after Agni; then also they can be called Agnivamśīs and Vatsa-gotrīs. Under these circumstances they also seem to be of Brāhmaṇa origin.³⁵

As far as Cālukyas³⁶ are concerned like other Hārītiputras i.e. the Pallavas and Kadambas they also were probably Brāhmaṇas to begin with.

Under these circumstances it is indicated that out of seven Agnivamśīs known to history four belonging to northern India were Brāhmaṇas who became Kṣatriyas. Then we know Āgneya Brāhmaṇas from the Epics and the Purāṇas and Agniveśyāyana Brāhmaṇas from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. To begin with, they were in the territory between the Western Himalayas and the Aravalis. The dynasty mentioned in Hoṭṭal inscription in Nanded may be of Agastya gotriya Brāhmaṇas who migrated to the south of the Narmadā. The Iḍangai classes may be Kaśyapa gotriya and Brāhmaṇas as majority of the Agnivamśīs are Brāhmaṇas. As far as the dynasty mentioned in Puruānūru is concerned they ruled in Dvārakā and still did not connect themselves with Kṛṣṇa of the Lunar dynasty. It throws an indication that they did not belong to it. They were also in all probability Brāhmaṇas who did not claim their origin from Solar or Lunar, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa who were Kṣatriyas. It seems that the Brāhmaṇas who became kings or chiefs in early medieval India could not connect themselves with Kṣatriya Solar and Lunar clans of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa as they were conscious of their Brāhmaṇa origin and connected themselves with the mythological Agni-deva and their bards put up the theory of the Agni-kunḍa (fire-pit) origin in place of the origin from Agni of the Purāṇas. Later when they merged socially with the Kṣatriya clans of the ruling families they did not feel pride in being humble Brāhmaṇas and claimed to be of Solar and Lunar Kṣatriya stock, which created a great confusion in history as the same clan sometime claimed to be of Agnivamśa and sometimes of Solar or Lunar origin. Our impression on the basis of above interpretation is that in all probability they were of Brāhmaṇa stock who considered themselves to be born of Agni-deva who took to Kṣātrahood when they got an opportunity to make their own fortune through sword instead of the ladle.

33 E.I., IX, p. 79; VV, 6-10.

34 India in the Vedic, pp. 103-104.

35 Author's article 'Origin of the Cāhamānas' in University of Rajasthan Studies in History, 1965-66, pp. 1-13.

36 Author's article 'Origin of the Chalukyas' in the Preceding of the Rajasthan History Congress, Jodhpur, 1967.

A NOTE ON 'AVANIPATITRITYA' AND 'TRAIRĀJYA' OCCURRING IN THE RECORDS OF THE EARLY CHĀLUKYAS

By

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Scholars are not unanimous on the term "*Avanipatitritiya*" and "*Trairājya*" occurring in the records of Vikramāditya I and his son and successor Vinayāditya who caused disaster to the early Chālukya power during the reign of Pulakeśin II in 642 A.D. The expression "*Avanipatitritiya*" is found for the first time in the Kurnool plate¹ of Vikramāditya I and repeated in the later records. According to this grant, "having gained for him the royalty of his father, which had been conceded by '*Avanipatitritiya*', caused the burden of the whole earth to be governed by himself alone". The same triad of kings are apparently referred to as "*Rājātraiya*" in the very next line and it is said that Vikramāditya "by his own mouth confirmed the property of temples and the grants to the Brāhmaṇas which had lapsed in that triad of kingdoms (or destroyed by those three kings)". We come across the term '*Trairājya*' for the first time in the Jejuri plates² of Vinayāditya which state that he (Vinayāditya), at the command of his father (Vikramāditya I) curbed the extremely exalted power of *Trairājya* Pallava. Fleet³ took the former term to mean the three Pallava kings Narasiṃha-varman I, Mahendra-varman II and Parameśvara-varman I, who are known to have been defeated by Vikramāditya I. But, we are now in a position to say that there is a serious chronological difficulty in accepting this view⁴. Because the claim is noticed in the records of Vikramāditya I which bears a date much earlier than the end of the rule of Narasiṃhavarman I.

Kielhorn,⁵ Hultzsch⁶, Krishnasastri⁷, Pathak⁸ and Panchamukhi⁹ have taken it to refer to the three South Indian Powers, i.e. the Pāṇḍyas, the Cholas,

1 *IA*, K, p. 244: Some records of Vinayāditya, son and successor of Vikramāditya I mention '*Dharaṇidharatraya*' for '*Avanipatitritiya*' (cf. *EI*, XXII' p. 27; *MER*, No. 12 of 1906; No. 3 of 1917.

2 *EI*, XIX, pp. 62 ff.

3 *DKD*, p. 362 and fn. 6.

4 *EI*, XXII, p. 26; XXXII, p. 176; *DKR*, 1940-41, p. 10.

5 *EI*, V, p. 202.

6 *EI*, IX, p. 101 fn. 5.

7 *EI*, XI, p. 341 fn. 1.

8 *EI*, IX, p. 205 fn. 4.

9 *EI*, XXII, pp. 28ff.

and the Keralas. Duberuil¹ has suggested that the three kings who constituted *Trairājya* were the Pallavas, the Pāṇḍyas and Simhala Mānavamma. According to N. Venakataaramanayya² the term "*Trairājya*" as well as the expression "*Avanipatitritiya*" refer to the three branches of the Pallava dynasty ruling over the three different regions of their kingdoms. Of late, an endeavour has been made³ to identify the three kings with either Vikramāditya's own brothers Ādityavarman, Chandrāditya or Raṇarāgavarman or the first two and the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman who, as we all know, inflicted a series of defeat on Pulakeśin II, and even captured Vātāpi.

In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible for us to accept any of the above mentioned views on the following grounds :

(i) There were only three kings who were responsible for the defeat of Pulakeśin II, and the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman I was one of them as is evident from many records. If we take the Pāṇḍyas, the Cholas and the Cheras to be the powers responsible for the defeat of Pulakeśin II, it would be historically wrong.

(ii) Secondly, we hear of one Ceylonese king who helped Narasiṃhavarman in his campaign against Pulakeśin⁴ II. Mānavarman, heir to the Ceylonese throne was a friend and ally of the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman I (630-668). Their joint army triumphed over Pulakeśin II. According to the *Mahāvamsa* "Mānavamma shared his heroism distinguishing himself by his courage like Nārāyaṇa in the battle of the gods; Narasiṃhavarman embraced him lovingly saying it is thou who hast brought the victory.... The king reciprocated and placed him at the head of a strong force fully equipped". This force helped him in getting the throne of Laṅkādvīpa. This is also supported by the Triyāyi rock Inscription found from the vicinity of the holy Tirukonamalu (Trincomalu) on the ruins of ancient Buddhist monastery, called *Girikandice-tiya*⁵.

1 *The Pallavas*, p. 44.

2 *MCCJ*, Jan. 1929, pp. 6-8.

3 Yazdani, *EHD*, pp. 217ff.

4 *Mahāvamsa*, ch., XLVII, pp. 15ff.

5 Panchamukhi thinks that this is not mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* (cf. *El*, XXII, p. 28fn. 6) which is, however, incorrect. (cf. Duberuil, the *Pallavas*, p. 44; M. D. Raghavan, *India in Ceylonese History*, p. 39). According to Panchamukhi, it is impossible that the Simhala king Mānavamma, who ascended the throne in A.D. 668 (Hultsch), according to Duberuil in A.D. 600 and A.D. 699 (according to Wilesimha), could have entered the alliance as a crowned king and helped the Pallava Narasiṃhavarman I in defeating the Chālukyas in about A.D. 643. Here, the first thing to be noted is the date of Mānavarman which has not yet been fixed by scholars. We know that during the rule of Hastadamṣṭra, Mānavarman had fled to the court of Kādūvēṭhi (i.e. Kādūvētti or Pallava), king Narasiṃha in India. This Narasiṃha is no doubt Narasiṃhavarman I of the Pallava family of Kāñci, who defeated the Chālukya king Pulakeśin II about 642 A.D. (cf. *The Classical Age*, P. 289).

(iii) Thirdly, we know on the authority of the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II¹ that these three south Indian powers were friendly to Pulakeśin II. According to this record Pulakeśin II defeated the Pallava king of Kāñcī and went to the land to the south of Kāverī, where he became the source of prosperity to the Cholas, the Keralas and the Pāṇḍyas. Thus it appears that Pulakeśin II succeeded in winning over the allegiance of the southern neighbours of the Pallavas.

(iv) The view of N. Venkataramaayya also does not find support. No records of Pallava so far known to us speak of the three branches of Pallava kingdom in the latter half of the 7th century A.D. In an earlier age, of course, we hear of the Pallava Yuvamahārājās.²

(v) The view that among the three powers who were responsible for the disaster of the early Chālukyas were also the two sons of Pulakeśin II Ādityavarman and Chandrāditya looks erroneous. The Kurnool plates of Vikramāditya I suggest that the recovery of the royal fortune of his father by Vikramāditya I took place after victories won by the kings over "the would be conquerors". The implication appears to be that "the would be conquerors" were the external enemies rather than internal rivals. Again, the record states that '*Avanipatīritya*' not only obscured the royal fortunes of Pulakeśin II but also destroyed the properties of temples and grants made to the Brāhmaṇas. Now, can such activities be reasonably expected from Pulakeśin II's own sons, who certainly had an interest in gaining the affection of the inhabitants of their own territories. In fact, the only record of Ādityavarman which has come to us, shows him making grants to the Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of *Paitāmahi* and *Hiraṇyagarbhadāna*³. The two grants of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā,⁴ the queen of Chandrāditya also record some grants made to the Brāhmaṇas.

(vi) The view of Duberuil has some force when he says that the three kings were Pallava Narasimhavarman I, the Ceylonese king Mānavarman and the Pāṇḍya king. That the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I and the Ceylonese king Mānavarman were the two of the three powers cannot be doubted. Now we have to identify the third king who participated in Narasimhavarman's campaign against Pulakeśin II. Possibly it was the Chola king. The presence of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya I in Chola country is well-known from his Gadval and Saknur plates⁵ issued from Urāgapura situated in

1 *EI*, VI, p. 6 (Text line 14-15).

2 *PIHC*, XIV, pp. 67ff; *EI*, XXII, p. 27.

3 The Kurnool plates of his 1st regnal year (see *IA*, X, pp. 224ff; *JBBRAS*, XVI, pp. 225ff).

4 The Kochare grant and the Nerur grant (see *IA*, VIII, pp. 44ff; *IA*, VII, p. 163).

5 *EI*, X, p. 103, XXVII, pp. 115ff.

Cholika Viṣaya on the southern bank of Kāverī. It seems that the Chola king left paying allegiance to Pulakeśin II and sided with the Pallava king, which proved disastrous for Pulakeśin II but when his son Vikramāditya I came to the throne, he took the revenge of his father's defeat from the Chola king.

Thus, in any case "*Avanipatitritiya*" and "*Trairājya*" who caused disaster to Pulakeśin II cannot be the three south Indian kings viz. the Pāṇḍyas, the Cholas and the Keralas. They were certainly the Pallava king Narasimhavarman I, the Ceylonese king Mānavarman and possibly the Chola king.

The term "*Trairājyapallava*" occurs for the first time in the Jejuri plates of Vinayāditya, son and successor of Vikramāditya I. Here this term "*Trairājya*" may refer to the three south Indian powers viz. the Pāṇḍyas, Cholas and the Keralas as suggested by the scholars.¹ This term is repeated also in the Mālepādu plates of Puṇyakumāra², the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*³ and Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa*.⁴ In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the word occurs along with *Muṣika* in the passage. Fleet has identified *Muṣika* to be in south.⁵ "*Trairājya*" should, therefore, be located near it.⁶ Further, the word is explained by the commentaror of Jinasena's *Ādipurāṇa* as referring to the Cholas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Keralas. It is, therefore, reasonable to think that '*Trariājya*' of the Chālukyan inscription refers to these three countries only. The view of Panchmukhi seems to be correct,⁷ but at the outset we must make a clear distinction between the two terms "*Avanipatitritiya* or *Rājatraya*" who defeated Pulakeśin II and the term "*Trairājya*" who were defeated by Vinayāditya at the command of his father. Thus, we may conclude that these two terms were quite different from each other and were used to denote different expressions.

1 *EI*, V, p. 202, IX, p. 101 ; *DKR*, 1940-41, p. 10.

2 *EI*, XI, p. 337.

3 *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, ch. 4, vv. 24-27.

4 *Ādipurāṇa*, XXX, verse 35, *EI*, IX, p. 205.

5 *DKD*, p. 281.

6 *EI*, XXII, p. 28.

7 *Ibid.*

ON THE LOCATION OF DILMUN

By

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Writing in Antiquity Allchin¹ has sought to place Dilmun somewhere on the Saurashtra sea-board, particularly in the Gulf of Cambay. Prior to him, only Kramer² equated it with the Indus Valley. Other authorities, on the other hand, appear to be unanimous in locating it in and about the island of Baharain in the Persian Gulf³. Of its other two concomitant toponyms, while Meluhha (or Melukkha), in the period documented by written sources, "...is already outside the borderline of actual contact with Mesopotamia"⁴, the other viz. Magan has been variously placed over a wide territory extending from the Sinaitic peninsula in the west to the extreme south-east of Babylonia in the east⁵. G. Smith, however, takes it to be the "most ancient cuneiform name of Egypt"⁶.

Be what it may, in his fresh attempts to locate Dilmun, Allchin has brought to bear the testimony of a grand old local seafarer, who is reported to have heard of the name somewhere in the Gulf of Cambay, but failed "to remember precisely where it was located". In justification of his reliance on such an oral testimony he asserts: "There is no Indian word approximating to Dilmun or its variants" "in the *Gazetteer of India and Pakistan* (1950)"⁷. Here, however, in this compilation are listed not only one but two such names⁸. Thus, in Survey Sheet No. 44 K *Dulmāna* and *Dulmāni* are significantly located within a few miles, beyond the dry bed of the river Sarasvatī to the north of Kalibangan, a Harappan and Pre-Harappan settlement in north-western Rajasthan.

As to their "approximating to Dilmun or its variants", it is perhaps the consonants that are more important than the vowels, which only facilitate the

1 Allchin, F. R., "Dilmun and the Gulf of Cambay", *Antiquity*, XLIII, 1969, pp. 315-17.

2 Kramer, S. N., "Dilmun: Quest for Paradise", *Antiquity*, XXXVII, 1963, pp. 111-115.

3 Cornwall, B., "On the Location of Dilmun," *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* C. III, 1946; Oppenheim, A. L., "The Seafaring Merchants of Ur, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 74, 1954, pp. 6-17; Leemans, W. F., *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period*, 1960.

4 Oppenheim, *op.cit.*, p. 15.

5 Heras, Rev. H., "The kingdom of Magan," *B. C. Law Volume*, 1945, pp. 545-48.

6 *ibid.*

7 Allchin, *op.cit.*, pp. 315-16.

8 *Gazetteer of India and Pakistan*, 1950, I, p. 356, col. 1.

pronunciation of the word. If this is true, the word 'Dilmun' (or Telmun), bereft of its vowels, can be reduced to only 'D', 'T', 'L', 'M', and 'N'. Incidentally, the same are the constituent consonants of the Indian toponyms.

Thus, in our opinion, the living tradition as found fossilized in the two aforementioned village-names, still clustering close to an ancient settlement, should be given a measure of credence that the golden memories of an old seafarer's childhood would perhaps never deserve.

This suggested equation is, however, not free from all possible doubts. For, while Dilmun is reputed in the Sumerian texts to have been a maritime emporium, we have, save a solitary cylinder seal¹, not much, including the sea in the neighbourhood, to connect the site of Kalibangan with the Sumerian trade. On the other hand, Saurashtra can at least boast of a dockyard² and a number of other coastal sites. One redeeming feature, however, lies in the fact that against the said cylinder seal, the site of Lothal has yielded only a 'Persian Gulf' seal³. Although it is only a surface find, its presence indicates that instead of an earlier direct contact, Saurashtra maintained, in all likelihood, only an indirect communication through the Bahrain merchants, calling themselves "alīk-Dilmun"⁴.

The upshot of the whole argument, as tradition dies hard, appears to be that 'Dilmun' of the Sumerians originally stood for the Sindhu-Sarasvatī valleys. With the subsequent changes in the geographical and political emphasis respectively at home and abroad, the connotation of the term 'Dilmun' came either to include—or perhaps to stand for—Saurashtra and the flow of the traditional export-goods continued unabated till the Larsa-Isin period⁵. But owing to the loss of the ore-producing hinterland in the period after the fall of the Harappan empire, the Saurashtrian exports appear to have become restricted to only the agricultural products by the time of the dynasty of Hammurabi (1792 to 1712 B.C.): then the copper had started coming from the western sources.⁶

1 *Indian Archaeology—1963-64-A Review* pp. 31, Pl. XXIII-B.

2 This interpretation has, however, always been questioned and both U. P. Shah (*Journal of the Oriental Institute*, X, 1960, pp. 310-20) and L. S. Leshnik (*American Anthropologist*, 70: 5, 1968, pp. 911-22) have rather convincingly explained the basin as a source for drinking water or as an irrigation tank.

3 Rao S. R., "A Persian Gulf" seal from Lothal, *Antiquity*, XXXVII, 1963, pp. 96-99, pl. IX-a-c.

4 Bibby G., "The Ancient Indian Style Seals from Bahrain", *Antiquity*, XXXII, 1958, pp. 243-46; Buchanan, B., "A Dated Seal Impression Connecting Babylonia and Ancient India," *Archaeology*, 20: 2, 1967, pp. 104-107.

5 Roux, G., *Ancient Iraq* 1966, p. 167; Oppenheim, *op.cit.*, p. 15.

6 Oppenheim, *op.cit.*, p. 16.

It was perhaps this last fact that went a long way in fixing the transference of the names of the once eastern regions to the southern and western ones. The process of gradual and slow restriction of the geographical horizons that seems to mark the entire development of these commercial connections, coupled perhaps with the lingering memory of the "alik-Dilmun", was responsible for eventually equating the island of Bahrain with Dilmun.¹ That it was not the original or even the secondary Dilmun is certain, for a voyage to it would have been too safe and short to have lasted three months and to have merited propitiary offerings at the the temple of Nanna and Ningal at Ur.²

1 *ibid.*, p. 14; Pallis, S. A., *The Antiquity of Iraq.*, 1956, p. 629.

2 Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 14.

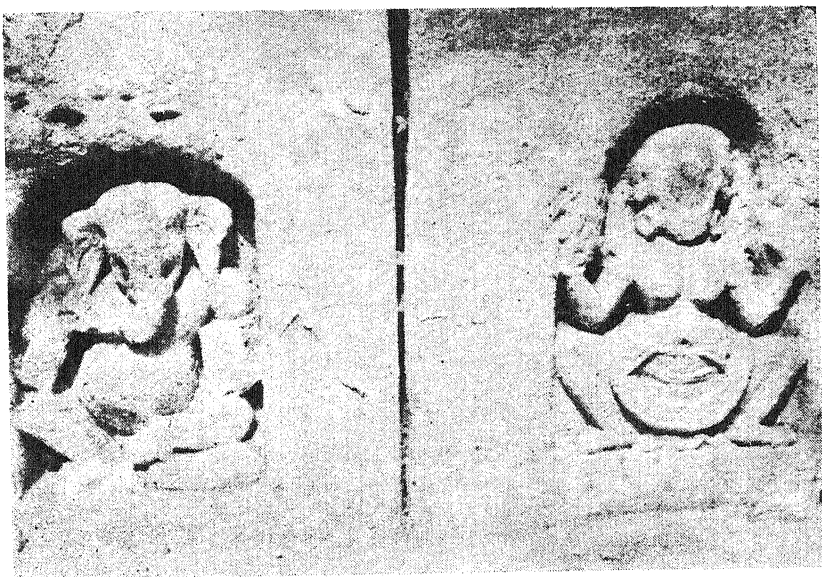


Fig 1
Rock cut statues at Arṇā, near Jodhpur (9th Century)



Fig. 2
Detail of Devī; rock cut
Statue at Arṇā, Jodhpur.
(9th Century)

ROCK-CUT STATUES AT ARṆĀ, JODHPUR

By

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Early Pratihāra rock-cut statues of Divine Mothers in the company of Gaṇapati and dancing Vīrabhadra at Maṇḍore¹ (near Jodhpur) are important specimens of Indian Art. During my exploratory tours in Jodhpur region, I happened to notice a few rock-cut statues at Arṇā, distant about 13 miles from Jodhpur town. Here existed a ninth century temple dedicated to goddess Nandā, as referred to in the inscription on a pillar to the left on a hillock nearby. About a hundred yards from this place may be seen two unpublished statues carved into the rock itself (*Plate I*). Each of them measures about 16 inches in height. To the left is the figure of seated and two armed Gaṇapati, with his trunk turned to the left. The absence of a crown on his head is characteristic of early art traditions; his left-hand probably holds the ball of sweets as usual.

The figure on the other side (*Plate II*) is that of a goddess shown seated in a squattish manner; both the legs are stretched wide depicting the rope like girdle falling below. Her hands, raised up on the sides, probably carry the lotus flowers as also in somewhat similar figurines including the early mediaeval mother goddess statue from Bhinnamāl and illustrated by Dr. U. P. Shah in the *Bulletin of Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*, Baroda, XII, 1955-56, pp. 55-6, plate XLI, Fig. 10. The Bhinnamāl statue depicts the goddess seated in an identical pose; the carvings of a *liṅga* and seated bull to her right suggest Śaiva associations of the goddess. She may, therefore, be identified as Pārvatī or Gaurī. In the Arṇā panel, under review, we notice a snake like object carved horizontally between the feet of the goddess, thereby suggesting her identity with Pārvatī or Nandā. The entire problem, of course, needs further confirmation from literature. On the whole the existing rock carvings of seated Gaṇapati and Devī from Arṇā, are important additions to the early Pratihāra art of Rajasthan. The latter is of course, very important from iconographic point of view and bears testimony to the importance of this form of goddess during the ninth century A.D. This particular pose of the *devī* is to be seen in a number of early Indian terracottas including the one from Śāmalājī and reproduced by Dr. U. P. Shah, *op cit.*, XIII, Fig. 24 on p. 42. The pose in the post-Gupta sculptures from Āmjhara²-Dungarpur also deserve careful scrutiny in the above reference.³

1 R. C. Agrawala, *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Patna, 43 (1-2), 1957, pp. 111 114 and plate.

2 R. C. Agrawala, *Lalit Kalā*, No. 6, pp. 63-71 and plates; *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, XIX (1-2), 1969, pp. 164-66, figure 2, Goddess from Jhāḍol.

3 Photographs: Courtesy Sri Prakash Bapana and prepared by Mr. Vijaya Kumar. Photographer of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Jaipur.

SOME RARE TERRACOTTAS IN ALLAHABAD MUSEUM

By

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The ancient sites of Uttar Pradesh are indeed the most inexhaustible sources of terracotta objects. As Madhya Pradesh abounds in sculptural finds of great antiquity the same may be opined for Uttar Pradesh with regards to its terracotta antiquities. This may be attributed to the abundance of good clay, the cheapest medium of art, in the plains of Gaṅgā and Jamunā. The ancient sites of Ahicchatra, Sankissa, Sahet-Mahet, Ghośī, Kauśāmbī, Jhusi, Rajghat and other ones have been yielding terracotta objects of varied types since long. The Allahabad Museum preserves one of the most representative collections of the same in the country. A few rare types, acquired during recent past, are described below:

1—A round plaque from Ahicchatra.

Diam—10 c.m. ; Reg. No.—A.H./5173; Period—Śuṅga.

The plaque has obverse and reverse sides. On its obverse is depicted a conventionalized dragon rare in Indian terracotta art. A stone pillar¹ of Gupta period in the Allahabad Museum contains a dragon. The dragon of the plaque is different from the one carved on the stone pillar referred to above. The dragon on the pillar has only one mouth while the one on the plaque appears to have two. The tail and the mouth of the dragon have been brought close to each other at the top of the plaque. The hind portion of the body of the animal contains nail marks. On the reverse side of the plaque there has been depicted a full blown lotus with every petal alternated by a leaf.

The representation of this animal in Indian art prior to Gupta period was not noticed but the present specimen proves its existence during the Śuṅga period. There might be other such examples lying in other museums of the country depicting this motif which was unnoticed so far. Since the plaque is in low relief it can safely be assigned to the Śuṅga period.

2—A Triangular plaque from Kauśāmbī.

Size—12 c.m. × 7 c.m.; Reg. No.—K/5172; Period—Śuṅga (about 1st century B.C.)

The plaque has two sides. On the obverse, at the apex of the triangle, there is a triratna. Below it a female figure seated on the back of a horse faces

1 Reg. No. 226.



Fig. 1
Round Plaque (obverse)
from Ahicchatrā

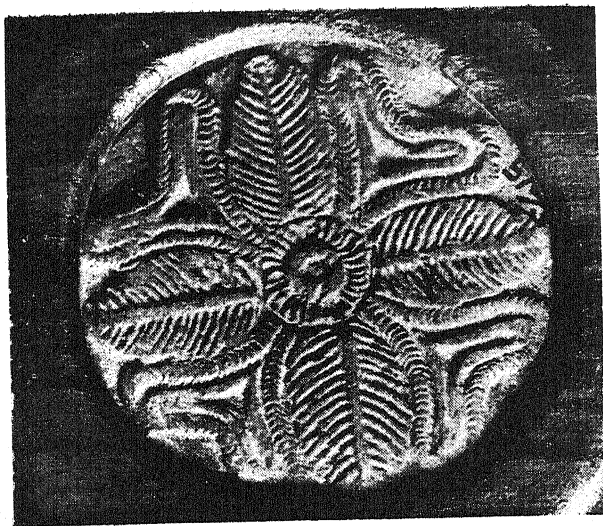


Fig. 1a
Reverse of Fig. 1 (Ahicchatrā)



Fig. 2
Triangular Plaque (obverse)
from Kauśāmbī

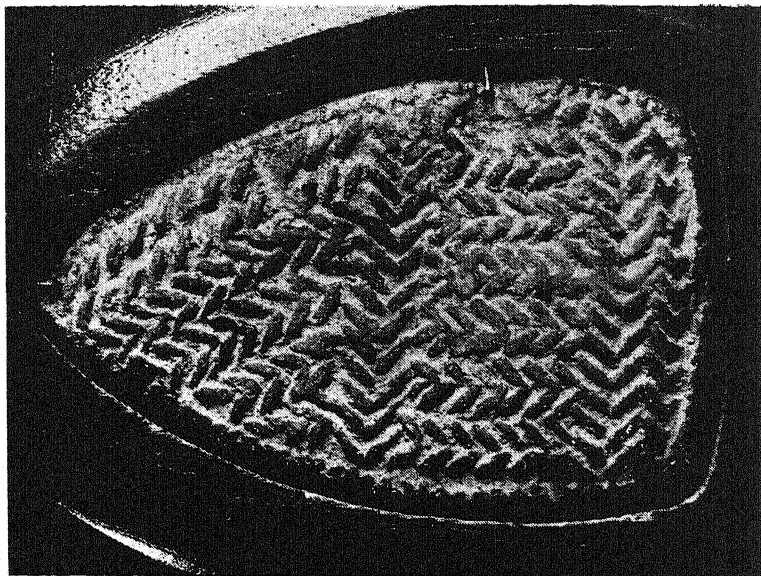


Fig. 2a
Reverse of Fig. 2 (Kauśāmbī)



Fig. 3
Circular plaque from Kausāmbī



Fig. 4
Terracotta Elopement Scene
from Kauśāmbī

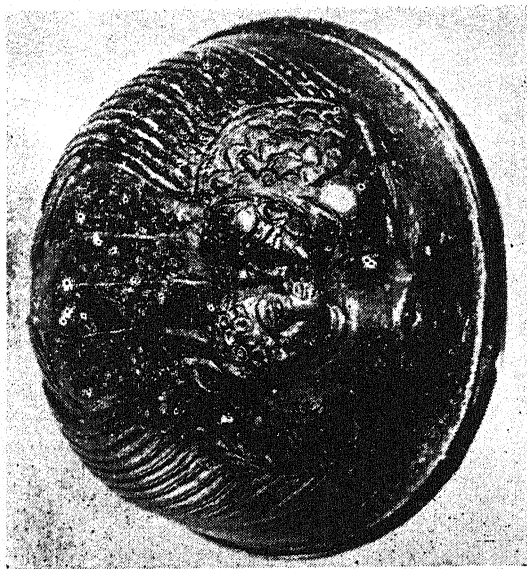


Fig. 5
Round black object from Jhusi

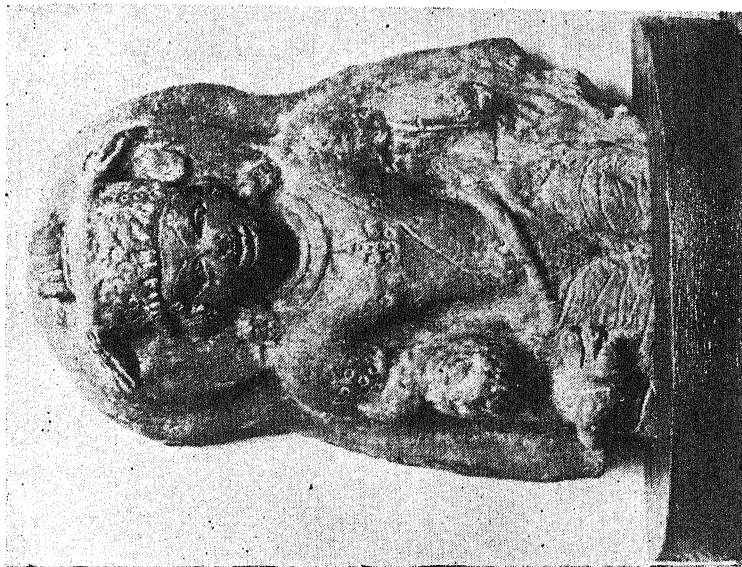


Fig. 6
Kārtikeya from Ahicchatrā

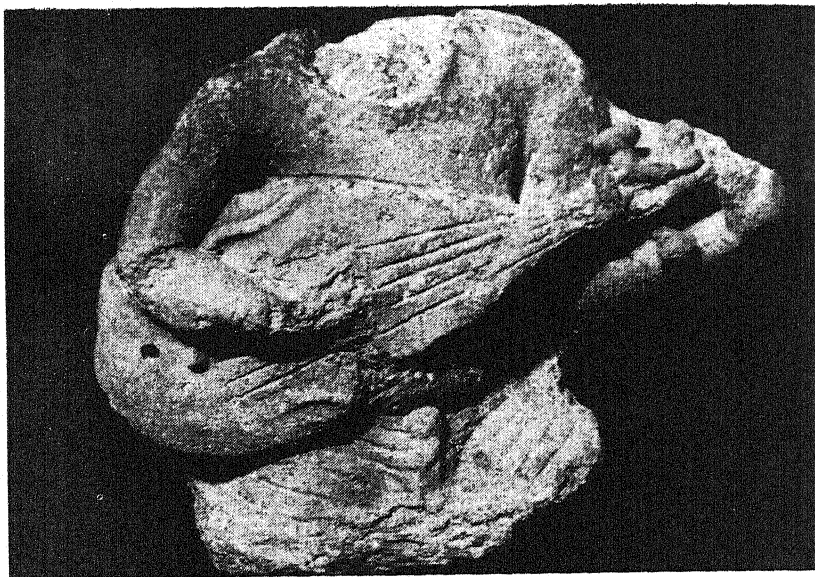


Fig. 7
Headless figure from Ahicchatrā

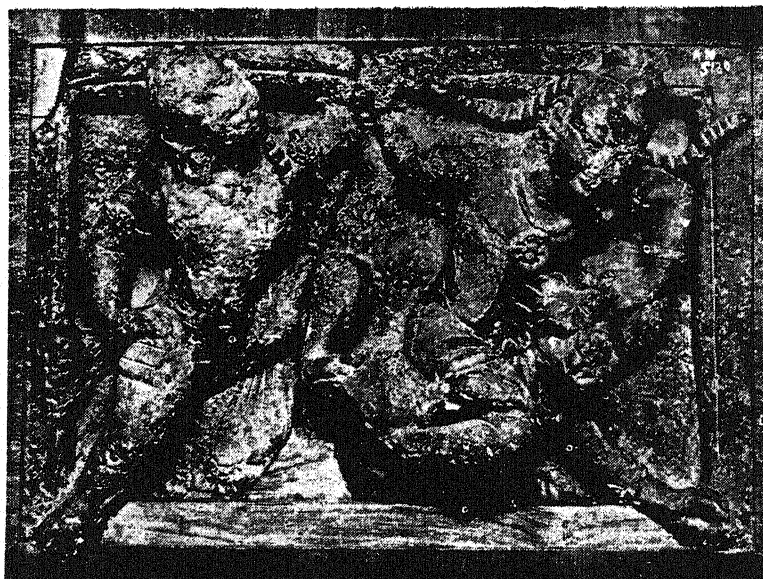


Fig. 8
A Bhāgavata Scene from Ahicchatrā



Fig. 9
Plaque with Lakṣmī from Kauśāmbī

to the left. A twig is fixed in her headdress. She holds the reins of the horse in her hands. On its reverse the plaque has a decoration which indicates the nature of the object. It was indeed a hollow dabber. It was painted with brown colour.

A terracotta plaque of the Gupta period containing a lady on a horse back, presently in the collection of Bostan Museum, America, was found from Mathura. This subject has been noticed on a railpillar of Bharhut¹ but such examples are extremely rare in Indian terracottas.

3—Circular Terracotta plaque from Kauśāmbī.

Size—11 × 10 c.m. ; Reg. No.-K/5075 ; Period—Śuṅga (1st centy. B.C.)

The Plaque depicts a boat-shaped chariot being drawn by four bulls. The heads of three bulls are scratched but due to the presence of their forelegs this number could easily be ascertained. A male figure seated on the chariot holds ropes attached to the bulls. He holds a parasol in one of his hands. A similar specimen from the same site is preserved in the Mathura Museum. Another smaller terracotta² plaque in Allahabad Museum depicting the same subject, also comes from Kauśāmbī but it is much weatherworn.

4—A—Terracotta with an elopement scene from Kauśāmbī.

Size—14 × 8 c.m., Reg. No.—K/5108 Period—about 1st century A.D.

The plaque depicts a well built man holding a lady in his arms. The left leg of the man is raised which indicates his movement. He holds the left leg and left hand of the lady with his hands. The headdress of the man is supported by a band studded with rosettes. He wears heavy suspended ear-ornaments, an armlet and three bangles on either of his wrists. He puts on a dhoti reaching a little below his knees. The upper part of his body is bare. A bell hangs from his left hand. His ears do not appear to be of a natural type. The features of this figure resemble to that of a yakṣa.

The hands of the lady are raised on either sides of her head. The very posture of the woman indicates resistance against the action of the man. In order to get herself freed she presses the wrist of the right hand of the man with her left leg. In the scuffle for her release her double stringed beaded necklace is broken and is likely to fall down on the ground. There are three ornaments and a few beads or pearls lying in between the legs of the male figure. On the extreme lower right corner are visible a rosette and a round object, probably an earring, made of beads interwoven together. The presence of the ornaments on the ground indicates her vigorous resistance to get rid of the man. She puts on

1—A. Cunningham-Stūpa of Bharhut—Pl. XXXII, fig. 6,

2—A.M. Reg. No. K/4624,

a sari and three stringed beaded waist girdle. The girdle appears to be broken from which beads are falling down. A number of fragments containing this subject were found earlier from the same site. The whole scene was reconstructed by S. C. Kala through a line drawing sketch¹ by assembling those fragments. The Photographs of the Pieces², found earlier, also have been given by him. But the plaque described above is well preserved and complete presenting the whole story.

The story as depicted on this plaque could not be identified so far. It may have some relation with the stories of Yakṣas carrying women forcibly as described in early Indian literature.

5—Round black object from Jhusi.

Diam—9 c.m.; Ht. 4.5. c.m.; Reg. No.-Jh/4973; Period-About 2nd-3rd centy. A.D.

This round casket-shaped terracotta object contains two flying gandharvas, in the posture of kissing each other on its upper part. Punched circles on the head of the male indicate curly hair. The hair of the female is arranged upwards in a top knot and an urnā mark is also seen on her forehead. Only their busts are in human form while the hind portions have the resemblance of a bird having wings and long tails. They are depicted moving towards each other from different directions.

The lower surface of this object preserves a design resembling a full blown flower in the centre encircled with concentric circles made by a foliage which resembles a twig with several leaves. Due to the presence of black slip on the object it may be mistaken to be a N.B.P.W. piece at the first instance. But it is not so.

The design, found on its lower surface suggests it to be a potter's or dyer's mark. It may also have been a dabber.

Though the designs found on the lower surface of this object have been noticed on other several terracotta objects yet no specimen of this type with flying hybrid figures has come to light so far.

6—Kārttikeya from Ahicchatra,

Size-16 c.m. × 10 c.m.; Reg. No.-AH/4896; Period-Gupta

The standing figure of the god of war is depicted on a plaque pressed out of a mould. Portion below the thighs of the figure is broken and lost. The left-hand palm of the deity is gone. He holds some edible, probably a laḍḍu, in his right hand. A sacred thread has been indicated by an incised line across

1 S. C. Kala, Terracotta figurines from Kauśāmbi, Pl. XXXVIII-A

2 Ibid., Pl. XXXVII-A and B,

the chest coming down from the left shoulder. He wears two necklaces. One of these contains pendant marked with punched circles. The same design is found on his armlets too. He puts on a roundish crown, with punched circles, on his head. One loop of cloth is touching the plain halo behind his head, from either side. A bump of hair is visible at the top of his head. The head of a peacock, his vehicle, is seen under his right arm near the right thigh. A three plumed crest is visible on the head of the peacock. Upper part of the deity's body is bare but he wears a dhoti on his loins. A scarf encircles his waist in a slanting manner. The tip of the nose of the figure is worn out. Traces of brown slip are visible.

Images of Kārttikeya, in stone, are fairly common but terracotta¹ examples of the deity are somewhat rare.

7-Headless Male Bust from Ahicchatra.

Size-20 c.m. × 22 c.m.; Reg. No.-A.H./4889.; Period—Gupta

This terracotta figurine is seated holding a harp or gui-tar of five strings in his hands. The musical instrument is flat and roundish in shape on the left. A peg passing through the upper part of the instrument is rounded on either ends. The traces of 'ekāvali' are seen around his neck. He puts on a simple bracelet on his wrists and a dhoti around his loins. The legs of the figure are lost.

The stringed musical instruments are not new to the antiquities of the Śuṅga, Kuṣāṇa and Gupta art but they are of the shape of a bow called dhanurvīṇā. The musical instrument in the above described terracotta is quite different from the other ones. Such a vīṇā has not been noticed earlier in Terracottas but an example of this type has been noticed in stone at Amaravati².

8-A-Panel containing a Bhāgavata scene from Ahicchatra.

Size 44 × 30 c.m.; Reg. No. A. H./5130; Period—about 5th century. A.D.

The panel depicts the scene of killing of Pralamba, a demon at the court of Kaiṁsa. He was sent by Kaiṁsa to Gokula to kill Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. He disguised himself as a gopa boy and got mixed up with them in a game in which the defeated party was to carry the children of the victorious group on their shoulders for a short distance. The demon who belonged to the defeated party lifted Balarāma on his shoulders and wanted to kidnap and kill him but the former killed the demon with his fists.

1 V. S. Agrawal has referred to a terracotta figurine of Kārttikeya (1'2") in the Mathura Museum (No. 2794) in his article "A palace scene on a terracotta panel from Mathura" J.I.S.O. Vol. X, 1942.

2 See The Bulletin of the Govt. Madras Museum, "Amaravati Sculptures in the Govt. Madras Museum" pp. 144-145 plate XIII, figs. 11 and 14.

In the panel Balarāma is seen seated on the shoulders of the demon, Pralamba, on the right with his right hand upraised and with clenched fist. Kṛṣṇa is kicking the demon with his left leg from behind, on the left. The face and the chest of Kṛṣṇa are highly worn and the part of his left hand above the elbow is lost. His hair are arranged upwards forming a bump at the top and with Kākapakṣas on either side. A rosette is attached to either of his armlets. His right hand is placed on the hip while the left is raised up. Pralambārūḍha Balarāma's hair also are dressed in the same style with a Kākapakṣa flying on either side above his shoulders. His left hand is placed on the knee cap of his left leg while the other one, with clenched fist, is raised up. He wears an one-stringed necklace having a round pendant resembling a wheel with spokes. A rosette is studded in each of his armlets. The demon bears sinking eyes devoid of eye balls. He wears an ekāvali on his neck. The piece is a very interesting one.

9-A-plaque with Lakṣmī from Kauśāmbī.

Size-26 c.m. × 10.5 ; Register No.-K/5158 ; Period-Śuṅga (1st century. B.C.)

Several fragments of Plaques preserving the standing figure of Lakṣmī have been found earlier from Kauśāmbī but no complete figure of this type and size was ever found from there. The goddess stands on a full blossomed lotus. Over her forehead there runs a trapezoidal outline. Above it the headdress is formed by two masses separated in the middle by a pointed bump. On the left there are five ears of corn fixed in the headdress while on the right five auspicious symbols are attached to it. The Goddess wears a thick torque on her neck. One braid of her hair falls on either side of her breasts reaching the waist region. A piece of scarf passes over her hands and falls on either side, She wears thick anklets, resembling a Pavajeba, used even today by our village women folk. She holds some round object in her right hand while the left one is touching the waist girdle. There are other ornaments with strings of beads coming downwards from the base of her breasts to the waist girdle. She wears thick bracelets in her hands. There are four more specimens of Lakṣmī¹ standing on a bloomed lotus in the Museum collection but they are smaller in size and different in texture.

The figure under description was originally found in three pieces.

1 Reg. No. K/2519, K/5243, K/5274, (These are of similar shapes and sizes), K/4852 is a mould for the reproduction of the same types of figurine. K/5205, is a small circular piece of Gaja Lakṣmī. See Terracotta figurines from Kauśāmbī, by S. C. Kala, PL. No. XXI (A).

Note:—Recently, I came across a similar figurine in the private collection of Shri J. C. Tandon, Allahabad. The size also appears to be the same.

THE PROBLEM OF NAVĀITS IN INDIA

By

D. V. CHAUHAN, Latur

Even to date much confusion prevails about the meaning and import of the term Navāit in the history of medieval India. (Hobson-Jobson gives this note),¹ on the term—"Navait, Naitea, Nevoyat, etc. n.p. : A name given to Mahomedans of mixed race in the Konkan and S. Canara, corresponding more or less to Moplahs (q.v.) and Lubbyes of Malabar and the Coromandel Coast. The head-quarters of the Navayats are in N. Canara and their traditions state that their ancestors fled from the Persian Gulf about the close of the 7th Century, to escape the cruelty of a Governor of Iran. (See Sturrock, Man. of S. Canara I, 181). It is apparently a Konkani word connected with Skt. *nava* 'new' and implying 'new Convert'. (The Madras Gloss. derives the word from Per. *nāiti* from *nīāt* the name of an Arab Clan.)

1552—"Sons of Moors and of Gentile Women, who are called Neiteas..." Castanheda III, 24.

1553—"And because of this fertility of soil, and of trade of these ports, there was here a great number of Moors, natives of the country, whom they call Naiteas, who were accustomed to buy the horses and sell them to the Moors of the Decan...." Barros I, viii, 9.

C. 1612—"From this period the Mahomedans extended their religion and their influence in Malabar, and many of the princes and inhabitants, becoming converts to the true faith, gave over the management of some seaports to the strangers, whom they called Nowayits (literally the New Race.)" Firishta, by Briggs IV, 533.

This elucidation in the above source has not been improved in the later period. In the Mahikāvati Bakhar² a Marathi work of Śaka 1370 mentions the terms Navāit (page 70, line 15). Nāitā (p. 63 line 8) and Nākhavā (p. 50. 22, 63.8 and 70.15) taking them synonymous. The late Rajwade has only repeated, without mention of any source what is stated by the Hobson:Jobson. It does not add anything to our information. But it is interesting and informative to find the mention of the term Navāit and its equivalents in a work dated 1448 A.C. Perhaps this is the oldest mention in their real form, though we come across the Sanskritized form *Nauvittaka* in a copper-plate of Kadamba

1 H Yule and Burnell : Hobson Jobson, 1903, P. 620.

2 V. K. Rajwade : Mahikāvati Bakhar, Poona, Ś. 1846, Intro, p. 61.

King Jayakeśin of Goa of the Śaka year 981 (1059 A.C.)³. Though the term *Nauvittaka* is not the etymological synonym of the term *Navāit*, it correctly expresses the professional background of the community. The Sanskrit Couplet using this term is :—

श्रीचेमूल्यपुरोत्पतिः शान्तस्ताजियवंशजः ।

आसीन्नैवित्तको श्रीमान् श्रीमानालियमाख्यया ॥ २१

The late Dr. Moresvar G. Dixit has only said that the term *Tājiya* only meant Arab. But this is rather an over-simplification of the meaning resulting in the loss of the real sense. It has to be clarified that the term *Tājiya* has a quite different sense and meaning from the term *Tājī* meaning an Arab. The term *Tājiya* means a person of Arab extraction, but who has long lost his home in Arabia and permanently resides in other countries. Usually a *Tājik* or *Tājiya* means an Iranised Arab. Steingass (London, 1957) gives these shades of meaning of *tāzīk*, “ One neither an Arab nor a Turk ; one of Arab blood born and brought up in Persia ”. It also gives the meaning of *tājīk* as “ a Persian ” only. The term *tāzīk* has been used by Juwayni⁴ in his autobiographical supplement, the *Tasliyatul-Ikhwān* (written C. 680 A.H./1281 A.C.). E. G. Browne has equated this to “ a Persian ” (p. XXVI).

This term has occurred in an old Pashto text⁵ in the form of *teziyu* which has been discussed by the learned Pashto Scholar Dr. Abdul-Ḥaī-Habībī. He has said that the term is derived from *Tāzī* and represents a person of Arab origin. The term occurs in a Pashto text of C. 1200 A.C.

In a Sanskrit inscription⁶ regarding the construction of a mosque at Veraval near Somanātha, dated V.S. 1320 (Hijra 662 = 1264 A.C.) in the reign of the King Chālukya-Vāghelā Arjunadeva occur the terms *Naujanānām* (line 2), *nauvittakānām* (line 22), *nau* (lines 11, 33 twice, a contraction of *naujana*,) *nākhū* (lines 11, 17 and 20 *Nākhudā*, Persian) and *nākhūyānārika* (line 37, probably a mistake for *nākhuyānavika*). Dr. D. C. Sircar has correctly explained all these terms, but has not attempted any etymological equivalence.

Navākhidh in Epigraphy

It is proposed here to suggest that the term *Navāit* is the assimilation of the Persian word *Navākhid* (Arabic plural of the Persian word *Nākhudā* meaning owner of a boat, ship, a shipmaster) or *Navākhidh*, the Arabicised form of the former. Dr. Z. A. Desai has published⁷ a group of nine Arabic inscriptions

3 Moreśvar G. Dixit : *Dakṣiṇāyā Madhyayugina Itihāsācī Sādhane* : Vol. IV, Poona, Ś. 1873, p. 32,

4 Mirza Muhammad : *Tārikh-Jahāngushā*, Vol. I, London, 1652.

5 Abdul-Ḥaī-Habībī : *Pashto wa Loyakān-i-Ghazna*, Kabul, 1341 (1262), p. 98.

6 D. C. Sircar : *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXIV (1963), pp. 141-150.

7 Z. A. Desai : *E I, Arabic-Persian Supplement*, 1961, p. 1.

of the Rajput period from Gujarat, inscribed between the years 1218 to 1291 A.C. These epigraphs are all from Saurashtra Coastal towns or from Khambayat area. The study of these inscriptions is, as stated by Dr. Desai, indeed interesting in many respects. Three of these refer to the construction of mosques, one registering an endowment, while the remaining six constitute obituary notices of persons who belonged to different professions, many of them being trade-magnates. Of these inscriptions four describe the person concerned as trader or as trade-magnate. Inscription number four deals with the construction of a mosque by one Firūz bin Abū Ibrāhīm. This Firūz has been described as '*Sultānum,—navākhidh malik malūkūt-tujjār*' meaning prince among the shipmasters and king of the kings of traders. The record is of 1264 A.C. from Prabhāsa Pāṭaṇa.

The next inscription dated 1282 A.C. from Anahilwāḍa-Pāṭaṇa or Pāṭaṇa or Nahrwāla of the Persian records. It mentions the death of Ibrāhīm bin 'Abdul-Malik who is called at-tājir. The epigraph number seven mentions the construction of a mosque by one 'Abdul-Qāsim bin' Ali who is described as *Malikus-Sudūr wa an-Navakhidh* which would mean as prince of chiefs or magnates and shipmasters. Again inscription number nine is a notice of the death of one al-Hājī Ibrāhīm bin Muhammad who has been designated as *Malikut-tujjār Sultamun-Navākhidha*. These adjectives mean that the deceased was a prince of the traders and a king of the shipowners. The record is dated 1291 A.C. and comes from Cambay, a Sea-port in Gujarat.

These records bring out the important fact that these Arabic epigraphs are left behind to the posterity by the Sea-trading Community of Muslims in the thirteenth century before the foundation of a stable Muslim State in India.

Navākhidh Navāit

It is seen that this trading Iranian Community had permanently settled in sea-ports or nearby important trading centres or State Capitals on the west coast of India from Prabhāsa-Pāṭaṇa and Anahilwāḍa Pāṭaṇa (Nahrwāla) in the Northern Gujarat to Goa and Pañaji in the South. The widely used appellation *Navākhidh* of the community was, it seems, pronounced by the Indian Gujarātī and Marāṭhī populace as Navāit. It may be noted that the most common word *Masjid* of these Arab-Iranian people was transposed to *majagiti* by the Marāṭhī people, quite early in history. It occurs in the form of *majagiti* in the Sanskrit Copper-plates of Jayakeśi of the Kadamba dynasty of Goa of the Śaka year 975 (1053 A.C.).⁸ It is also very interesting to note that the early Iranians and the Afghans also converted this Arabic *Masjid* into *mazgit* in the Irani and Pashto languages in the twelfth century of Christian era. Dr. 'Abdul-Hai Ḥabībī has discussed the origin of the word *mazgit* in details.⁹ Steingass also records this

⁸ Moreśvar G. Dixit, *Op. Cit.* p. 33.

⁹ 'Abdul Hai-Ḥabībī : *Op. Cit.* p. 51'.

word for a mosque in his Persian dictionary. The word *mijigiti* has occurred four times in Sanskrit inscription dated Śaka 1182 from Somanātha Pāṭaṇa (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. 34, pp 141-150). The same word *majagiti* occurs in the Marāṭhī inscription¹⁰ of Śaka year 1269 of the Nāgāva village in the Thānā district, Maharashtra. Phonetic changes of *s* and *d* in the phonemes of the word *masjid* to *z* and *t* can easily be appreciated if we look at the phonological laws of the Pashto and Pāisācī Prakrit languages. In the latter all soft consonants change to respective hard ones of their own category.¹¹ There is a group of Arabic words changing their *ja*-sound to *da* in Marāṭhī. Arabic *taqāda* changes to *tagādā*, *kāgadh* to *kāgad*, *gurz* to *gard* (a dagger), etc. The Mahikāvati Bakhar (written in 1448 A.C.) changes Arabic *majlis* into *madalis* (p. 67; 68), Zafar khān to Dafar khāna (p. 63), Muzaffar to Mudafar (p. 63) etc.

In view of these facts *Navākhidh* of Iranian-Arabic origin changes into *Navāit* with well-established rule of the elision of the consonants in the Indo-Aryan languages in their middle and modern phases. Thus *Navākhidh* to *Navāit* becomes an ordinary feature. The term *Nāitā* is a further change from *Navāit* with the elision of *va* and the retention of the vowel *ā* leading to *nāit*, *nāitā* in Marāṭhī. The term *Nākhavā* in Marāṭhī is of direct descent from the Persian term *Nakhudā*, or its Arabicised form *Nākhudhā* changing the last *dhā* into *ā* by elision. The result is *Nākhua* which changes to *Nākhavā*, a routine procedure in Marāṭhī even today. Thus it stands to reason that the Marāṭhī terms *Navāit*, *Nāitā* are etymological heirs of the Perso-Arabic *Navākhidh*, and *Nākhavā* is derived from *Nākhudā* or its Arabicised form *Nākhudhā*. All the different forms mentioned by the Hobson-Jobson are mere mutations or mutilations of the Indian term *Navāit*. This brings out in bold relief the fact that the word *nava* in the term *Navāita* has absolutely no connection, Linguistic or Semantic with the Sanskrit word *nava* meaning new. On the other hand, it is the etymological successor of Samsk. *nau* (a boat, a ship) which is also present in the *Nākhudā* in Persian. Non-cognisance of this real meaning has led scholars to conjecture *Navāit* as a New Race, a people of mixed extraction. This is a mere surmise without any historical basis.

Navāit and its derivatives are unknown to Arabic and Persian historical literature prior to 923 A.C. Arab and Iranian historians, in the Arabic or the Iranian language mention this term after Ṭabarī. It is but, logical also that when an indigenous and expressive term is available for use in the form of *Navākhidh*, there is no necessity importing into the language an assimilated foreign word. Abul-qasim bin Hind'ushāh (Firishṭa) on the other hand, has rendered a rare service in recording the term *Nawāyit* which has its correct transliteration as only *Navāyit*.

10 S. G. Tulpue : Marāṭhī Koriva Lekha, Poona, 1957.

11 A. N. Upadhye : Annals of BORI, XXI, 1940, pp. 1-37.

It is proved beyond any doubt that these Muslim settlers came to the Western Coast of India before the Arabo-Iranian Muslim Conquerors could establish their political power in the country. In view of this, *Navāit* is a handy significant term to describe the Muslim traders and shipmasters in Coastal India devoid of any political ambitions. They had, in some cases as hinted by Dr. Desai¹² entered into some administrative offices with the local principalities. This would receive more attention later on. But it is to be clarified here that this was completely at the mercy and goodwill of the local chiefs. This has nothing to do with any political ambition on the part of these traders.

While describing the Kufic Arabic epigraphs ranging in dates from 1259 to 1228 A.C. from Bhadreswar war,¹³ an ancient town in Kutch Dr. Desai has observed that, "It may be futile to speculate about the profession, etc. of these people, about whom no information is forthcoming from other sources, but it stands to reason to infer that they were not invaders but men of peaceful pursuits who had made the province their permanent home." There is no reason to say that no information is available as to the profession of these people. Dr. Desai himself has discussed elsewhere¹⁴ their profession as traders and shipowners in the issues of this very journal. Unfortunately Dr. Desai has not availed of the material available in the Sanskrit works and elsewhere. The late Dr. P. K. Gode has brought together such material in a paper.¹⁵ The writer of these lines has supplemented this material in an article.¹⁶ These sources go to state that Arab horses and pearls were commodities of regular supply in India by the Arab traders since Śāka 975 (1053 A.C.) about two centuries earlier than the Arabic epigraphs on the point. This need hardly be dilated further.

Now as to the administrative services rendered by the Navāits, in India, an instance of a Navāit Muslim being employed by a Hindu king comes from the Kadamba family mentioned above. It is available from the Copper-plates record of the first Jayakesin of the Kadamba dynasty. The plates come from Panaji in Goa and their date is Śāka 981. The person named Chaḍam son of Madhumad (i.e. Muhammad) son of Āliyam (i.e. Ālim). Chaḍam cannot be an Arabic word. Possibly it is corruption of some Arabic word. In former plates its form is Śadan. The profession and character of this person is given in the couplets.

अजायत ततः पुत्रो नाम्ना मधुमदो मुदे ।

योऽप्येष भवल्लोकनेत्राणां सकलश्रवन्द्रसन्निभः ॥ २२

12 Epigraphia Indica, APS, 1961, p. 2.

13 Epigraphia Indica, APS, 1965, p. 1.

14 Epigraphia Indica, APS, 1961, p. 2.

15 P. K. Gode : Poona Orientalist, Vol. XI, Nos. 1-2.

16 D. V. Chauhan : Annals of BORI, Vol. 48, p. 391.

ततोऽप्येष समुत्पन्नः सूनुरच्छमसंज्ञकः ।

केशिराजाह्व (धि) रक्षणं योऽभूत्प्रतिबलो बली ॥ २३

दुर्गतात्तिहरं दानं द्विषदन्तकरं बलम् ।

सन्मनोग्राहकं शीलमभूदस्य मनस्विनः ॥ २४

Chadam is described as a strong man (bali) who became possibly the head of the police or soldiers force (adhirakṣāṇām). He was a generous donor to help the needy tide over their difficulty. His strength was fatal to his enemies. His good character as if purchased good people. He was a man of honour and integrity. This clearly shows that he could be a prime minister of the ruler due to his sterling qualities. It is a real tribute to the secular approach of the Hindu rulers of the age.

Another set of copper-plates of the same Jayakeśin dated Śāka 975 states that Madhumad (Muhammad) who was Chadam's grandfather, had rendered great help when Jayakeśin's father Guhilla was involved in a dangerous shipwreck and was the main source of saving King's file. In view of the benevolent service to the royal family and his great qualities, Chadam was appointed minister of the king to the exclusion of the persons available from the land, *Svadeśa-sacivān tyaktvā* as the plates put it.

Dr. Desai has observed that "These men appear to have been carrying on trade, owning ships, or enjoying some administrative authority as will be discussed at the proper place." But he has not mentioned such an authority enjoyed by a *Navāit* in these inscriptions. Perhaps he had in mind a person surnamed *Fatolia* (No. IX). He has only said that this is a Gujarātī word. No more instance of a *Navāit* being appointed under a Hindu ruler of the age, is traceable.

Mention of a history, the *Tārīkhun-Navāyīṭ*¹⁷, of the *Navāit* tribe in India by Azīz yār Jung of Hyderabad, himself belonging to the community would not be out of places. The book, covering 550 and odd pages in bold litho-print in Urdu, mentions 34 Arabic and Persian source books, in print and manuscripts, on the history of the clan and the lives of its poets and saints. But all of them date later than 845 A.H. (1442 A.C.). It quotes Ṭabarī (death 230 AH—923 A.C.) to say that the *Navāyīṭs* belonged to an Arab clan called *Nāyīṭa* and had relations with the Prophet's clan. The chief merit of the book lies in the fact that it describes the religious, social and cultural customs and traditions of the community. This portion coming from a learned old savant of this very community has much to commend. The book also gives biographical notices of 332 persons of the *Navāit* community, many of them being from the Hyderabad state

17 Azīz yār Jung : *Tārīkhun-Navāyīṭ* (Urdu), Hyderabad, 1332 AH (1604 A.C.).

and of recent past. Only a few important among these may be mentioned, Mullā Ahmad Nāīṭa, the minister of 'Ali 'Ādilshāh, the second of Bijapur, Husayn Dost Khān nicknamed Candā Šāhib of Tricirāpalli (Tamilnad), Hyder Ali Khan, the ruler of Mysore in the eighteenth century, Šaādatullāh Khan Nāīti Konkanī, the Nawwāb of Arcot and Turāb 'Ali Khān, Sālār Jung (first) of Hyderabad. Social customs of prohibition of widow-remarriage in the *Navāit* community, the women-folk wearing Hindu-women's dress and ornaments, custom of marriages in the same fold (*Kafā*), the *Navāits* speaking regional languages, are of special interest. Further the study of 77 surnames or *alqāb* of families of the community is very instructive and interesting. Of these surnames, 28 are of the Prākṛitic origin.

In conclusion it may be observed that the term *Navāit* in the Arabo-Iranian historical sources and also in Indian languages, is in fact the Prakritisation of the Arabo-Iranian term *navākhidh*, shipowners. This community of Arab extraction, inhabiting the Western coast of India followed the profession of sea-trading. They were rich trade-magnets. They were Muslims throughout. They built mosques-*mijigiti* for their worship. They were not a mixed community.

SELECT CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

By

P. H. JOSHI, Baroda

Acta Orientalia, Societates Orientales Danica, Norvegica, Svecica Apud Ejnar Munksgaard, Havnie, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Vol. XXXIII, 1971

Bo Utas : Notes on Some Public and Semi-public Libraries in the Near and Middle East Containing Persian and Other Moslem Manuscripts

Afghanistan, Historical & Literary Society of Afghanistan Academy, Kabul, Afghanistan.

Vol. XXIV, Nos. 2 & 3, Summer & Fall 1350 (1971)

Palwal, A. R. : History of Former Kafiristan

Sariandy, V. : North Afghanistan in the Bronze Period

Habibi, A. H. : Khaljis are Afghan

Mustamandi, Shahebye : Preliminary Report on Hadda's Fifth Excavation.

[The] *Aryan Path, Theosophy Hall, 40 New Marine Lines, Bombay 20 (BR)*

Vol. XLIII, No. 3, March 1972

Wadia, A. R. : A Religious Survey—Optimism Versus Passimism.

Cooper, Brian G. : Western Youth and Eastern Religion

Fyzee, A. A. A. : Modern Generation and Religion

Garg, R. K. : Is Upanishadic Philosophy Pantheistic ?

No. 4, April 1972

Shrivastava, S. N. L. : The Cardinal Principles of the Bhagavadgītā—As Epistomized in the Seventh Chapter

Dutt, K. Guru: The Significance of Myth—

No. 5, May 1972

Skutch, Alexander F. : Thoughts on Ahimsā

Goldstein, David ; Mysticism and Ethics

Krishnamoorthy, K. : Vakrokti—Kuntaka's Contribution to Sanskrit Literature.

Bharatiya Sahitya, K. M. Hindi & Bhashavijnana Vidyapeetha, Agra Vishvavidyalaya, Agra.

Vol. 13, Nos. 3-4, July and October 1968

Chaturvedi, Parashuram : Santa Sāhitya meṁ Guru Tattva (Hindi).

Tripathi, Ramamurti : Racanātmaka Samikṣā aura Kāvyaśāstra (Hindi).

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REVIEWS

Jaina Ontology by Dr. K. K. Dixit, Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Series, No. 31, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9, 1971, Royal 8vo, pp. 12-204, Price Rs. Thirty.

This tiny volume is to be welcomed as a serious and significant study of some of the Jaina ontological concepts like (i) Loka and Aloka; (ii) Pañcāstikāya and Kāla; (iii) Pudagala; (iv) Jīva; (v) Karman (vi) and Satsāmānya, especially their evolution through the Age of Āgamas, in three stages (p. 31) and the Age of Logic, in three stages (covering groups of authors and their works). This Age division has practical advantage but partial validity (see Appendix II) : it is not the same period all over India. So, if it is taken literally, it defeats the very purpose of evolution study : such a study cannot ignore possible external influence, unrecorded antecedents, and texts containing old, new material, regional heritage and differences and nebulous chronology of authors and works.

In the opinion of the author, 'Jaina thought, like all living organism, has, in the course of its growth, assimilated ever new material and discarded the waste. In view of its all-out importance for the historian of Jainism and for that of Jaina philosophy in particular the matter deserves deeper probe (p. 3).' Obviously he means that eminent Jaina authors have propounded the principles of Jainism in the light of contemporary thought-patterns, thus keeping themselves active on the path of progressive thinking.

Dr. Dixit's approach is historical and comparative. To work out the evolution of any concept through literature of different areas and times, the basic chronology of the sources has to be sound beyond question : chronology should not be made just a matter of opinion or concession. What the sectarians feel or opine about this or that branch of literature the historian need not much worry about. There are deeper reasons for these sectarian divergences than a few doctrinal differences or alleged grounds (p. 2) which have loomed large in medieval polemics. One of them is well put by the author himself : the canon has not come down in its original form. Secondly, the Nirgrantha monk in the South could not be an institution for preserving a vast body of literature : he just kept in memory what was of practical value to his ascetic living. Thirdly, it is the Yāpanīyas who could preserve something more in the South : for this some more research is necessary.

The author rightly points out that the texts of the present-day Ardhmāgadhī canon contain old and new material of different ages : if some passages and

portions are old, others are quite new, as late as the 6th if not 10th century A.D. What is needed, therefore, is to fix the chronology of different parts of the canon on independent grounds like the internal cross references, historical allusions, comparison with allied strata of Indian literature, nature of language and of metres etc. Often *Uttarādhyayana* (on p. 8, line 8 from below, *Uttarādhyayana* appears to be misprint for *Ācārāṅga*) is mentioned as contemporary with the *Prajñāpanā* (which is an *Upāṅga*, possibly including the material of the lost *Pūrvas* when a new classification of *Upāṅga* came into existence), though the author is aware that its dogmatical sections are pretty later in age, nearer to *Umāsvāti* (p. 6). But if an evolutionist reads his own evolution almost sub-consciously and stratifies the texts accordingly, one is led to the famous *kunḍa-badarī-nyāya*. Not that the author is not aware of this when he says: ' And in this connection the greatest danger arises from the tendency to read into an earlier text positions that came to be formulated only in later times ' (p. 4). Further the chronological reckoning of the canonical texts ' might lack desirable precision but it should prove helpful so far it goes (p. 31). ' He has tried to be as objective as possible; still contexts can be easily pointed out where by his evolutionist pursuit he has presumed a chronological pattern, which is just subjective. Often he admits the weakness of such a position, so his discussions have to be looked upon as well-intentioned steps for further studies and research.

Text critics like Weber, Jacobi, Schubring, Alsdorf, Chrpentier, Deleu and others have discussed the chronological aspects of the Canon: their views also will have to be taken into account, though they may not be evolutionists. The stages marked by the author on p. 9 are mostly subjective; and no external proofs are given. The author is alert to the danger (p. 12); but he has great faith in the historical method and has pursued his studies with all seriousness.

Whether one accepts or not every detail of Dr. Dixit's thesis of evolution of the chosen items of Jaina ontologic—even he himself is not dogmatic and insistent by the very nature of his method of study—still there are quite a few sections in this monograph which show his penetrating study, for instance, *Umāsvāti*'s position in relation to *Āgama* texts (p. 86) ; some of his observations, or what may called short essays, on authors like *Mallavādi* etc. and their works of the Age of Logic ; etc. His remarks are often thought-provoking and hence useful for those who approach Jaina literature as a whole for historical and comparative study.

In fine Dr. Dixit has covered a fresh ground in this work in a remarkably objective manner; and his exposition of Jaina ontology deserves serious study by all those interested in ontological speculations in Indian literature.

A. N. UPADHYE

Dhātukāvyā of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. With the Commentaries *Kṛṣṇārpaṇa* and *Rāmaṣāṇivāda's Vivaraṇa*, Edited by S. VENKITASUBRAMONIA IYER, (Kerala University Sanskrit Department Publications, No. 6.) Department of Sanskrit, University of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1970, pp. lx, 364. price Rs. 10.

The *Bhaṭṭikāvyā* is the best known—and also probably the best—work of the literary type known as *Kāvyasāstra*, poetic works illustrating the precepts and rules of a school of thought, grammar.

S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer has now placed before scholars an excellently elaborated edition of another such work, the *Dhātukāvyā* of the Kerala polymath Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa. This poem recounts in three cantos, the part of the *Srīmad-bhāgavata* beginning with Akrūra's journey to Gokula and ending with the slaying of Kāṁsa. In these cantos, Nārāyaṇa illustrates with both finite forms and derivatives of the ten *dhātu-gaṇas*. An analysis of which *gaṇas* are illustrated in each canto appears in the editor's introduction (p. xx). This edition is accompanied by two commentaries. The *kṛṣṇārpaṇa* accompanies the text of verses; the *vivaraṇa*, an incomplete text, appears separately (pp. 223-281). The first commentary is the briefer, though it omits nothing of real importance. The *vivaraṇa* takes more pains to paraphrase each verse giving synnoyms and it also explicitly notes the number of roots illustrated in each verse. Roots are illustrated in the poem serially according to the order of *gaṇas*. Moreover, as the editor shows (p. xxix of his introduction), the works source for technical organization is the *Mādhaviya-dhātu-vṛtti*, to which preference is given in cases of disagreement among grammarians. Still, there are differences between the *Dhātukāvyā* and the *Mādhaviya-dhātu-vṛtti*; the editor discusses these in his introduction (pp. xxx ff.).

The text of the poem (pp. 1-222 — which is remarkably free of misprints, the few I found being self correcting—is preceded by a learned and helpful introduction (pp. ix-lx) in which the editor treats various subjects relative to this work in addition to those already noted: e.g., *Kāvyasāstra* in Kerala (pp. x-xviii); the *Dhātukāvyā* as poetry (pp. xl-xlvi); Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's dates (xlvi-li). In addition, one section following the text and commentaries contains notes giving reasons for choosing certain readings (pp. 283-289). A complete index of roots and the forms used to illustrate them (pp. 290-357) and an index of ślokas (358-361) complete this edition.

All in all, the editor has supplied us with an eminently useful and informative edition of a work which, while not great literature throughout, is important for a full consideration of the history of Sanskrit letters. I hope the University of Kerala continues its project of making available previously unpublished contributions of Kerala authors to Sanskrit literature (see p. iii of the foreword

by A. G. Krishna Warriar). If such editions are as carefully executed as the present one, a distinct service will have been rendered to the community of Sanskrit scholars.

—GEORGE CARDONA

Sārasiddhāntakaumudī of Varadarāja. Edited with Introduction, Translation, and Critical and Exegetical Notes by G. V. DEVASTHALI. Publications of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Class C, No. 4. University of Poona, 1968, pp. xvi, 239, 271.

One of the most important decisions made in recent years by the Government of India in favor of liberal arts, has been the creation of Centres of Advanced Study in a number of universities spread all over the country. As any visitor to the Centres of Advanced Study in Ancient History (located in Calcutta University), Philosophy (located in Vishvabharati University), Sanskrit (located in Poona University) will testify, they have created new focal points for the pursuit of liberal studies. They are welcome additions to research institutes such as the Oriental Institute, Baroda, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona, the Adyar Research Centre near Madras, and the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute in Hoshiarpur, to name only some of the most famous. It is good that besides regular teaching capacities, in Universities, scholars may find a congenial group in which to pursue their researches. Such institutions have the double advantage of providing Indian scholars in the humanities with much needed support at a time when science and technique appear more financially rewarding, and the international community of indologists with meeting places in which to assemble, and exchange ideas and information.

The Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit has done very well, under the guidance of the great Vedic scholar, R. N. Dandekar. Besides Vedic studies, the Centre has particularly focused on *Vyākaraṇa*; a number of valuable studies have been published in this field, particularly by S. D. Joshi and G. V. Devasthali. To S. D. Joshi we owe, besides other contributions, a continuing study of the most important commentary on Pāṇini's grammar, Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*. G. V. Devasthali has offered us among other publications, a study of Pāṇini's *Anubandhas*, and an edition-translation with notes of Śāntanava's *Phīṣṭsūtras*.

In this volume, Devasthali provides an edition-translation with notes of one of the three abridgments of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* by Varadarāja. The *Sārasiddhāntakaumudī* reduces the *Siddhāntakaumudī* to its absolute quintessence; its volume (723 sūtras) equals less than a third of the *Madhyasiddhāntakaumudī* (2315 sūtras), and little more than half the best known of Varadarāja's abridg-

ments, the *Laghusiddhāntakaumudī* (1381 sūtras), edited by Ballantyne as early as 1849. This is enough to say that the *Sārasiddhāntakaumudī* does not rank among the important treatises on Sanskrit grammar. It is an elementary work, designed for students who are not yet well versed in the subject; it is a first approach, that should hopefully lead them in a progressive fashion to the study of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's work itself.

The text is critically edited on the basis of four Poona manuscripts; variant readings are duly recorded in the critical apparatus. It is however a matter of regret that the editor did not use other known manuscripts of the text of which the *Catalogus Catalogorum* lists quite a few, a number that will certainly rise even higher in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*. The translation accompanies the text of sūtras and brief commentaries on each page. Explanatory notes have been relegated to a separate section of the volume. Among helpful tools, let us note an alphabetical index of sūtras, lists of *pratyāhāras*, and an index of important and technical words explained in the notes. Notes, indices and appendices, as well as the very rudimentary bibliography that closes the volume, appear designed for inexperienced students, rather than for scholars of *Vyākaraṇa*.

We wish that the editor had included in the volume a comparative study of all three of Varadarāja's abridgments, and of the full original *Siddhāntakaumudī*. The interest of such a comparison for pedagogy is evident. It would also bring to the fore the inner construction of all four works. Most importantly it would provide valuable insights into Sanskrit grammar as such: it would separate essential features from details and exceptions. From the *Siddhāntakaumudī* at the outer edge to the *Sārasiddhāntakaumudī* at the center, we have four concentric descriptions of Sanskrit grammar. We can assume Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's work to be a full description, and the text edited here an absolute minimum. What are the features that the *Madhyasiddhāntakaumudī*, and what are those that the *Laghusiddhāntakaumudī* include in their versions? What are the areas that are left unprovided for in each of them? These are questions the importance of which reaches far beyond an appreciation of Varadarāja's contribution to *Vyākaraṇa*, and to these we hope that Devasthali will address himself in the near future,

—ROSANE ROCHER

Gītā Samikṣā edited by E. R. ŚRĒEKRIŚHNA SARMA, published by Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, 1971, pp. iv + 175. Price Rs. 7-50.

Looking to the spirit of synthesis which pervades Śrīmadbhagavadgītā it is indeed hazardous to maintain that it propounds only one sectarian system of thought to the exclusion of others. The spirit of the author is too liberal to suit the temper of a sectarian teacher. The apparently heterogeneous nature of the

teachings of the Gītā containing doctrines which seem to be contradictory and which give scope for different interpretations, is due to this method of synthesis adopted by the author of the Gītā. Consequently not a single sectarian interpretation is found absolutely in keeping with all the tenets of the Gītā though many sectarian interpretations do find some support for them in it. In the book Gītā Samīkṣā we find the gist of the interpretations of seven reputed Ācāryas. Thus this book facilitates the comparative study of their interpretations. Out of the remaining papers two are devoted to the exposition of the Gītā according to two sects *viz.* the Vīraśaivism and Rādhāsoamis and three papers are devoted to set forth the interpretations offered by three great men of our times *viz.* Aurobindo, Gandhiji and Vinobā. One paper attempts a sort of comparative study of the Gītā with Quran. The expositions in the six papers just mentioned above are of secondary importance.

Turning to the exposition of Śāṅkarācārya we find that philosophically it is more satisfactory but as in the case of all other expositions there is one defect *viz.* the first contact of the soul which is non-different from the Ultimate reality with Avidyā remains inexplicable. But no philosophical exposition has been able to explain each and every problem it faces without leaving one point or the other either unexplained or inadequately explained. This is a common defect in all the philosophical expositions. If we leave out this defect then we do find that the exposition offered by Śāṅkarācārya is philosophically more satisfactory. As regards the objection that the theory of world-illusion is taught nowhere in the Gītā it can be said that Śāṅkara does not mean to say by world-illusion that the world is totally inexistent like hare's horn but that he means to say that it is unreal from the metaphysical point of view. From the empirical point of view the existence of the world is accepted by him. The world phenomenon has a beginning and an end in time. Hence it is something other than final truth. Just as in dream a person sees many things and some awkward things too not found in ordinary experience but as soon as he wakes up there is nothing except himself in the same way the world-illusion is true for all those who have not attained enlightenment but as soon as enlightenment dawns upon a person the only reality which will remain for him will be the spiritual reality and the whole world phenomenon will become a mere illusion. It is true Gītā does not refer to world-illusion but it is because Gītā wanted to encourage Arjuna to follow his own religion determined according to his caste and not to teach purely philosophical truth only. Of course the nature of spirit and the Ultimate reality and other relevant points are touched to support the main purpose of encouraging Arjuna to fight. Lord Kṛṣṇa wanted to remove the fear of incurring sin by killing the kith and kin from the mind of Arjuna and so he taught—'This one does not slay nor is it slain.' etc. As regards the objection contained in—'My part only is the imperishable soul in this world of sentient beings'. This also does not mean

that Lord Kṛṣṇa taught plurality of souls and their difference from the Ultimate reality. To quote the words of Shri A. G. Krishna Warriar—‘reality which is non-dual spirit, and lifted altogether above the threefold difference cannot conceivably have aśās or parts of any kind. Admittedly, spirit transcends time and space, the sine qua non of plurality and, therefore, it cannot conceivably admit of distinctions like parts and whole. Such is the insight behind Śaṅkara’s contention that the relation in question has to be conceived, not as one obtaining between two eternally separate relata but as one that is purely empirical, more apparent than real, and that resembles the relation between a spot-space and the infinite space outside.’ Shri Warriar further states—‘Śaṅkara employs the idea of Māyā not so much to condemn and write off the world as an illusion or figment of human imagination, as to underscore its provisional and variable character.’ Any impartial thinker would agree with this statement. He further writes—‘Māyā is just a hare’s horn for the consciousness merged in the non-dualistic spirit ; it is a riddle, neither real nor false, for the logical intellect ; it alone is real for the mind that knows nothing of God.’ Thus the paper contributed on the exposition of Śaṅkara’s interpretation of the Gītā is a good attempt indeed.

The paper contributed on the interpretation of the Gītā by Rāmānuja being very elaborate helps to understand very clearly Rāmānujācārya’s view point. Here it should be noted that though Rāmānujācārya called his theory Viśiṣṭādvaita, the admission of separate existence of the soul in the state of transmigration as well as in the state of salvation tends to make it something else than non-dualistic.

The paper contributed on the exposition of the Gītā according to Madhva explains Madhva’s interpretation from the practical side more than from the philosophical side. Still the idea of Saṃkalpasamnyāsa and the resultant Karma-yoga are really very fine. Here it should be noted that on the exposition of Karmayoga in the Gītā Lokamānya Tilak has written a very fine work called Gītārahasya wherein he has elaborately explained the Niṣkāma Karmayoga as the sum and substance of the Gītā, applying the test of upakrama, upasamhāra etc. It would have been more desirable had one paper on Tilak’s interpretation been also included in the Gītā Samikṣā.

The interpretations of Gītā by Bhāskara and Nimbārka as set forth in the two papers are practically similar. Both teach the theory of Dualism cum monism, the only difference is that in Bhāskara’s system it was conditioned by transmigration and release while it is unconditioned in the system of Nimbārka. Nimbārka accepts both difference and non-difference as natural and simultaneous. But it is unthinkable. Balabhadra tried to improve upon it and maintained acintya dvaitādvaita. According to him the relationship of bheda and abheda is unthinkable or irreconcilable.

With a view to remove the admission of Māyā in his theory of pure monism Vallabha resorted to the idea of considering the Ultimate reality as the material cause of the world. Further to remove the inconsistency of making the Ultimate reality undergo change he thought that the Ultimate reality transforms into the world without undergoing any change in itself. It is called Avikṛtapariṇāmavāda. It appears an improvement on Śaṅkara's thought but the existence of evil in the world viciates its validity.

Abhinavagupta's interpretation is philosophically nearer to Śaṅkara's interpretation with the only difference that Abhinava considers the universe as real and identical with the Ultimate reality. In this respect he approaches nearer to Vallabha but he does not consider Ultimate reality as the material cause of the world as Vallabha does but he considers that it is due to the will of the Supreme Being that the world manifestation appears and that it is independent of any cause. Thus he tries to improve upon the theory of considering the Ultimate reality as dependent for its agentship on Māyā or Prakṛti or any Upādāna Kāraṇa (material cause). Further he states that what exists is called ābhāsa. The subject and object are both manifestations of the Supreme Being. The phenomenon of knowledge is like the rise of two waves in the sea of Universal consciousness. One of these has nairmalya, the capacity to receive reflection and the other is without it. The former is called Jivābhāsa and the latter Jaḍābhāsa. Universal consciousness is the source of all psychological phenomena. Both are essentially the same as their source.

However, the self is ignorant of its identity with the Ultimate reality because of its connection with the physical body. This innate ignorance is called āṇavamala and is responsible for the bondage of the individual. Hence the self considers itself as a separate entity. Mokṣa or final release consists in the recognition (pratyabhijñā) of its real nature by the self. It is the state of perfect purity of consciousness which is subjectivistic and transcendental. During this state, the self recognizes its identity with Maheśvara. Thus Āṇavamala serves the same purpose in Abhinava's theory which is served by Avidyā in Śaṅkara's theory.

The paper contributed by V. Anjaneya Sarma on 'Vallabha on the Gītā' seems to be the best exposition. It embraces all the salient aspects of Śuddhādvaita philosophy. The author's impartiality and balance of judgement are very commendable.

Doubtlessly this book will be very useful to students and scholars.

B. N. BHATT

OBITUARY

Mm. Dr. P. V. Kane

Mm. Dr. P. V. Kane expired on the 18th April, 1972 at the age of 92 years. In his death the world of Indologists lost a great savant who devoted his whole life to Sanskrit Research.

Mm. Dr. Panduranga Vamana Kane was born on the 7th May, 1880 at Dapoli, District Ratnagari, in Maharashtra State. He received his early education upto Matriculation at the S. P. G. Mission High School there and higher education at the Wilson College and the Government Law College, Bombay. He was awarded the Jhala Vedanta Prize of the University of Bombay.

He edited (1) *Kādambarī* in two parts (1911 and 1918), (2) *Uttararāma-carita* (1913) and (3) *Harṣacarita* in two parts (1915 and 1921) with an excellent introduction and exhaustive notes. All these editions are highly appreciated by scholars, teachers and students.

Dr. Kane wrote many articles in English and Marathi as also three valuable works. The first to be mentioned is the Hindu Customs and Modern Law (in three parts) published in 1944. His History of Sanskrit Poetics was published in 1951. The third and the most important work of this great scholar is the five Volumes of the History of Dharmaśāstra published between 1930 and 1962.

All these three works are highly esteemed by scholars. However, the History of Dharmaśāstra, being a monumental and encyclopaedic work, has won an international reputation and honour for its author.

Dr. Kane was the life member and for many years the Vice-President of the Asiatic Society, Bombay. He was also the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay during 1947-1949. He was a Fellow of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. He was honoured with the Presidency of the All India Oriental Conference in 1945. He was deputed by the Government of India as a representative to the International Conference of Orientalists at Paris in 1948, Istanbul in 1951 and Cambridge in 1954.

Mm. Kane was nominated as a member of the Rajyasabha for the period 1953-1959. He received an award of Rs. 5,000/- from the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi for the fourth Volume of his History of Dharmaśāstra as the best work on Sanskrit Literature published during 1953-1956. He was appointed as a National Research Professor of Indology since the 15th August, 1959. He received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Bombay in 1963 and in the same year he was awarded the title of Bhārata-ratna by the President of India.

Neither fame nor honour changed the way of life of this renowned scholar. In him there was a rare combination of scholarship and simplicity.

May his soul attain eternal bliss !

J. S. PADE

Prof. M. S. Commissariat :

Prof. M. S. Commissariat, one of the eminent historians in Western India, passed away at Bombay on May 25, 1972 at the age of 91.

Born in a Parsi family at Bombay on December 11, 1881, he was graduated in 1903 with First Class Honours in Latin and English as his optional subjects. He took the degree of M.A. with History and Political Economy as subjects of his choice. In 1906 he was appointed Professor of those subjects at Gujarat College, Ahmedabad, whence he retired in 1936.

Personal contact with the Rev. Geo. P. Taylor, a distinguished numismatist, inspired in him active interest in historical research. He was especially interested in medieval history of Gujarat. He contributed several papers on its different topics and undertook to prepare an exhaustive and upto-date work on the medieval history of Gujarat, since it was a long-felt desideratum. The project went on enhancing in bulk as he proceeded. Meanwhile he contributed monographs on *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India* (1931), *Studies in the History of Gujarat* (1935) and *Imperial Mughal Farmans in Gujarat* (1940). His *History of Gujarat* was then divided into two volumes and Vol. I (from A.D. 1297-8 to A.D. 1573) got published in 1938. It presented the history of the Sultanate Period of Gujarat with upto-date information along with a survey of its chief architectural monuments and inscriptions. It superseded all other works on the subject and has remained the standard and most authoritative work on it. Therein he has consulted every possible source and authority whether in Persian, Arabic, Portuguese, English or Gujarati.

Vol. II covering the Mughal Period (1573 to 1758 A.D.), prepared on the same lines, was out in 1957. The learned author continued his project further and undertook to prepare Vol. III on the Maratha period (1758-1817 A.D.). It is learnt that he ultimately brought it upto 1947 by extending his project over the British period. The author recently made an agreement with Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad, for its publication. The volume is in the Press and will be published shortly. This series of Vols. I-III on the History of Gujarat from 1297-8 onwards is an invaluable contribution to History of Gujarat, which will also serve as a memorial heritage of the learned scholar for a pretty long period.

The demise of Prof. M. S. Commissariat is, indeed, a heavy loss in the field of historical research in Western India.

H. G. SHASTRI

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